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The Terms for "Emotion" in Swahili:

A Lexical Analysis Based on Interviews with Native Speakers

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In this paper, I will describe the linguistic encoding of the conceptual category "emotion" in Swahili, by focusing on an analysis of the lexicon. After giving a brief overview of recent studies on lexical semantics, I will discuss and problematise the conceptual category of "emotion." I will first describe the Swahili verbs which describe the semantic domain of perception, e.g. *-sikia* (hear); *-ona* (see); *-hisi* (touch), and show that, in some contexts, their meaning is often metonymically extended to "feel." I will then present analysis of definitions and contexts of use of the Swahili terms for "emotion" which were relevant during data collection. Data were collected both through Swahili monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and through interviews with and questionnaires administered to native Swahili speakers in Dar es Salaam. The study shows that Swahili uses different terms in order to describe the different facets of the complex category of "emotion." Swahili uses a general term *hisia,* a loanword from Arabic, to indicate both physical and abstract feelings. However, there are other Swahili terms which indicate different semantic facets of the concept "emotion": *mzuka* (spirit), which is culturally linked to spirit possession and healing practices; *mhemko* (excitement), which can have different meanings according to the context of use, e.g. anxiety, strong desire, anger or love; and *msisimko* (thrill), which suggests specific reference to a bodily reaction, e.g. to fear, cold or excitement.

1. Introduction

Studies conducted cross-linguistically by Wierzbicka (1988; 2001; 2004) have demonstrated that there are significant differences in the use of emotional lexicon, not only across languages, but also within a single language. According to Wierzbicka, emotions should be considered as "cultural" artefacts which cannot be elucidated in terms of English folk taxonomies (Wierzbicka 1988: 983).

Thus, the English label "emotion" will be used in this study as a semantic category to talk about the general concept of "emotion" and related terms such as "feelings, perception, sensation." Indeed, if words such as "emotion" are taken for granted as analytical tools and if their English-based character is not kept in mind, they can reify inherently fluid phenomena which might be conceptualised and categorised in many different ways (Wierzbicka 1999: 3). In fact, while the very meaning of the English word *emotion* includes both a reference to feelings and a reference to thoughts (as well as a reference

to the body) (Wierzbicka 1999: 5), in some languages there is no word for "emotion" at all (Wierzbicka 1999: 3). For instance, the word used in German as the translation equivalent of the English *emotion, Gefühl* (from the verb *fühlen* "to feel") makes no distinction between mental and physical feelings; the plural form *Gefühle* is restricted to thought-related feelings and – unlike the English *emotion* – doesn't imply any "bodily disturbances" (Wierzbicka 1999: 3).

The analysis of different terms expressing the concept of "emotion," e.g. *hisia* (feeling) *mzuka* (spirit) *mhemko* (excitement) etc., is fundamental in order to reveal the semantic fields or connotations which evoke different conceptualisations. Thus, studying emotional terminology is also a key to understanding the different conceptual categories in Swahili culture and how the language organises them according to the semantic grids which are at its disposal.

For instance, Goddard (1998) has pointed out that there are some differences between the English words *happy, joyful* and *pleased* which become evident when comparing differences in how these terms are used (Goddard1998: 91-93). He acknowledges that in English *happy* conveys a less intense emotion than that conveyed by *glücklich* in German or *heureux* in French.

Similarly, we acknowledge that, even so-called "universal" emotional categories, such as "love," have different semantic representations which can be elucidated through the lexicon. In ancient Greek, for instance, we can distinguish between different types of 'love' associated with different Greek terms: *éros* (ἔρως) 'love, passion, desire'; *philía* (φιλία) 'affection, attachment, friendship' (among individuals, cities, communities); *agápē* (ἀγάπη) 'love, affection, charity of God and for God'; *storgē* (στοργή) 'the spontaneous love among siblings, persons who feel they belong to the same family or clan'; *xenía,* 'friendly disposition towards foreigners, hospitality.'[1]

Similarly again, when considering a semantic category like "anger," the Russian verbs *seredit'sja* and *rasserdit'sja* suggest a more active stance than the English 'be angry' (like 'rejoice' vs 'be happy' in English) according to Wierzbicka (1998). As opposed to the English 'be angry,' the Russian verb *seredit'sja* implies an external manifestation of the emotion: the speaker is not passively experiencing the feeling, but is "doing something" and expressing it in his behaviour (Wierzbicka 1998: 24). Furthermore, the Russian word *gnev*, which is usually glossed in English-Russian dictionaries as 'anger,' does not mean the same as 'anger,' since it implies a conflict with basic ethical principles that the word 'anger' does not convey (Wierzbicka 1998: 19).

[1] The definitions of the words in ancient Greek are taken from the Greek-Italian dictionary of ancient Greek (GI) by Montanari *et al.* (2003). See also Aime (2010: 385).

This shows that from a cross-cultural perspective we do not find exact equivalents in different languages because the concept of an emotion is interpreted through categories existent in our own language (Santangelo 2009). The concept of *amae* in Japanese, which indicates a particular type of affection (Goddard 1998), or the concept of *Schadenfreude* in German (Wierzbicka 1999) are oft-cited examples of emotions which have no English equivalents.

However, since it is evident that human beings share more or less similar experiences, which are often conceptualised as bodily phenomena, cognitive linguistic studies have emphasised the universality of so-called 'basic emotion concepts,' such as anger, fear, happiness, sadness, love, lust (sexual desire), pride, shame and surprise. Whereas many of these emotion concepts, like love or surprise, or the concept of "emotion" itself, could arguably be seen as cases of "basic" level categories, some correspondences between these universal categories and the "semantic primes" suggested by Wierzbicka have been identified (Kövecses, 1998). As Wierzbicka acknowledges, many writers have begun to agree that the "progress of research into 'human emotions' requires clarification of the concept of 'emotion' itself" (Wierzbicka 1999: 6).

Thus, in this paper, I will discuss the relationship between the general conceptual category of "emotion" and the lexicon used to describe it in order to illustrate its different semantic connotations, both through the definitions found in Swahili dictionaries and through speakers' elucidations and descriptions.

This lexical semantic analysis shows that whether or not two feelings are interpreted as two different instances of "the same emotion" or as instances of "two different emotions" depends largely on the language through the cultural prism of which these feelings are interpreted (Wierzbicka 1999: 26).

2. Data collection and fieldwork

This study is based both on definitions and translations extracted from monolingual and bilingual Swahili dictionaries and on data gathered through questionnaires and interviews conducted with native Swahili speakers in Dar es Salaam during fieldwork in 2016.[2] Indeed, "dictionary definitions cannot always capture all current senses of a word and meta-linguistic intuition varies across speakers" (San Roque *et al.* 2018: 374).

[2] I am extremely grateful to the teachers and the students at "Salma Kikwete" secondary school in Dar es Salaam (Kijitonyama) and to the scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam who agreed to help me in this study.

The questionnaires were anonymous and submitted to a class of twenty-six students (male and female) at the "Salma Kikwete" secondary school, in the district of Kijitonyama, Dar es Salaam.[3]

Data were also collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with nine scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam: seven of these worked at the Institute of Swahili Studies (TATAKI) and two at the Department of Fine and Performing Arts.

The interviews with Swahili scholars were conducted exclusively in Swahili and based on general questions such as "Is there a word for / How would you say "emotion" in Swahili?"; "What does *hisia* (*mhemko* etc.) mean?"; "How/in which context would you use the term *hisia/mhemko*?"; "Can you say *hisia ya furaha/mapenzi/huzuni*...? (*hisia* of joy/love/sadness?)."

Twelve of the twenty-six students who answered the questionnaire mentioned the term *hisia* (feeling) as a first word for the concept "emotion;" six out of these twelve indicated the term *mzuka* (spirit) as a synonym of *hisia* (feeling); three students suggested the definition of *msisimko* (thrill). Other terms, such as *mhemko* (excitement), *hamasa* (motivation), *hamu* (desire), *stimu* (pressure) and *mawazo* (thoughts) were only mentioned once in the questionnaires. In particular, definitions and explanations of the terms *hisia* (feeling), *mzuka* (spirit) and *mhemko* (excitement), were clarified through direct elicitations during interviews with Swahili scholars at the Department of Swahili Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam (TATAKI).

In the following paragraphs, I will explain in detail the semantic description of the terms describing the conceptual category of "emotion" in Swahili by following definitions found in the dictionaries used and the explanations given by native speakers.

3. Swahili perception verbs

Before analysing the Swahili terms used to describe the conceptual category of "emotions," we should recognise that the concept of "emotion" is highly culture-bound and cannot be used without analysing the universal human concept of "feeling."

Indeed, the language of perception has received particular cross-linguistic attention since "it represents the intersection of our common physiological basis for experience on the one hand, and the

[3] The entire questionnaire was composed of 12 open questions regarding the description of specific emotional situations. However, for the purpose of this paper, I have only considered data regarding the first question in the questionnaire, which was about the general definition of the concept of "emotion" in Swahili. I have not included the rest of the data as they were off-topic.

bountiful variety of human linguistic and cultural systems on the other" (e.g., Howes 1991; Classen 1997 in San Roque *et al.* 2018: 372).

We observe that Swahili has several verbal roots which refer to the domain of FEEL and "perception." There are two Bantu verbal stems which describe "to feel:" *-sikia* (hear), used to express feeling through contact, *e.g. nasikia mwiba ndani ya kiatu changu* (I can feel a thorn in my shoe) and *-ona* (see) which indicates feeling without contact, e.g. *mwenyekiti aliona uzito wa hoja yake* (the chairman felt the force of his argument). These two verbs are also used with a reflexive prefix, that is, *-jisikia, -jiona* (lit. to feel yourself), when describing somebody's physical state, such as illness, e.g. *najisikia mgonjwa (*I feel ill). Furthermore, the verb *-ona* is also adopted to indicate both physical and emotional states, e.g. *-ona baridi/ furaha* (to feel cold/ happy) (TUKI 2001), and in the senses of "think, consider, believe, assume," e.g. *Yeye anaona kwamba mpango wetu si mzuri* (She thinks that our plan is not good) and "discover, find out," e.g. *Tumeona kwamba wao si wakweli* (We have found out that they are not honest), thus with reference to the semantic field of knowledge. The same verb is used in the applicative form *-onea* with the meaning of "bully, oppress," e.g. *Wakoloni waliwaonea sana wenyeji*, the colonialists oppressed the indigenous people (Mohamed 2011: 603); it is also used to express feelings for someone else, e.g. *-onea huruma* (feel pity); *-onea wivu* (feel envious), *Yeye anamwonea wivu rafiki yako kwa sababu ya mali yake,* he feels envious of your friend because of his wealth (TUKI 2001; Mohamed 2011: 869).

Another verbal stem, similar in meaning to *-ona*, is the Arabic loanword *-hisi* (feel), which commonly refers to sensorial experience and also extends to abstract feelings and emotions.[4]

As San Roque et al. acknowledge, we notice that "the basic perception verbs often have additional meanings that do not refer to literal sensory experience, and are often presented as metaphorical extensions from embodied physical experience to more abstract domains, although some examples may speak more to the idea of metonymic rather than strictly metaphorical extension" (San Roque *et al.* 2018: 372).

Thus, when we observe a linguistic association between perception and another semantic domain, we follow François' (2008) definition of "colexification," that is, "the capacity, for two senses, to be lexified by the same lexeme in synchrony."

For example, "the senses 〈hear〉 and 〈feel〉 are colexified in several areas of the world: Catalan *sentir*, Italian *sentire*, Mwotlap *yoñteg* and Bislama *harem.* Given that Latin lexified *sentīre* "feel" and *audīre* "hear" distinctly, Catalan and Italian evidently illustrate a case of late semantic merger between the two words" (François 2008: 174).

[4] For detailed explanations on the meaning of the verb *-hisi,* see the following paragraph on *hisia* (feelings).

This is also the case for Swahili perception verbs, which colexify sensorial experiences (*-ona, -sikia, -hisi*) with abstract emotions. As our Swahili interviewees indicated, the following expressions are in current use and some of the perception verbs can be used interchangeably:[5]

1. *Ni-na-hisi njaa/ joto/baridi* I feel hungry/hot/cold
   1s-PRES-feel hunger/hot/cold
2. *Ni-na-sikia njaa/joto/baridi* " "
   1s-PRES-hear hunger/hot/cold
3. *Ni-na-sikia/nahisi maumivu* I feel pain
   1s-PRES-hear/1s-PRES-feel pain
4. *Ni-na-sikia/ nahisi/ homa*[6] I feel (I have) fever
   1s-PRES-hear/1s-PRES-feel fever

We could question why an Arabic root has been borrowed, in addition to the Bantu roots *-ona* and *-sikia*, to refer to the semantic field of perception in Swahili. Considering the context of use of *-ona* (see) and *-sikia* (hear), we can speak about "colexification" of two senses (respectively see-feel and hear-feel) since these verbs are widely used when referring to both physical and abstract domains On the other hand, the lexical root *-hisi* has a more restricted meaning as a verb, where it is rarely associated with emotional states and expresses the idea of "feel" as associated with sensorial experience. The examples below show that, although sentences 5, 7, 10 and 12 (preceded by the asterisk) are not to be considered unacceptable in Swahili, the interviewees suggested alternative expressions (sentences 6, 8, 9, 11 and 13) which are believed to be more common (i.e. the examples which are not preceded by the asterisk):

5. **Ni-na-hisi furaha* I feel happiness
   1s-PRES-feel happiness
6. *Ni-na furaha* *lit.* I am with happiness
   1s-with happiness

[5] Interview with Dr. Edith Lyimo (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 21.01.2016). Interview with Leonard Bakize (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 4.2.2016).

[6] Interview with Dr. Edith Lyimo (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 21.01.2016)

7. **Ni-na-hisi mapenzi* I feel love
   1s-PRES-feel love
8. *Ni-na-hisi ku-m-penda fulani* *lit.* I feel I love someone
   1s-PRES-feel INF-OBJ-love someone
9. *Ni-na hisia z-a mapenzi* I have feelings of love
   1s-with feelings cl.10-CONN love
10. **Ni-na-hisi huzuni* I feel sadness
    1s-PRES-feel sadness
11. *Ni-na huzuni* I am with sadness
    1s-with sadness
12. *Ni-na-sikia huzuni* I feel sadness
    1s-PRES-hear sadness
13. **Ni-na-hisi hasira* I feel anger
    1s-PRES-feel anger
14. *Ni-na-sikia hasira* *lit.* I hear anger (I feel anger)
    1s-PRES-hear anger

Nahisi wivu (I feel envy) is mostly used with a positive meaning (similar to admiration), instead of *naona wivu* or *nasikia wivu* (I feel envy), which have a negative connotation.[7]

According to Kharusi (1994: 156) "sometimes, and as a consequence of borrowing, the semantic field of the native word may be extended or restricted." Thus, we could make the hypothesis that the lexical root *-hisi*, has been introduced into Swahili in order to intensify the meaning of Bantu perception verbs, so that, through an "ameliorative development" (Kharusi 1994: 185), the expression "*nahisi wivu*" (I feel envy) has acquired a positive connotation. Indeed, it has been attested that "some loanwords have also undergone partial or total pejorative or ameliorative developments," that is, "these words may already have had a negative or positive connotation in Arabic, but this too, is sometimes increased or decreased in degree, when they are incorporated into Swahili" (Kharusi 1994: 185). Furthermore, the root *-hisi*, commonly used when making suppositions in Swahili with the meaning of "have the feeling," has been borrowed as a loan-synonym of the Bantu verb root *-ona* to

[7] Interview with Dr. Edith Lyimo (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 21.01.2016)

intensify its abstract meaning. In this case it relates to the sphere of knowledge in the sense of "having the perception of something" without being certain.[8]

The lexical root *-hisi* has been shown to have a wider semantic spectrum when it occurs as a noun (*hisia*), as we will observe in the following paragraph. Thus, the Arabic loanword *hisia* has probably been borrowed to satisfy a lexical need given that the corresponding Bantu perception verbs *-ona* and *-sikia* do not have deverbative forms used to refer to the concepts of "emotions" and "feelings."

3.1. *Hisia* (feeling)

By looking at the dictionary definitions of terms referring to the domain of feelings/emotions, we see that Swahili has a general lexical root (*-hisi-*) to describe physical experience.

The verb *-hisi* is an Arabic loanword glossed in English as "feel, perceive, sense, envisage" (TUKI 2001). It also occurs in expressions specifically referring to a physical contact, e.g *hisi mapigo ya moyo* (feeling the pulse). Definitions of the verb *hisi* in our monolingual dictionaries firstly relate its sense to the physical dimension, especially contact: 1. *tambua kwa njia ya ngozi* (recognise through the skin/through contact, touch); 2. *fikiria usahihi wa kitu kwa njia za milango ya fahamu k.v. kuona, kunusa, kugusa, kuonja au kusikia* (make sure of something through the senses, e.g. to see, to smell, to touch, to taste, to hear) (BAKITA 2015: 300).

In fact, Leonard[9] says that there is a "biological" meaning to *-hisi:*

> *Kuhisi kibaiolojia ni kwa kutumia viungo vya mwili...kwa mfano 'nahisi joto' maana ngozi yako imehisi vitu...ninahisi njaa, unasikia kabisa unataka kula lakini huwezi kugusa, nahisi hapa kuna kitu kimekufa unatumia pua kusikia harufu fulani ingapo hujakuona, nahisi joto/baridi. Unaweza kutembea unasema nahisi nimekanyaga nyoka. Kuhisi ni mwili unahisi kwa kutumia milango ya fahamu (kuona, kusikia, kuonja, kutazama, kutumia ngozi), ni kama tunavuka mipaka...*
>
> To feel in a biological sense is through body organs...for instance, 'I feel hot' means that your skin feels something ... 'I feel hungry' means you feel that you want to eat, but you cannot touch, 'I have the feeling here there is something dead,' you use your nose to smell something even when you do not see it, 'I feel hot/cold.' You can walk and say 'I have the feeling I have trampled on a snake. 'To feel,' it is the body that feels through the senses (to see, to hear, to taste, to watch or to use your skin), is like going beyond the boundaries...

[8] For more explanations of this meaning, see the following paragraph.

[9] Interview with Leonard Bakize (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 4.2.2016).

Mohamed (2011: 226) gives a similar translation of the verb *–hisi,* that is, "sense, feel, perceive" e.g. *-hisi njaa* (feel hunger); *-hisi baridi* (feel cold). Subsequently, he indicates as a second meaning of the entry: "think, recognise, feel," e.g. *Anahisi kwamba hatua uliyoichukua ilikuwa sawa:* he thinks that the action you had taken was correct (Mohamed 2011: 226). Indeed, the verb *–hisi* is often used in everyday discourse to refer to unreality and imagination, e.g. *hisi/jihisi kama kwamba*, i.e. "feel as if/ though," with a meaning similar to the verb *-jiona* lit. "see oneself" (reflexive form of the verb *-ona* "see") *alijiona kama kwamba alikuwa anapaa:* he felt as if he were flying.

In fact, as Leonard[10] observes, the verb *-hisi* is often used when making suppositions based on *dalili* (mark, trace):

> *Ninahisi fulani ni mwizi...lakini hana uhakika anakuwa anadalili tu. Au tabia nyingine, nafikiri nina hisia fulani, kuna kitu mwili unaniambia ninahisi kwamba fulani ana tatizo... Namna anavyojisikia... Nahisi kama mgonjwa ila huna uhakika...ni kama dalili. Nahisi ninaumwa... Ninahisi fulani anampenda fulani, hana uhakika*
>
> I have the feeling that someone is a thief.... -but s/he is not sure, s/he is just supposing. Or another situation- I have a feeling, my body is telling me something, I have a feeling that someone has a problem... I feel like if I am sick – but s/he is not sure...It is like a sign. I feel like I am not well...I have the feeling someone loves someone else – s/he is not sure

Leonard[11] also gives similar examples of this use of *-hisi:"Nahisi -kama sioni- kama mtu amepita nje...nahisi kama kuna jambo linaendelea"* (I have the feeling – *although I am not looking*- someone has passed by outside....I have the feeling something is going on).

The abstract meaning of *-hisi* often relates it to *moyo* (the heart), which metonymically refers to the sphere of knowledge, cognition: "*jua moyoni; tambua moyoni; waza; dhania*" (Knows in his/her heart; recognises with his/her heart; think; abstract) (TUKI 2004: 115).

Similarly, the definition of the derived noun *hisia* (feeling, sense, sensation), is connected to the five senses, e.g. *Binadamu ana hisia tano:* human beings have five senses; however, it also refers to abstract feelings, e.g. *hana hisia juu ya matakwa ya wananchi*, he has no feelings about the aspirations of the people (Mohamed 2011: 226). In some dictionaries *hisia* is reported as having a more specific connotation, that is a synonym of *mapenzi* "love, affection" (TUKI 2004: 115), e.g. *Hana hisia juu ya mumewe,* she has no love for her husband (Mohamed 2011: 226). In *Kamusi ya Visawe* (dictionary of

[10] Interview with Leonard Bakize (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 4.2.2016).

[11] Interview with Dr. Edith Lyimo (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 21.1.2016).

synonym) too, *hisia* is glossed as a synonym of "*mguso, upendo, mchomo*" (touch, love, sharp pain), (Mohamed and Mohamed 2008: 73), that is associated with both physical pain and love.

Thus, it seems that the noun *hisia*, like the corresponding verb, can refer to physical states, e.g. *hisia ya njaa* (a feeling of hunger) and emotional states, e.g. *hisia ya furaha* (a feeling of joy), *hisia za udhalili* (inferiority complex) and *hisia za majikwezo* (superiority complex) (TUKI 2001).

Moreover, some definitions describe *hisia* as a feeling which starts from the senses and is constructed in the mind through meditation: "*picha ya kimawazo inayojengeka akilini kutokana na ama kuona, kugusa, kunusa, kuonja au kusikia kitu au jambo na hata kwa njia ya taamuli*" (mental picture which is built in the mind through seeing, touching, smelling, tasting or hearing something, or through contemplation) (BAKITA 2015: 300). In this sense, we can probably better understand the definition made by Leonard, that is, "[*hisia*] *...ni kama tunavuka mipaka...*" ([*hisia*]...it is as if you exceed the boundaries...).[12]

Thus, both the definitions from the dictionaries and speakers' elucidations show that *hisia* is a general label indicating feelings perceived through both bodily contact and mental experiences.

What is more, speakers' conceptualisation of *hisia* bear witness to the connection between physical and psychological dimensions, perceived through the body which often manifests sensations and reactions.

Indeed, much like the observation made by Leonard, Mw. Njewele[13] clearly distinguishes between "*hisia za ndani*" (inner feelings – emotions) and "*hisia za nje*" (external feelings), stating that *hisia* is something that starts as an inner feeling and can manifest itself externally through our bodily reactions. According to N, the external manifestations of our inner state are *hisia*:

> *Hisia za ndani, lazima uhisi ndani ndo ujionyeshe huko nje... Hasira, furaha, unahisi kwa ndani, kuna kitu unakionyesha kwa nje... zile ni hisia, unapokuwa na maumivu unauonyesha kwa nje. Pia ni mguso wa ndani siyo wa mwili wa wazi wa nje, unaweza itokee ndani kwa hiyo nje tunaona, inaanza ndani inatoka nje, kama umefurahi utacheka, utatabasamu.*
>
> Inner feelings, you necessarily feel them internally so that you show them externally. Anger, happiness, you feel them internally, there is something you show externally...these are feelings, when you feel pain you show it externally. Even when it is an inner touch/impact that is not visible on the external body, it can happen internally so that we see it externally. It starts internally and comes out externally, and, if you are happy, you will laugh, you will smile.

[12] Interview with Leonard Bakize (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 4.2.2016).

[13] Interview with Delphine Njewele (Fine and Performing Arts Department, University of Dar es Salaam, 22.01.2016).

Dr. Shembilu[14] also observes that the meaning of *hisia* is bodily related and is conceptualised as an inner feeling which touches the heart:

> *(Hisia) inaonyesha hali ambayo mtu anakuwa nayo kutokana na hali zake katika mwili, kutokana na mlango wa fahamu, ngozi...unapogusa kitu unahisi kitu fulani, unapata hisia. Unaweza kuwa na hisia za furaha, huzuni, uchungu, au hisia pia unapoguswa na kitu moyoni jambo la msiba, hisia za ule msiba, hisia za mapenzi.*
>
> *Hisia* shows the state of a person depending on his/her bodily condition, depending on the senses, the skin... when you touch something, you feel something, you get *hisia.* You can have *hisia* of happiness, sadness, resentment, or *hisia* when your heart is touched by something, something like grief, *hisia* of that grief, *hisia* of love.

Daines[15] also describes *hisia* in terms of a physical reaction strictly connected to inner feelings:

> *Kama unamsimulia mtu kitu, yeye anapata ile hisia mpaka mwili unaonyesha, labda kitu ambacho kinafurahisha ama kuhuzunisha sana, unapata kabisa vile vimweleo ama mwili wako unaonekana kama unatoka ile hali ya ubaridi, ataonyesha ile hisia yake...wewe utamwona tu...facial expressions lakini pia mwili wake jinsi anavyoreact.*
>
> If you tell someone something, s/he gets a feeling that his/her body manifests, it may be something which provokes happiness or sadness, indeed you get goose bumps or your body seems to be cold... it will show its feelings...you will see it...from his/her facial expressions, but also from his/her body, from his/her way of reacting.

What is more, the students involved in the questionnaire described the concept of "emotion" in Swahili as *hisia kali* (a strong feeling) and *hamu* (desire), similar to *hamasa* (strong motivation), that is, a strong desire, wish to do something or, more generally, an intense feeling:[16]

- *Ni kile kitendo cha kumshawishi mtu katika kitu fulani ili aweze kukubaliana na kitu hicho (hamasa au hisia)* (It is the act of persuading someone to do something so that s/he agrees with that thing), (motivation or feeling)

[14] Interview with Dr. Mussa Shembilu (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 02.02.2016).

[15] Interview with Dr. Daines Sanga (Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam, 19.01.2016).

[16] Students also indicated the noun *mzuka* (spirit) as a synonym of *hisia.* For more explanations, see the following paragraph.

- *Kuwa na hisia au kuwa na hamu ya kufanya au kutenda jambo fulani mfano: ‘ninatamani kufanikiwa katika masomo yangu’* (To have *hisia*, or to have a desire to do or perform something for example: ‘I wish to succeed in my studies’)
- *Ni hisia kali ambazo si za kawaida mfano maumivu* (It is strong *hisia* which is unusual, for example pain)

Thus, we acknowledge that the term *hisia*, includes a reference to feelings, the body and thoughts. However, unlike for the word “emotion” in English, these three aspects, although strictly interrelated, do not necessarily coexist. Indeed, *hisia* is also used to refer to bodily feelings such as *hisia ya joto/baridi* (a feeling of hot/cold), and *–hisi joto/baridi* (to feel hot). This is similar to the English “feeling/to feel” whereas expressions like *“an emotion of hot/cold” would not be acceptable.

Indeed, according to Wierzbicka (1999: 2) ‘For example, one can talk about a “feeling of hunger,” or a “feeling of heartburn,” but not about an “emotion of hunger” or an “emotion of heartburn,” because the feelings in question are not thought-related. One can also talk about a “feeling of loneliness” or a “feeling of alienation,” but not an “emotion of loneliness” or an “emotion of alienation,” because, while these feelings are clearly related to thoughts (such as “I am all alone,” “I don’t belong,” etc.), they do not suggest any associated bodily reactions or processes (such as rising blood pressure, a rush of blood to the head, tears, and so on).’

In Swahili, the same label *hisia* refers to conditions which do not imply physical contact, but which are still conceptualised by the speakers as bodily related because they imply a bodily manifestation of the inner state e.g. *hisia ya furaha/-hisi furaha* (a feeling/sensation of joy/ feeling of happy); *hisia ya huzuni/-hisi huzuni* (a feeling of sadness/to feel sad).

Thus, it seems that, according to Swahili speakers’ conceptualisation, the verbal stem *–hisi* emphasises a connection with bodily feelings and sensations, and metonymically extends to indicate emotions, especially those states of minds which provoke bodily manifestations and reactions. On the other hand, the sensorial domain is connected with the sphere of knowledge, mediated by the senses, so that this verb is commonly used with the abstract sense of “having a feeling, thought,” used when making suppositions.

Moreover, the derived noun *hisia*, is also associated with both sensorial experience (*hisia ya njaa* “feeling of hunger”) and abstract feelings or emotions, and is conceptualised as an inner feeling which is often strictly interconnected with bodily manifestations, thus implying different facets of meaning (e.g. *hisia ya furaha* “feeling of joy”; *hisia ya huzuni* “feeling of sadness”; *hisia ya mapenzi* “feeling of love”).

3.2. *Mzuka* (spirit)

According to the data collected through the questionnaires given to Swahili students, apart from *hisia*, there are other Swahili words which refer to the conceptual category of "emotions." In particular, six out of twenty-six students indicated *mzuka* as a synonym of *hisia*.

This is the definition of *mzuka* that one of the students gave:

> "*Mzuka au hisia ni hali ambayo mtu au watu inayoweza kuwatokea katika kipindi fulani. Mfano: furaha"* (*Mzuka* or *hisia* is a condition which can develop within a person or people at a certain moment. For example: happiness).

The term *mzuka* is glossed in English as "goblin, apparition, ghost, evil spirit" (Mohamed 2011: 565) and is defined as:

> *Umbo la mtu anayeaminika kuwa amekufa ambalo linajitokeza kwa binadamu kama kiumbe yuleyule aliyehai (shetani); shetani anayepanda ndani ya mwili wa mwanadamu; mtu aliyetokea ghafla mahali bila kutarajiwa; hali ya mtu kupagawa na kufanya mambo yasiyo ya kawaida* (BAKITA 2015: 771).
>
> The shape of a person presumed dead which appears to human beings as a creature similar to someone who is alive (spirit); a spirit that comes into human body; a person who suddenly appears somewhere unexpectedly; the condition of a person who is possessed and behaves in an unusual way.

The term derives from the verb *-zuka:* "emerge, appear, come, surface" (Mohamed 2011: 886). In her description of the *vilinge* (sing. *kilinge* "confreries traditionnelles"), Racine (2019) classifies *mizuka* as « esprit non-possesseur » and states that "Le terme *mzuka* « apparition » est rarement cité. Construit sur la même base que le verbe *-zuka* « sortir de terre » qui est lui-même le dissociatif de *-zika* « enterrer ," il est apparenté à *kizuka* qui désigne une veuve durant la période de réclusion (*uzuka*)» (Racine 2019: 342)

Thus, the etymology metonymically recalls the idea of an apparition, a temporary state of mind or something that happens unexpectedly.

The meaning of *mzuka* is semantically extended to the emotional domain, where it indicates the state of being overwhelmed by a sudden motivation, inspiration, desire or will to do something, for

instance: "*Nimepata mzuka, ngoja sasa hivi nipige vitabu! Nina mzuka wa kusoma*" (I have been overcome by the spirit, let me study hard now! I have the spirit/motivation to study).[17]

As Zawadi observed, *mzuka* (ghost, spirit) is also used in the context of dance (*ngoma*) or artistic performances in general, with the sense of "positive energy," similar to *mdadi* (excitement):

> *Nimepata midadi/mzuka bwana,' katika muktadha wa kucheza muziki, nyimbo za pwani, mduara... 'nimepandisha midadi/mzuka' hata ukiongea mimi sisikii, akili inataka tu kucheza (katika ngoma)*[18]
> I have been overcome by the spirit/excitement my friend,' in the context of dance performances in a circle, songs of the coast... 'I made the excitement/spirit come up...' even if you talk, I don't hear, my mind only wants to dance [during dance performances].

Thus, *mzuka* occurs (often interchangeably with *mdadi* 'excitement') in expressions like *kupata mzuka/mdadi* (to get excited) or *kupandisha mzuka/mdadi* (to be filled with excitement/a ghost), indicating the state of being extremely excited and losing control.

Moreover, in the dictionary of *lugha ya mtaani* "slang" (Reuster-Jahn and Kiessling 2006), *mzuka* is defined as a "sudden apparition, pop-up, spirit, ghost," with several emotional connotations derived through metonymic extension, that is, 1. *wasiwasi 2. hamu 3. ari* (1. worry 2. desire 3. Moral) (Reuster-Jahn and Kiessling 2006: 160).

In Swahili slang, *mzuka* is used with the meaning of *wasiwasi* (worry), for example: *Oya mshikaji, tuliza mapepe, usiwe na mzuka*! In standard Swahili: *Rafiki, tuliza haraka, usiwe na wasiwasi!* (My friend, calm down now, don't worry) (Reuster-Jahn and Kiessling 2006: 160).

Similarly, *wasiwasi* is often used in the context of spirit possession. It is derived from the Arabic *waswās* which, according to Minerba (2017: 47) "expresses the idea of whispering, but also that of temptation, suggesting something evil, a wicked action."[19]

According to Topan (1992: 55), patients mention a condition known in Swahili as *wasiwasi,* which describes a state of depression or a disturbed state of mind, similar to acute anxiety, reflecting the troubled self. [20]

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[17] Interview with Zawadi Limbe (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 18.01.2016).

[18] Interview with Zawadi Limbe (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 18.01.2016).

[19] Minerba (2017:47) also points out that this term occurs in the Swahili drama *Mashetani* written by Hussein, (1971:34) where its meaning can be reconnected to the Arabic etymology of *waswasa*, that is the malefic word of the Devil, described in the Quran as a 'retreating whisperer' from whom a human being seeks refuge.

[20] Similar to *wasiwasi*, the term *mawazo* (idea, opinion, view), which only occurred once in the questionnaire, can also refer to "emotions" associated with the sphere of knowledge and mental experience, such as being in the state of thinking really hard.

Indeed, as Acquaviva (2018: 146) asserts "The principle of practice in traditional medicine is premised on the belief that a human being is both a somatic and spiritual entity and that disease can be due to supernatural causes as well as to the invasion of the body by external objects."

In spoken Swahili, *mzuka* occurs in expressions like *amepandisha mzuka* (lit. s/he has made the ghost rise up), not only in the context of spirit possession, but also, more generally, with reference to a situation where someone is losing control, for instance in a description of anger or extreme excitement. This concept is not always associated with negative behaviour, but could also be explained as hyper-activity or positive energy, especially in the context of artistic performances, for example on a stage.

Indeed, the association of anger with positive energy or (hyper)activity is also attested in Zulu, where a number of anger-related expressions invoke the concept of *umoya*, literally meaning 'wind, air' as well as 'spirit, soul,' as the source of activity.[21] In fact, an expression like *beka umoya phansi* (lower your *umoya*) meaning "calm yourself down!" or *umoya wakhe waphakama* (his *umoya* rose) "he became agitated, angry" show that anger is conceptualised in Zulu as 'having a high *umoya*,' that is being hyperactive (Taylor and Mbense 1998: 217).

In this sense, *mzuka* has a similar connotation to the Swahili word *mori* (wrath, rage), which, in the specific cultural context of Masai fighting, was conceptualised as positive energy and euphoria, necessary in order to face a difficult situation, such as the initiation ritual. Similarly, in the context of a performance, when the singer or dancer *amepanda mori/mzuka* (he/she has climbed up the euphoria/ghost), this means that he/she has lost self-control in order to perform well and make the audience feel excited.

Moreover, the term can also have the connotation of "desire" (*hamu*), for instance: *Nina mzuka kwenda kwenye muziki.* In Swahili Standard: *Nina hamu kwenda kwenye muziki* (I have the desire to go dancing) (Reuster-Jahn and Kiessling 2006: 160).

We recognise that, we need to consider Swahili cultural practices of traditional healing in order to understand the meaning of *mzuka*. Moreover, the term refers to a wide range of psychological states described in terms of "energy, hyper-activity, excitement," acquiring different connotations according to the context of use, such as "anger, anxiety, desire, motivation."

[21] *Umoya*: 1. Wind, air, breath. *Umoya uyaphephetha* (The wind is blowing); *ukuphuma umoya* (to die). 2 spirit, soul, life (Doke *et al.* 1990: 508). Similarly, the Swahili word *pepo* (cl.5) "demon, spirit" is a synonym of *mzuka* and has the same lexical root as *upepo* (cl.11) (wind).

All the meanings described refer to the state of being out of control, in other words *mzuka* indicates a specific facet of the concept of "emotion," similar to "euphoria, irrationality, uncontrollability," which can have positive or negative effects; indeed, unlike *hisia*, *mzuka* does not occur in the description of bodily feelings.

3.3. *Mhemko* (emotion)

Mhemko (or *mhemuko*; pl. *mhemko* or *mihemko*) is derived from the verb *-hemka*: "be ecstatic, be inspired" (Mohamed 2011: 221) and is attested as a synonym of *hisia kubwa, jazba, mshtuko, mchomo wa moyo* (TUKI 2001; "strong feeling, emotion, shock, sharp pain in the heart").

The noun *mhemuko* is glossed in English as "emotion, feeling, passion," e.g. *Aliingiwa na mhemuko alipokuwa anawahutubia wanavijiji walionyimwa haki zao*, he was filled with emotion when he was addressing the villagers who were deprived of their rights (cf. *jazba*; Mohamed 2011: 471).

The term *mhemko* is indicated in Swahili dictionaries as a synonym of the Arabic loanword *jazba,* translated as "emotion, fanaticism, ecstacy, afflatus," which is often used in religious contexts, e.g. *Mtu yule ana jazba sana katika mambo ya kidini,* that person is full of religious fanaticism (Mohamed 2011: 253).

In our monolingual dictionary, *mhemko* is reported as a noun of class 9/10 (pl. *mhemko*) which describes a specific state of emotion according to the context: *hisia kali anazokuwa nazo mtu k.v. hasira, mapenzi na waoga ambazo agh. husababishwa na mwenendo usononi, haiba au motisha* > Kiing (strong feeling towards someone, e.g. anger, love and fear, which is caused especially by bad humour, attractiveness or motivation). The noun derives from the verb root *–hemka* (*hemkwa*): "*patwa na hamu kubwa ya kufanya jambo*" (be overcome by a strong desire to do something); it is reported as a synonym of *jazba, ashiki, hamu*" (BAKIZA 2015: 294); *pandwa na hasira au hamu kubwa* (be overcome by anger or strong desire) (TUKI 2004: 113).

The noun is also found in cl.3/4: *mhemuko* (pl. *mihemuko*): *hisia aliyonayo mwanadamu pindi apatwapo na hasira, hofu au tamaa ya kufanya jambo fulani;* "a human feeling which occurs when people are overcome by anger, fear or the desire to do something"; it is a synonym of *msisimko* (thrill), *mwako* (burning) and *hamasa* (motivation) (BAKIZA 2015: 642).

According to Daines,[22] *mhemko* can have different meanings according to its context of use, for example a state similar to "anxiety," especially when someone is asking probing questions:

[22] Interview with Dr. Dainse Sanga (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 19.01.2016)

> *Ile hali ya mtu, kuwa na kama haraka haraka ya jambo fulani, ana hamu... unaongea kuhusu jambo fulani halafu yeye anauliza haraka haraka "eh? ndo kulitokea hivi? halafu alifanya nini?" unaweza kumwambia: "subiri, mbona una mhemko? acha mchecheto."*
>
> The condition of someone who is in a hurry for something, s/he is anxious...you talk about something and then s/he immediately asks: "Eh? So, is this what happened? And what did s/he do then?" you might tell him/her: "wait, why are you so anxious? Stop this nervousness"

In other contexts, *mhemko* is used to refer to love (*mapenzi*), e.g. *Yule ana mhemko kweli yaani, yule ana nyege...* (That person has strong desire, that is s/he has sexual desire); it can also have political connotation, e.g. *una mhemko ya cheo* (you are anxious about getting a position), that is, you have a strong desire for authority and status.[23]

Moreover, Flavian[24] highlights the fact that *mhemko* is not a common state and can only occur in specific situations that are mostly related to anger or love:

> *Msukumo wa ndani anaopata mtu kutokana na kitu fulani. Mtu akiwa na muhemko anakuwa anaweza akawahi kukasirika, ama huyu ana muhemko wa mapenzi, anapata hisia za mapenzi haraka. Siyo tabia, mhemko hautokei kila wakati, kuna mazingira yanayoweza kusababisha muhemko.*
>
> Internal energy which manifests itself in someone as a reaction to something. A person who has *mhemko* can get angry very easily, or someone can have *mhemko* of love,... s/he is quickly aroused by love's desires. It is not a behaviour and *mhemko* does not always arise. There are specific situations which can provoke *mhemko.*

Mariam[25] also recognises that *mhemko* and the corresponding verb *-hemka* , often refer to physical love:

> *Mihemko ya mwili inatumika kwenye ashiki, mihemko (mwanamke na mwanamume), hisia hali unayoisikia unapomwona mtu fulani. Hali ya kujisikia kwamba unahitaji mtu fulani.*
>
> *Mihemko* of the body is used in reference to sexual desire – both in men and women-, a strong feeling that someone has when s/he sees someone else. The state of feeling that you need someone.

[23] Interview with Dr. Dainse Sanga (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 19.01.2016)

[24] Interview with Flavian Ilomo (Institute of Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 03.02.2016)

[25] Mariam Msafiri (BA in Swahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, 25.01.2016)

3.4. *Msisimko* (thrill)

The term *msisimko* has a similar meaning, glossed into English, as "thrill, excitement, frisson," from the verb *-sisimka:* tingle with fear/cold/excitement, cause the blood to run cold, raise hairs (TUKI 2001). However, compared with *mhemko,* the meaning of this term has a stronger bodily connotation.

The verb *-sisimka* is also attested as a synonym of *-hisi* (feeling) since it can refer to different emotional states: *hisi, huzunika, hofia au furahia kwa jambo lililokutokea* (feel, be sad, fear or enjoy something which happens to you) (BAKIZA 2015: 947).

This meaning is also shown by the definition of the verb *-sisimka* in the monolingual dictionary by TUKI: *-pata hisi fulani mwilini kwa sababu ya hofu au furaha* "to be overcome with a bodily feeling because of fear or joy" (TUKI 2004: 378).

Thus, unlike *hisia* and *mzuka*, the etymology of *msisimko* suggests a specific reference to a bodily reaction relating to different feelings according to the situation (e.g. fear/cold/excitement). As is shown by the definitions found in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, it describes the physical effect of an experience on the body, such as in a situation of fear or excitement: e.g. *Filamu ile ilijaa msisimko*, that film was full of thrills (Mohamed 2011: 522).

A similar definition is found in *Kamusi Kuu ya Kiswahili,* which also highlights the association of the term to the bodily reaction: *hali ya mshtuko wa mwili au hisia fulani inayompata mtu ghafla baada ya kuona au kusikia kitu au jambo fulani* (a condition of physical shock or a feeling which unexpectedly affects someone after seeing or hearing something) (BAKIZA 2015: 711).

The description of the noun *msisimko* also indicates a physical state provoked by strong desire, excitement*: hali ya mtu kuhisi mchomo au mshtuko wa ghafla mwilini baada ya kuona au kuingiwa na hamu kubwa ya kufanya jambo* (the condition of a person who feels sharp bodily pain or shock after feeling or being overcome with a strong desire to do something) (TUKI 2004: 276).

Thus, unlike *hisia*, which is also linked to body feelings, *msisimko* indicates a more specific aspect of emotional states, that is, a physical reaction which metonymically extends to emotional states.

4. Conclusions

This study has shown that Swahili has different verbs of perception: while the Bantu roots *-ona* "see" and *-sikia* "hear" have extended their meanings to refer to "feel," the Arabic verb *hisi* has been borrowed, sometimes undergoing an ameliorative development (e.g. *hisi wivu*, to feel jealous with a positive meaning, that is "to admire someone") or adding the specific connotation of "have the feeling," in order to make suppositions. The Arabic root has also introduced a corresponding deverbative noun (*hisia*) to refer to the complex concept of "emotion." The noun *hisia* is a general term

indicating bodily feelings (e.g. *hisia ya joto/baridi/njaa,* "feeling of cold/hot/hunger") and non-physical domains (e.g. *hisia za mapenzi* "feeling of love;" *hisia ya furaha* "feeling of happiness").

Speakers' conceptualisation is also proof of the interconnection of inner feelings (*hisia za ndani*) and external manifestations (*hisia za nje*). Thus, we have shown that *hisia* has a wide semantic spectrum, similar to the English equivalent "feeling," which refers to thought-related experiences (*hisia ya furaha*) as well as experiences which are exclusively physical (e.g. *hisia ya njaa*). However, the meaning of *hisia* does not involve all the aspects involved in the English concept of "emotion" (feelings, body and thoughts) at the same time. For instance, *hisia ya njaa* (feeling of hunger), *hisia ya baridi* (feeling of cold), etc. only reflect physical experiences.

Other terms have been identified which involve a more restricted semantic domain, thus indicating specific connotations of the concept of emotion. While most of the Swahili speakers interviewed indicated *hisia* as the closest equivalent of the English "emotion," some of the students who responded to the questionnaire also indicated the word *mhemko* as a possible synonym. Even though its use is apparently less common than *hisia*, *mhemko* appears in the English-Swahili dictionary as the first lemma equivalent of "emotion" and is described in monolingual dictionaries as *hisia kubwa* (intense feeling) and *hisia kali,* (strong feeling), such as love, fear or anxiety. A similar meaning is conveyed by the term *msisimko*, whose literal meaning (thrill) is more bodily connoted and metonymically extends to the concept of anxiety, excitement, fear and sexual desire. Finally, the term *mzuka,* literally translated as "spirit, ghost," is close to the semantic sphere of *mhemko*, since it refers to a state of ecstasy, unconsciousness or irrationality. Its meaning can be related to specific cultural practices in traditional healing, where the spirit is believed to "climb up" (*panda*) within the body and cause the person to feel ill or out of control. Thus, the term *mzuka* has a culture-bound meaning and often appears in the context of unusual emotional experiences, extreme excitement and euphoria (in *particular* during artistic performances, but also in situations of intense anger) or to refer to strong motivation or inspiration to do something.

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Identity and Memory in Swahili War Verses:
The Long Road to an East African *Self*

Graziella Acquaviva

The article aims at an analysis of memory and identity on the basis of literary evidence, and in particular Swahili war poetry. Identity requires a balance between self-assertion and respect for others, between difference and integration. Traditional theories have introduced a distinction between personal identities and social identities. It is not easy to determine the boundary line of where the self ends and where the non-self begins. Identity is a point of anchorage and it is for this reason that people appear to be committed to building and maintaining a feeling of themselves with all that is involved: a story, a wealth of emotions and values, individual and collective memories, a system of social roles capable of defining one's place in the world. Although identity can constitute an hindrance to the knowledge and understanding of others, it is also true that it represents a point of reference from which to take the steps towards self-determination. In their function of handing down messages through their verses, poets become tools through which the other – the reader or the listener – responds. The Swahili genre of *utenzi,* alias epic, seems to be suitable for examining the message each poet or author gives to his/her target readers. I consider two Islamic-based epics, namely *Chuo cha Herekali* and *Rasi 'l Ghuli*, two *tenzi* referring to European Colonial period, namely *Vita vya Maji Maji* and *Vita vya Wadachi*, and the epic *Vita vya Kagera* referring to the first war against an African enemy, namely Ugandan Idi Amin Dada.

1. Swahili poetry: main forms, structures and genres

The critics date the beginning of the literature written in Swahili to the 14th century on the basis of Ibn Battuta's (early 14th century) visit to the island of Kilwa, where he met local poets who wrote lyrical and epic poems in Swahili (Whiteley 1969: 35). Swahili versification is said to be due to Arab and Persian influence, in particular on the Arab *qaṣīda* (laudatory, elegiac or satiric poem of 60 to 100 lines, and maintaining a single end rhyme) and Persian *masnavī* (poem written in rhyming couplets). Still, the genius of the Swahili language and its system of accentuation, must have modified the imported metres (Werner 1918; 1927). Overtime, the classification of poetic genres has changed and it varies from one scholar to another. Hichens (1962-1963), for example, considers five main poetic genres taking into account both the strophic structure and the content. He tries to approach them with the genres of Western poetry: *shairi* (poem); *utendi* (epic poem); *takhmisa* (quintine composition

of a previous poem); *hamziya* (long poem in distichs/couplets dating back to around 1750 a. C.); *wimbo* (sonnet, ballad, lyric or hymn). In addition to the genres considered by Hichens (1962-1963), Chiraghdin, Nabhani, and Barwa (1975: 25-30) still distinguish two other poetic genres following the strophic structure: *tumbuizo* (lullaby) and *waji-waji*, an archaic term that refers to a joint work: an author composed two ot three lines of each verse and another added the rest preserving the original style and meaning (Harries 1950: 759). The classification of Shariff (1988) is much more complex: in the genres he examined, he considers the structure of the compositions, their function, the context of production and use. He identifies in particular: *Tiyani Fatiha* (from the name of an ancient poetess from Lamu known as Bibi Rukiya binti Fadhil al-Bakari), or *utungo* (composition): a religious composition that is characterized by rhymes and syllabic meter. The length of lines may vary (Wamitila 2003: 232); *wawe*: term used to denote a composition sung by peasants while working in the fields, and which can also only refer to their work (Wamitila 2003: 350); *kimai*, widely used for a composition referring to the work of fishermen and sailors, or to travel by sea (Wamitila 2003: 88); and *Zivindo*, a poetic genre whose purpose is teaching the language through the different meanings of one and the same word (Wamitila 2003: 355).

Swahili prosody is characterized by syllabicism and an ordered rhyming scheme. The line in a stanza of a poem (*m-stari/mi-; m-shororo/mi-)* is composed by a variable number of syllables, and can be divided by one or more caesuras (*ki-tuo/vi-)* in two or more hemistichs (*ki-pande/vi-).* The rhyme (*ki-na /vi-)* can be internal (*kina cha kati)* if it is inside the line before a caesura, or final (*kina cha mwisho)* if it is at the end of the line (Hichens 1962-63: 107-109; Kirkeby 2000: 120; Mbatiah 2001: 116, 119). The different poetic forms are distinguished by the number of syllables in the verse.[1] The oldest attested poetic compositions are in long-measure verse with a variable number of syllables – from 30 to 20. The strophe (*ubeti* or *baiti*) consists of a single line divided medially by a caesura into two equal hemistichs (Harries 1953:128). A typical example in long-measure verse is *Mashairi ya Liyongo* (Liyongo Songs) attributed to Fumo Liongo (Werner 1927; Mulokozi and Sengo 1995). Many are the poems in the meter of 20 syllables, and generally they are poems of praise dedicated to women. An example is *Utumbuizi wa Mwana wa Hejaz* (Serenade to the Hejazian Maid), by copyist Muhammad Abubakar bin Umar al-Bakari (known as Muhammad Kijuma; Harries 1962: 179). An unusual meter of 21 syllables is found in *Gungu la kukwaa* (The song of hesitation dance; Steere 1870; Harries 1952: 161) which is characterized by epizeuxis at the end of the first hemistich:

[1] According to Harries (1962: 10), the rhyme, the caesura and the number of lines have little relevance.

Mama, nipekee, haoe kaoe	Mother, take me that I may see, may see
Urembo na shani Ungama	Beauty and ornaments at Ungama
Haoe mnara mpambe mpambe,	That I may see the tower adorned, adorned
Uzainyeo heshima.	And dressed up for honour.
(Steere 1870: 480).	(Steere 1870: 480).

The most popular Swahili verse is the *shairi* that is generally used for love and political poems. It consist of four lines, each of them containing sixteen syllables, can have two rhymes, and is separated by a caesura. The rhyme scheme is regular: the first hemistich of the last line rhymes with every second hemistich of the first three lines, while the rhyme that precedes the caesura can be repeated in the final hemistich of the strophe (Knappert 1971; Wamitila 2003: 191; Saavedra Casco 2007: 21). The *Mashairi ya takariri* (poems with repetitions) are noteworthy. They are the poems in which some lines, words or syllables are repeated in the same stanza, i.e. "**Lakutenda** situuze, situuze **lakutenda**" (Harries 1962: 254; Bierstecker and Shariff 1995: 158). The *ukawafi,* typical of religious poetry, derives from the long-measure verse. Each line is generally divided in three hemistichs (Wamitila 2003: 284). Each line contains fifteen syllables. A large part of *ukawafi* lines has no internal rhymes. It is only around the 19th century that the *ukawafi* verse becomes more sophisticated: in *Dua ya kuombea mvua* (Prayer for rain), a traditional Islamic Swahili poem composed by Muḥyī al-Dīibn Shaykh ibn Qahtān al-Wā'ilī, the author modifies the form of traditional *ukawafi* verse and introduces the internal rhyme (Knappert 1979: 201; Ranne 2010: 60-61). Alongside the *ukawafi,* also the *kisarambe* is used in religious poetry: it is characterized by a line with eleven syllables and the caesura after the sixth syllable (Wamitila 2003: 91). The first document in *kisarambe,* dating from the early 19th century, is *Al-Inkishafi* (Soul's Awakening; Hichens 1962/63; Harries 1962), a 79-stanzas poem believed to have been composed by Sayyid Abdalla bin Ali Nasir in four-line stanzas; each stanza has the first three lines rhyming and the rhyme changing from stanza to stanza (Mberia 2015: 92, 96):

U*wene wangapi watu wakwasi*	How many rich men have you seen
Walo wakiwaaa kama shamasi	Who shone like the sun who had
Wamuluku zana za adharusi	control of the weapons of war
Dahabu na fedha wakhiziniye	and stored up silver and gold
(Hichens 1972: 69).	(English translation by Jahadhmi 1975: 68).

Most songs or *nyimbo* (pl.; sing.: *wimbo*) have a meter of eleven, twelve, thirteen or sixteen syllables even if in Swahili prosody, the term *wimbo* refers to the twelve-syllables line with caesura in the

middle or after the fourth and/or eight syllable. The stanza is formed by three lines and each line usually has two rhymes (Wamitila 2003: 351; Saavedra Casco 2007: 23).

Tenzi or *tendi* (sing. *utenzi; utendi*) are poems of four-line verses - or, in the opinionin of some, two with a caesura - with eight syllables to a line and an AAAB rhyming pattern. Its language is often simple, making little use of metaphorical discourse; because of its features, it has lent itself well to the versification of historical events and fictional narrative (Mazrui 2007: 17).

Every poem includes: the introduction (*dibaji),* a prayer for blessing beginning with the invocation to God and the Prophet, the main text and the epilogue. Before proceeding to the narration the author or the copyist often mentions the content of the poem, sometimes claiming to have found the story in an ancient Arabic book, as in *Utendi wa Ayubu* (The Epic of Job) by anonymous and written down by Muhammadi Kijuma (Steere 1870: xii; Werner 1921: 85):

Naandikie kikutubu	That I may write, inditing *[sic]*
Hadithi ya kiarabu	An Arabic *[sic]* story
Kwa khabari ya Ayubu	With the history of Job
Tumwa wa Mola Rasua	The messenger sent by the Lord
(Werner 1921: 89)	(Werner 1921: 101)

In the epilogue there is thanksgiving to Allah, the request to the reader to correct any errors, and sometimes the name of the author and the date of composition.

2. Epic poem as journey of the Self

The journey and evolution of the Self is closely linked to the concept of identity. Following traditional theories on this topic (Allen 1971; Tajfel 1978; Middleton and Edwards 1990; Serino 2001), it is not easy to determine the boundary line of where the Self ends and where the non-Self begins. Identity is a point of anchorage and it is for this reason that people appear to be committed to building and maintaining a feeling of themselves with all that is involved: a story, a wealth of emotions and values, autobiographical memories and collective memories, a system of social roles capable of defining one's place in the world. Although identity can constitute an hindrance to the knowledge and understanding of others, it also represents a reference point from which to take a step towards self-determination.

Many psychological studies have dealt with the way identity works in the specific contexts in which individuals are called to act (Tajfel 1978). According to Serino (2001: 19, 25-27), the sense of

identity implies a series of cognitive processes such as categorization and comparison, the perception of similarities and differences, the definition of the Self as a coherent unit that is endowed with a certain continuity. Belonging and uniqueness, similarity and difference, permanence and change are essential components of the feeling of identity. Another characteristic is the individual's need to perceive himself as having a certain coherence and continuity over time and this possibility is based on the memory of the Self. It is a historical feeling: the ability to place itself at the center of a temporal flow that includes past, present and future. Middleton and Edwards (1990) highlight that collective memory can be more or less consciously used to reinforce or diminish the bonds between individuals and groups, to reflect or challenge differences in status and power, thus memory is an essential element of what is defined as individual and collective identity. In their function of handing down messages through their verses, the poets become the tools through which the other – the reader or the listener – responds. When they did give rise to a certain response, they are part, and highly important elements, of the organization of the social act. To the human observer they are expressions of emotion, and that function of expressing emotion can legitimately become the line of work of an artist as the poet who expresses emotions through his/her poetry (Mead 1934: 44, 161). While it is true that poetry is made up of words, and not of ideas, the choice of words and of language and the use or not of symbolism create ideas, perceptions and visions of both the poetic and imaginary reality and the objective reality. According to Skafte Jensen (1990: 35), a sense of cultural identity is based on a group's feeling of having something in common and at the same time of being different from anybody else. Thus, epic seems a very important genre for maintaining cultural identity because it ties the present to the past and supplies the listeners with a feeling that they share their culture with former generations. In East Africa, the period between 1000 and 1500 saw the emergence of the coastal city-state polity, a mixed economy based on agriculture and maritime activities, and Islamization (Simala 2004: 19). Islam created an intellectual class that monopolized knowledge in each coastal town (Saavedra Casco 2007: 38), and the written tradition prevailed over the oral one as the main instrument of cultural and ideological influences on Swahili intellectuals and Muslim teachers, including *shehe* and *walimu* – although many old manuscripts of that time have been lost. Mazrui (2007: 16) claims that the beginnings of writing in Swahili literature can be traced to the Afro-Arab contact on the East African seaboard that goes back to antiquity, professional copysts and court poets became the keepers of cultural informations among the literate part of society. It is through the need to explain the dogmas and practices of Islam (which reached the East African coast starting from the 8th century) and describe the life of the Prophet that the monuments of Swahili literature were created and passed down (Zhukov 2004: 4-6). As reminded by Topan (2001: 107),

religious poetry has been preserved down the centuries for many reasons: reminding the believers of their duties and obligations, reasserting their identity, and reinforcing their values. In other words, it gives meaning to their practices. A majority of literate Swahili people had the religious and didactic literature in the traditional poetic form of *utendi* or *utenzi,* translated as "the poem" or "epic."[2] The measure for long poems are ten or eleven syllables with four stresses to the line, and eight syllables with two stresses; the stanza is of four lines, three rhyming together, and the fourth ending in the same rhyme throughout the poem (Werner 1927: 105). Kesteloot (1989: 204) explains that the two components of length – from two to twenty thousand lines or verses - and poetic narrative are essential to the definition of the true epic, although the long epic poem category includes also eulogistic poems of less than hundred lines which are described as short or brief epic poems. As Zhukov (2004: 6) suggests, it is important to note that the link of Swahili poetical works to the Arab sources does not mean a direct translation of them: in most cases it is an author's rearrangement of the plot of some work of the Muslim literature, since some of Arab sources do not exist in their full form. Most of this tipology of *utenzi* production can be dated to the 18th century. This is the case of the epic poem *Chuo cha Herekali* (Epic of Herakleios), also known as *Utenzi wa Tambuka* (Action at Tabook; Knappert 1979: 111) consisting of 1150 strophes of four lines each, by Bwana Mwengo bin Athumani (unknown birth and death dates, but certainly from the early 18th century, since the first manuscript of the poem dates back to 1728). At the end of his work, the author describes himself as "ignorant." The name Mwengo is of Bantu origin and clearly shows that he was a true Swahili and not a Swahilicized Arab – in addition to being a man of the people and a devout Muslim. The essence of epic verse is the presence of the Divine (Knappert 1979:109-112), and this *utenzi* is an exemplary story that illustrates how Allah helped pious Muslims to destroy the evil Christians, who are described as irascible and presumptuous, drunk and dishonest. Herakleios is pictured as an example of deception and godlessness in contrast to the prophet's great virtues and glory. Although the subject is Arab, in *Chuo cha Herekali* there are typical African elements such as similarities taken from the animal world,[3] such as when Ali, after a victorious fight, comparing himself to a proud lion, to an excellent predatory hunting bird, to an elephant that makes wives widows (Knappert 1967: 196-197). Knappert (1967: 182) suggests that, given its religious fervor, this tipology of *utenzi* seems to have been written to keep the Muslim community together, probably at the time of the Portuguese occupation, when the main

2 According to Werner (1927: 105), the term *tenzi* (sing. *utenzi*) or *tendi* in the Northern dialect is probably connected with the Swahili verb -*tenda* (to do). She states that her native informants describe *tenzi* as concerned with matters of war and/or religion, and that they are usually narratives and sometimes gnomic or didactic in character.

3 Many similarities with the animal world are found in the poetry of Muyaka bin Haji al-Ghassani (Abdulaziz 1979).

reason for the saga, namely the battles of the Prophet Muhammad against the hated Christians, acquired a new meaning (Knappert 1967: 182). Unlike the *Utenzi wa Rasi'l Ghuli,* whose origins lie in Arab history with the title of *Futuhu ' l Yamani* the Arabic model of *Chuo cha Herekali* has not been found. In the preface to the *Utenzi wa Rasi'l Ghuli* we read:

> "[...]Rasi'l Ghuli si tafsiri ya neno kwa neno ya hadithi ya Futuhu 'l Yamani, utenzi huu ni utungo wa pekee wa kiswahili, uliotumia Futuhu 'l Yamani kama kiini tu [...]" (Mgeni bin Faqihi 1979: v)

> "[...] *Rasi'l Ghuli* is not a literal translation of the story of *Futuhu 'l Yamani,* this *utenzi* is an original Swahili composition that used *Futuhu 'l Yamani* as a plot [...]"[4]

According to Saavedra Casco (2007: 46), religious literature on the origins of Islam and battle history as representation of Muslim identity, were transformed to vernacular versions using Swahili prosody as a distinctive characteristic of this genre, with an aim to communicate these stories to a wider audience in their own language, as author Mgeni bin Faqihi explains in the introductory stanzas of the *utenzi*:

25	25
Pana hadithi ajabu	There is an amazing story
yandikwa ndani kitabu	written in a book
kwa lugha ya waarabu	in the language of Arabs:
nayo hadithi khiyari	it is a good story.
26	26
Hadithi hiyo yuani	Know that story
ina maneno bayani	has a clear account
ya vita vya l'Yamani	of the battles for the Yemen
zamani zake Bashiri	during the time of the Prophet.
27	27
Haiona haisoma	I saw it, and I read it
Maana ni kufahama	and I understood its meaning.

[4] English version mine.

[...]	[...]
28	28
Hufikiri nikiweza	I considered whether I could
haona kunipendeza	compose it as a poem
moyoni nikilekeza	my heart then led me
kutunga kwa ushairi	to a way that pleased me.
29	29
Hapenda kuibadili	I wanted to translate it
kwa lugha ya suwahili	into Swahili
kiarabu ni qalili	since only a few people
wajuao tafsiri	understand its Arabic content.
30	30
Nikawa kujikalifu	So I undertook the burden
kiarabu hawaqifu	of following its Arabic
maneno hayasanifu	and to make clear its words
kuwapa zote khabari	and to narrate it all you.
(Mgeni bin Faqihi 1979: 2)	(Topan 2001: 115).

Utenzi wa Rasi'l Ghuli, with its more than 4000 strophes, gives an account of the conquest of Yemen, ruled at the time by a cruel king known with the nickname of 'Head of Ghoul." This *utenzi* was composed in Bagamoyo between 1850 and 1855. Its author, Mgeni bin Faqihi, is said to have been born on the island of Tumbatu, where he was a teacher and later moved to the mainland to the Tanzanian coast to Mbweni, Bagamoyo, to teach Islam (Topan 2001: 114). Rasi'l Ghuli, alias, in Swahili, Mukhariqi bin Shahabu, was known for his cruelty, to the extent that his father locked him up. He managed to escape with the help of a friend of his, killed his father, and took his place. One day a woman whose children had been killed by him went to the Prophet, who was praying in the desert with his companions, and asked him to punish the culprit. The angel Jiburili (i.e., Gabriel) told the Prophet to declare war on Rasi'l Ghuli. In the poem there are many miracolous interventions by the Prophet to save the Muslims when they are in danger. The fighting continues until the Muslim victory and the conversion of even a few of the king's children.

In Swahili epic poetry of this period, East African topoi are less frequent than the Arab ones. The first poet who wrote about local themes was Abdallah bin Masud bin Salim al-Mazrui, who put in verses the rebellion of Mombasa citizens against al-Akida, the city commander appointed by the Sultan. In *Utenzi wa al-Akida,* of only 99 stanzas, the poet narrates the salient facts of the story in a simple style devoid of literary embellishment and lacking even the traditional introduction and ending of the *tenzi.*

3. The long road to Self-determination

European colonization of East Africa began in the late 1880s. The German presence began and ended in violence and was met by the continued resistance, much of it armed, of Africans. The resistance to the German coastal invasions involved many sectors of the Swahili society, which saw in the Europeans a threat quite different from the Arab rule they had learned to tolerate (Pike 1986: 201, 204). The bloody revolts against the Germans taking place in Tanganyika found a poetic expression in two important *tenzi,* namely *Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi Kutamalaki Mrima* (The Epic of German Rule of Mrima) by Hemedi Abdullah el-Buhri, and *Utenzi wa Vita vya Maji Maji* (Poem of Maji Maji war, 1957) by Abdul Karim bin Jamaliddini. As Saavedra Casco (2007: 1) observes, both are examples of a peculiar and indigenous written literature (Saavedra Casco 2007:1).

In his introduction to the *Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi Kutamalaki Mrima,* Allen[5] claims that it represents a great novelty in the *utenzi* genre because the author,[6] who composed and wrote in 1891 this poem upon the fight led by Abushir[7] in 1888 in Tanga, Pangani, and Bagamoyo, did not work on the basis of any earlier version (Hemedi 1960: 5). The poem begins with the traditional opening formula that is the entrusting to God of the work that is going to be composed and the aim of the composition:

1	1
Bismillahi Ghafari	In the name of God, the Forgiving
Al Wahidi 'lKahari	The One, the Dominant
Mwinyi kuhui shajari	The giver of life to plants

[5] Allen states that he translated the poem freely, omitting much repetition in order to produce a readable version in prose (Hemedi 1960: 5).

[6] The *Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi* is based on facts contemporary to the poet and witnessed by him (Saavedra Casco 2007: 152).

[7] For more information on Abushir see Abdallah (2011: 5-16).

Na jinni na insiya to spirits and to mankind[8]

(Hemedi 1960: 10)

13 13

Sasa nashika kalamu Now I take my pen

Na karatasi ya shamu and Syrian paper

Ambalo nalifahamu and what I learned

Nilandika moya moya I write it directly[9]

(Hemedi 1960: 11)

After the invocations to God, the Prophet and different Islamic characters, in stanza no. 46 the reader is introduced to the heart of the matter:

46 46

Na mimi kusudi yangu And my purpose

iliyo moyoni mwangu that is in my heart

kisa cha hawa wazungu the story of these Europeans

takacho wahadithia I am going to tell you

(Hemedi 1960: 14).

The poet goes on to the long description of how the Germans agreed with the Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayyid Khalifa bin Said, the concession of the Mrima coast, and the atrocities committed by Europeans in Pangani, Bweni, Tanga and other coastal towns. Describing the ensuing war, Hemedi introduces the resistance leader Abushiri bin Salim. Abushiri and his men attack the German fortress in Bagamoyo on the coast, but they are defeated. It is at this point that Abushiri asks for an astrologer. According to Saavedra Casco (2007: 99, 154), Hemedi was a member of a famous family of healers and poets who settled in Pemba island at the beginning of the 19th century. He was poet, healer, expert for controlling Muslim and local spirits, *jinni* and *pepo,* and astrologer. For his own background Hemedi was reputed also a prophet becoming a popular hero. In times of war, the skills of the healers were highly valued, and the charms employed in wars were similar to those employed to protect from spirit possession. The Islamic world, its ritual and magic are present and evident in the fourth section of the poem, when Abushir retreats from the unsuccessfull siege of Bagamoyo, and

8 English version of this stanza by Allen in Hemedi (1960). The rendering in poetry is mine.

9 The English version of this and the following stanza is mine.

he is advised to get the services of a magician and astrologer in order to defeat the enemies. In this section, offering his magical powers as a contribution to the struggle, the poet shows his self-determination as both a fighter and a defender of his land. He assumes the responsibility by appearing not as a simple observer or narrator, but as a character with his true physical and moral identity.

384	384
Jinale etwa Hemedi	His name is Hemedi
Huyo mganga kazidi	An expert healer
Falaki na mfuradi	Astrologer and poet
[...]	[...]
(Hemedi 1960: 52)	(Saavedra Casco 2007: 164)
489	489
Wazungu tawapumbaza	I will deceive the Europeans
Na mimi tangia kwanza	And I will enter first
Wala pasiwe kuwaza	And before they can think
Wauawe wote pia	All of them shall be killed.
(Hemedi 1960: 65)	(Saavedra Casco 2007: 165)

The poem continues with the description of the German occupation of Sadani, Pangani, and Tanga, and with the negotiations to surrender the towns to the Germans. After the prayers that the poet makes to God in order that Sultan Khalifa defeats his enemies, Hemedi mentions his own name, calling himself a poor man but devoted to God.

Abdul Karim bin Jamaliddin's *Utenzi wa Vita vya Maji Maji* (Poem of Maji Maji War), written around 1912 is the first African account of the Maji Maji revolt that broke out in the South of Tanganyika (1905-1907).[10] The author was a Sufi scholar from Lindi, and wrote the poem a few years

10 Maji Maji is the best researched war of the early colonial period in Africa. Following the independence of Tanganyika (1961), some scholars and students based at the Department of History, University of Dar es Salaam began to develop a historical narrative of the Maji Maji revolt. It takes its name from *maji* ('water') and refers to the war medicine used by the rebels. The revolt is one of the best known cases of mass-uprising in the history of former Tanganyika. It began in July 1905 in the Matumbi Hills in the central eastern part of German East Africa with the uprooting of cotton from communal fields. From there it spread in the country (north and northwest, south and southwest), and ended two years after, in 1907.

after the end of the conflict. The text represents an open condemnation of the violence and the terrible outcome wrought by the revolt. After a brief introduction, the poem mentions the outbreak of the rebellion and the German response to the hostilities. From the beginning, the poet openly declares his opposition to the Maji Maji revolt:

7	7
Twalikaa tukilala	We were resting
Na ndisha njema tukila	And eating well
Mara ikaja ghafula	When suddenly
Tukasikia habari	We heard the news
8	8
Ya washenzi wamekhuni	Of pagans rebelling
Ni hivi waja bomani	Approaching the fortress
Na silaha mkononi	With weapons in their hands
Na miji kuyihasiri	And destroying the villages
9	9
Na sote tukadharau	We scorned
Kwa habari ni kuu	These important news
Huwaje hata wao	How could they
Kufanya mno jeuri?	Act in such a violent way?
(Jamaliddini 1957: 32)	(Saavedra Casco 2007: 258)

A few rebels are captured and, when interrogated, they expose the grievances that made them rise in arms against the colonial regime:

25	25
Bwana wetu tumechoka	Our Sir, we are tired
Kila siku kutumika	Of being used every day
Tufe, yatoke mashaka!	Better to die, and be free from suffering!
Naam tumekhitari!	Yes, this is our choice[11].

Concerning Maji Maji war see: Iliffe 1967; Gwassa and Iliffe 1968; Pike 1986; Giblin and Monson 2010; Sunseri 2000; Becker 2004; Schmidt 2010; Greenstein 2010; Abdallah 2011.

[11] English version mine.

(Jamaliddini 1957: 36)

and continued with their resolution to fight till the very end:

27	27
Mazito! Tukayaona;	A heavy load! we can see
Tukaucha na kunena	We discussed the matter
Tukaizuwa fitina	We planned the revolt
La kufa tumekhitari	And we choose to die.
(Jamaliddini 1957: 37)	(Saavedra Casco 2007: 261)

The violence of the German soldiers and the corruption of their acolytes are an integral part of the poem.

The poet continues his narrative describing the actions of the rebels in the Lindi region. The fifth section of the poem depicts a dialogue between the rebels and *hongo*, the medicine man who distributes the magic water that was the ideological sustenance of the rebellion. The rebels complain about the lack of the protection of the magic water. The *hongo* replies that the medicine has failed due to the sinful behavior of the Maji Maji fighters. In the sixth section, the Germans attack the rebels and wound the *hongo*. According to Pike (1986: 226), Maji Maji belief offered Tanganyikans a solution to the problem of unity and morale:

Hivi sasa msijute!	Let's not feel remorse
Gogo na tulikokote!	But carry the yoke further,
Tukifa tufe sote!	If we die, let's die together
Nawapa langu shauri!	That's my advise
Na hivi twende vitani,	And now off to war
Tusijiweke mwituni	Let's not hide in the forest,
Kheri tufe utamboni!	It's better to die in battle!
Nasi sote ihrari!	We are all free people!
(Jamaliddin 1957: 233)	(Pike1986: 228)

The tribes of Ngoni and Ngindo join to plan an attack: Germans and the rebels clash again and finally the Germans completely defeat the Maji Maji fighters and the rebellion is suppressed (Saavedra Casco 2007: 258).

The post-independence period marks the spirit of the *wananchi* (new citizens). The concept of nation and nationalism pervades all sectors of the country and, in particular, influences the communicative dynamics. According to Saavedra Casco (2006: 236), intellectuals of the *Ujamaa* regime chose the narrative genre of utenzi to honour the ruling party CCM (*Chama cha Mapinduzi,* Party of the Revolution), the Tanzanian Army, and the government of Zanzibar. This genre was also used by Henry R. Muhanika for his *Utenzi wa Vita vya Kagera. Anguko la Idi Amin* (The Poem of Kagera War and the Fall of Idi Amin, 1987) to narrate the Kagera war between Tanzania and Uganda whose outcome was the end of Idi Amin Dada's dictatorial regime. The Uganda-Tanzania war of 1978-1979 was a landmark event in post-colonial East African history. In response to Idi Amin's annexation of the Kagera Salient in north-western Tanzania in 1978, in April 1979 Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere launched a counterattack that routed Amin's forces and swept him from power. According to Rettova (2010: 37), among the post-independence historiographic *tenzi,* Muhanika's poem is the most innovative. Already in the first stanza there is a tone of emotional independence from the traditional *utenzi* opening forms: instead of the act of entrustment to God of the poets of previous centuries, Muhanika draws the reader's attention, calling him *ndugu,* a Swahili term meaning kin, sibling, relative, and also comrade:

1	1
Ndugu yangu sikiliza	My comrade, listen
Kirefu kisa naleta	I bring a long story
Ingawa kilitendeka	though it was made
Kwa muda mfupi sana.	in a very short time.
2	2
Sianzi kuomba dua	I don 't start by praying
Kwa Mungu au Miungu	God or the gods
Kitu *ninategemea*	What I rely on
Hasa ni juhudi yangu.	It is my effort.
5	5
Siombi mtu kalamu	I don't ask anyone for a pen
Wino pia karatasi	Ink or paper
Vifaa nihitajivyo	What I need
Viko vyote mbele yangu.	Is here in front of me

Muhanika states that although he knows the metric of *utenzi,* he deliberately detaches himself from it, and this declaration of his may be seen as synonymous with an emerging individuation and the construction of a 'collective Self' within a socialist project aiming at stemming the role of religion as an ideological-political instrument. The poem continues by introducing the time in which the events that will be discussed occurred, and all the historical characters of the story, from Idi Amin to Gheddafi. The description of the early days of Idi Amin in his role as Ugandan dictator faithfully corresponds to what is reported in the film archives of that period.[12] Although the title of the poem refers to the Kagera war, it is actually an account of the entire Idi Amin's regime. The conflict had serious consequences, such as bitter exchanges at the OAU (Organization of African Unity), the failure of *Ujamaa* in Tanzania, and the end of eight years of dictatorship in Uganda (Roberts 2014: 692; Nayenga 1984: 69).

4. Final Remarks

Awareness of Self and memory can be used together to strengthen the sense of belonging to one's own cultural and social context. Starting from the times of the Islamic-based poetry, the epic poem, *utenzi*, has been a successful medium used by Swahili authors to express themselves as both the custodians of an acquired cultural memory and innovators of those previous literary works that inspired them in the composition of their epics. The poet himself becomes a means of communication for using his mother tongue to reformulate the story, so that the message written down in the epics can reach a wider audience: as Simala (2004: 17) underlines, just as many Africans converted to Islam but indigenous religious practices persisted through the modern era, Swahili, and not Arabic, remained the spoken language, and it is through Swahili that poetry spread. During the European colonization, Swahili compositions became the voice of the resistance spirit against the colonialists and a vehicle for externalizing cultural values antithetical to those of the *wazungu*. If at the beginning of Swahili epic production, poets tended to follow the Islamic literary tradition, it is with the advent of European colonization that they try to defend and preserve their self-determination and assertion. It is in the postcolonial period that Swahili *utenzi* becomes a witness to the new historical events in East Africa, and to the failure of many local and pan-African policies. Historical memories become a psychological substratum to strengthen one's own Self as well as to act like a support for emerging local policies. Examples of this type of narrative poetry are the political *tenzi.* Among the most

[12] https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJ3lh_RGlrKecYSgbaXkbYw.

significative *tenzi* published between 1960s and 1980s one can remember the *Utenzi wa Jamhuri ya Tanzania* (Poem of the Republic of Tanzania, 1968), by Ramadhani Mwaruka, that covers the history of Tanganyika and Tanzania, the *Utenzi wa Zinduko la Ujamaa* (Poem of the Establishment of Ujamaa, 1972) by Zuberi Kamali Lesso, that describes the implementation of the economic socialist system in Tanzania, and the *Utenzi wa Jeshi la Wananchi Tanzania* (Poem of the Tanzanian Popular Army; 1987) by Minaeli Mdundo. This last poem deals with the development of weapons and military defensive strategies and depicts the battles against Europeans; at the end of its 3108 stanzas the author concludes with a eulogy to the army and also to its peacetime work. Becoming a representation and record of the historical events of East Africans' collective experience and the imagined reconstruction of local perceptions and consciousness induced by that experience, the Swahili *utenzi* poems become instrumental to the recognition and acknowledgement of the individual and collective identity.

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Sitography

https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCJ3lh_RGlrKecYSgbaXkbYw

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Poesia swahili in Katanga

Multilinguismo e corporalità nei versi di Patrick Mudekereza

Flavia Aiello e Roberto Gaudioso

The world of Swahili contemporary poetry, as remarked by M. M. Mulokozi and T. S. Y. Sengo (1995), is amazingly broad, given the progressive diffusion of the Swahili language in the course of the last two centuries, from the East African coast to the continental regions of Eastern and Central Africa. Accordingly, authors of Swahili poetic texts can also be found in the "periphery" of the Swahilophone area, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, where this language has become the medium of modern songs and written poetry in many areas, although the latter is hardly visible in a context where creative writing is predominantly expressed in French.

In the present contribution, after an introduction on Swahili poetry in the DRC and on the linguistic complexity of the Swahilophone environment of Katanga, and particularly of its main city, Lubumbashi, we will present some (so far unpublished) poems by Patrick Mudekereza, art curator and director of the cultural centre WAZA, together with a first analysis of his verses, whose poetics emerges from plurilingualism and corporality.

1. Introduzione

L'universo della poesia swahili contemporanea, come già osservato da M. M. Mulokozi and T. S. Y. Sengo (1995: 22) nel loro studio basato su un'ampia ricognizione sul campo in Kenya e Tanzania, è molto vasto, vista la progressiva diffusione della lingua swahili nel corso degli ultimi due secoli, dalla costa (*pwani*) alle regioni continentali (*bara*) dell'Africa orientale e centrale. Poeti di lingua swahili, pertanto, esistono anche in aree "periferiche" del mondo swahilofono, come la Repubblica Democratica del Congo (di seguito RDC), dove la lingua swahili è il medium della creazione sia di canzoni moderne sia di poesia scritta, sebbene quest'ultima costituisca una produzione "nascosta" in un contesto dove la scrittura creativa predilige il francese. Tali espressioni poetiche non sono state oggetto d'indagine, finora, da parte della critica che si occupa di letteratura swahili, focalizzata sui testi dei numerosi autori keniani e tanzaniani.

Anche nel capoluogo del Katanga, Lubumbashi, dove gli autori dell'articolo hanno svolto una ricerca sul campo nell'ambito del Progetto di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale (PRIN) "Mobilità-

stabilizzazione. Rappresentazioni congolesi e dinamiche sociali, in Congo e nello spazio globale,"[1] esistono oggigiorno variegate produzioni poetiche in lingua swahili, che comprendono forme di cantautorato (ad esempio le canzoni di Sando Marteau; Aiello e Gaudioso 2019), testi di giovani rapper (Fitch One, Ihomanix, Lushois 9A, Tshumani etc.) e poesie scritte (spesso inedite). Nel presente contributo, dopo una introduzione sulla poesia swahili nella Repubblica Democratica del Congo e sulla complessità linguistica del contesto swahilofono di Lubumbashi, presenteremo alcuni testi, con una prima analisi della relativa poetica, di uno degli autori incontrati, Patrick Mudekereza, curatore d'arte e direttore del centro WAZA, che compone in lingua swahili, a volte abbinata al francese e al lingala.

2. La poesia swahili nella Repubblica Democratica del Congo

Da un punto di vista cronologico la scrittura creativa congolese si è espressa dapprima in lingue autoctone, a seguito del proselitismo missionario cristiano e della riforma scolastica coloniale del 1925 che introdusse le quattro lingue veicolari (tchiluba, kikongo, lingala e swahili), nonché altre lingue di grande diffusione (come lomongo, otetela, nande, mashi, lunda, yaki etc.) nel sistema educativo, e portò sacerdoti, catechisti e allievi congolesi a comporre racconti, inni e poesie nelle proprie lingue africane (Maalu-Bungi 2008: 33). A partire dal secondo dopoguerra, tuttavia, la produzione congolese in francese si è sviluppata a tal punto (nel paese e nella diaspora) che l'etichetta "letteratura congolese" nella percezione comune significa di fatto "letteratura congolese di espressione francese" (Maalu-Bungi 2008: 34). Le pubblicazioni in quelle che dopo l'indipendenza sono divenute le quattro lingue nazionali[2] sono una netta minoranza (sotto il 10%) rispetto alle opere scritte in francese, nel paese e nella diaspora (Riva 2006: 336). Anche nel campo della critica, la stragrande maggioranza dei saggi e dei lavori monografici (tra i più recenti Riva 2006; Djungu-Simba 2007) sono dedicati delle produzioni francofone. Esigue produzioni nelle altre lingue congolesi continuano ad ogni modo ad apparire, anche se poco visibili, anche nell'ambito della scrittura

1 La ricerca si è svolta nei mesi di settembre e ottobre 2018. Il PRIN, finanziato per il triennio 2017-2020, comprende quattro équipe di ricerca: Università della Calabria (coordinatore nazionale Rosario Giordano), Università degli Studi di Milano (responsabile Silvia Riva), Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale (responsabile Flavia Aiello), Università di Lubumbashi (responsabile Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu). Il progetto propone un'indagine transdisciplinare sulle dinamiche di destrutturazione e riconfigurazione politica, sociale e culturale nella RDC e della dimensione globale che tali dinamiche assumono attraverso la mobilità dei congolesi.

2 Nel Congo post-indipendenza, in sostanziale continuità con il periodo coloniale, la lingua ufficiale è il francese, medium dell'amministrazione e dell'istruzione, mentre sono state dichiarate lingue nazionali tchiluba, kikongo, lingala e swahili. Le numerose altre lingue africane, definite "vernacoli", non avevano e non hanno alcuno statuto (Karangwa 1995: 109).

creativa in lingua swahili (Nkashama 1992: 381-82; Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione). Mentre il genere teatrale, nell'ambito del quale sono nate le prime opere scritte swahili in epoca coloniale,[3] si è sviluppato in seguito a livello di performance sostanzialmente orale e la prosa ha visto l'uscita di un solo racconto,[4] la poesia è stata pubblicata maggiormente. Negli ultimi decenni sono apparse diverse raccolte poetiche pubblicate da scrittori swahilofoni, tra cui due autori originari del Kivu, Jean-Robert Kasele Laisi Watutwa e Charles Djungu-Simba, e Huit Mulongo Kalonda Ba-Mpeta di Lubumbashi, tutti professori universitari (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 3). Jean-Robert Kasele Laisi Watutwa, nato a Kamituga (Sud-Kivu) nel 1946, e scomparso nel 2004, è stato docente universitario, primo rettore dell'Université Pédagogique Nationale de Kinshasa (RDC) e autore di diverse opere letterarie (poesia, prosa e teatro) in francese. La sua produzione poetica in swahili comprende *Bibi* (Sposa, 1986) e *Simamemi Wakongomani* (In piedi, Congolesi,[5] 1999), pubblicate rispettivamente a Bukavu e Kinshasa. La prima è una raccolta di quindici testi a tema amoroso in swahili, francese e kirega, sua lingua madre, mentre la seconda contiene undici poesie in swahili, dedicate dall'autore alle vittime dei massacri di Kasika, Makobola[6] e altrove, in uno spirito fortemente patriottico e apertamente anti-ruandese[7] (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 5). Charles Djungu-Simba, nato nel 1953 a Kamituga,[8] è professore alla Facoltà di Lettere dell'Université Pédagogique Nationale de Kinshasa, e conta oggi tra i più prolifici scrittori francofoni congolesi (con novelle, romanzi, poesie, biografie e teatro). In veste di scrittore swahilofono è autore di due raccolte poetiche, *Kongo Yetu* (Il nostro Congo, 2000) e *BORA UZIMA na Mashairi mengine* (Vivere pienamente e altre poesie, 2019). Anche i versi di Djungu-

3 La prima è stata *Chura na Nyoka* (La rana e il serpente, 1952), pubblicata a Elizabethville (nome dell'attuale Lubumbashi), una commedia musicale ispirata a un racconto kongo scritta da Joseph Kiwele, organista, compositore, insegnante di musica (studiata in seminario) e impegnato in politica. Eletto deputato provinciale, sarà nominato ministro dell'istruzione nel governo provinciale del Katanga, componendo, tra l'altro, l'inno nazionale del Katanga nel 1960 (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 2; i numeri di pagina sono provvisori, trattandosi di manoscritto non ancora impaginato).

4 Intitolato *Rehema. Mnara ya Baba na Mama* (Rehema. Sostegno di padre e madre, 1973) di N'sanda Wamenka, pubblicato a Lubumbashi (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 3).

5 L'equivalente in francese, *Debout Congolais*, è il titolo dell'inno nazionale della Repubblica Democratica del Congo.

6 Kasika e Makobola sono i nomi di due località del Kivu in cui nel 1998 sono avvenuti dei massacri di civili congolesi ad opera delle truppe ruandesi e loro alleati.

7 Ad esempio nella poesia *Kafiri si mtu* (Il *kafiri* [lett. infedele; pagano] non è un umano), di cui riportiamo un estratto (preso da Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione): *Ukimpa hukumpa*! – Se gli dai qualcosa, tu non gli hai dato niente!/ *Ukimtafuta, anakwepa*! – Se lo cerchi, ti schiva!/ *Ukiteswa, anaceka*! – Se soffri, ride!/ *Ukimpenda, wewe mateka*! – Se gli mostri affetto, ti prende in ostaggio!/ *Ukimpokea, udongo ni wake!* – Se l'accogli, si prende la tua terra!/ *Ukimpangisha, nyumba ni yake!* – Se lo ospiti, si appropria della tua casa!/ *Ukimkopesha, feza ni zake!* – Se gli fai un prestito, quei soldi sono suoi!/ *Ukimtandikiya, bibi ni wake!* – Se gli prepari il letto, vuole tua moglie!/ *Kafiri akikupenda* – Se il *kafiri* mostra di volerti bene/*Mwishowe atakuponda*! Alla fine ti schiaccerà!.

8 Informazione tratta dalla scheda autore reperibile sul sito http://mukanda.univ-lorraine.fr/.

Simba hanno un forte accento patriottico: inno all'unità del paese (*Kongo ni moja/Kongo ni yetu/Yetu sisi zote*, Il Congo è uno, il Congo è nostro/Di tutti noi), ai suoi eroi (Kimpa Vita, Lumumba, Mulele etc.), memoria delle atrocità commesse dai mercanti di schiavi, dai Belgi, e più recentemente dai Ruandesi, sarcasmo nei confronti di Mobutu (ironicamente espresso in lingala, la sua lingua, promossa durante il regime), critica all'uso del potere da parte dei Kabila, il cui nepotismo riproduce quello del "Leopardo" (*Chui*)[9], e appello all'alternanza nella poesia *Kimbotela* (Fossa biologica), rappresentata per sineddoche da espressioni in kikongo, lingala, swahili e kiluba (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 11).

Huit Mulongo Kalonda Ba-Mpeta, nato nel 1955 a Lubumbashi, è poeta, romanziere, drammaturgo, critico letterario e attivista politico. Docente presso l'università di Lubumbashi (UNILU) dal 1990, anno del suo rientro dopo un lungo periodo trascorso in Francia (durante il quale ha conseguito il dottorato in lingua e letteratura francese), è autore di due raccolte poetiche in swahili, *Uhuru* (Libertà/Indipendenza, 1990) e *Utenzi* (Poema, 1990), pubblicate a Parigi, mentre nella successiva raccolta francofona, *Pleurs éternelles* (Pianti eterni, 2006), pubblicata a Lubumbashi, figurano delle poesie in swahili, lingala e kiluba (Bakasanda 2009: 10). Le sue opere in swahili, tuttavia, sia perché pubblicate all'estero, sia a causa del suo prolungato imprigionamento a Kinshasa e Lubumbashi, non sono oggigiorno reperibili nella RDC (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 7). Nkashama (1992: 381) cita un solo testo tratto da *Utenzi*, in cui si nota l'uso del swahili *bora*, forma vicina allo standard dell'Africa orientale, associata ai registri più elevati, di natura religiosa o educativa (si veda il paragrafo seguente):

Furaha wangu adui	La gioia è il mio nemico
Mawazo wangu ndugu	I pensieri i miei fratelli
Natazama tena hile[10] *siku*	Guardo ancora a quel giorno
Natembea sawa askari	Cammino tale e quale a un soldato
Natembea sawa mw'elimu	Cammino tale e quale a un maestro
Natembea sawa mzimu	Cammino tale e quale a uno spirito

9 Titolo del presidente Mobutu che si faceva chiamare "Nkoi-mobali", leopardo maschio. Kabila padre venne invece chiamato "Simba" (leone).

10 La forma "hile," in swahili standard (SS) "ile", è un fenomeno d'ipercorrettismo, spesso rintracciabile nella scrittura swahili a Lubumbashi e sintomatico del rapportarsi a un modello linguistico, il swahili standard o dell'Est, idealizzato ma sfuggente: poiché i parlanti sono consapevoli del fatto che nel swahili locale la *h*- del SS solitamente diviene muta – ad es. in forme come *apa* (qui) per *hapa* o *ata* (persino, affatto) per *hata* – tendono ad aggiungere allo scritto delle *h* anche laddove mancano in SS.

I testi swahili di Huit Mulongo Kalonda Ba-Mpeta costituiscono un caso isolato rispetto al resto delle pubblicazioni di poesia in Katanga, tutte francofone, che sono notevolmente cresciute negli ultimi tre decenni, a partire dalla fine del regime di Mobutu, con autori quali Kilanga Musinde, Cidibi Ciakandu, Wenu Bekere, Tshisungu wa Tshisungu, Mutonkole Lunda, Mutenke Ngoy Maïte, Selemani Ngongo, Maguy Kabongo e Jano Bakasanda (Bakasanda 2009). Si tratta di una produzione poetica che, anche in questo caso, nasce in ambiente accademico e, sulle orme della generazione di Y. V. Mudimbe, Julien Kilanga e di altri poeti formatisi all'università di Lubumbashi, fa uso, specie inizialmente, di un francese ricercato, con riferimenti alla cultura classica, e forme di sperimentazione surrealiste tanto care ai fondatori della Negritudine (Bakasanda 2009: 39). Molto presenti sono i temi socio-politici, come già si è notato nella produzione poetica di lingua swahili, e l'espressione di una identità katanghese, antitetica al potere centrale soprattutto durante la dittatura di Mobutu, di cui si denunciano soprusi e violenze (come la strage degli studenti all'Università di Lubumbashi nel 1990), e la cui caduta ad opera di Laurent D. Kabila viene salutata come una liberazione (Bakasanda 2009: 41). Negli ultimi anni, diverse iniziative sono state intraprese per allargare la diffusione e ricezione della poesia katanghese, con il concorso dell'università e delle scuole secondarie, delle biblioteche e del circolo letterario "La Cellule Littéraire de Lubumbashi", che organizza annualmente *Les journées littéraires de Lubumbashi* (Le giornate letterarie di Lubumbashi) (Bakasanda 2009: 45); tutte queste attività sono destinate alla promozione della poesia francofona katanghese, e ulteriori produzioni liriche in swahili che seguono l'opera di Huit Mulongo Kalonda Ba-Mpeta restano per ora in forma inedita. Nel corso della nostra permanenza a Lubumbashi, siamo venuti a conoscenza della raccolta *Uhai* (Vita) di Soumba Maly[11] e delle poesie di Patrick Mudekereza, ma non è da escludere che vi siamo altri autori "invisibili" in questo contesto swahilofono, il cui articolato paesaggio linguistico sarà delineato nel prossimo paragrafo.

3. I *viswahili* di Lubumbashi

La situazione linguistica del swahili in Katanga è particolarmente complessa a causa dello sviluppo storico di questa lingua esogena e dei processi migratori che da sempre caratterizzano i centri urbani della regione, tanto da poter parlare di *viswahili* (plur. di *kiswahili*, 'lingua swahili') a Lubumbashi, ossia di diverse forme di swahili parlate nello stesso contesto (Ferrari, Kalunga et Mulumbwa 2014: 5),

11 Il cui autore ci ha gentilmente dato in lettura il manoscritto inedito.

non senza fenomeni di continuità e contatto, che comprendono la varietà locale di Lubumbashi, il swahili delle altre aree swahilofone nell'est del Congo (Maniema, Kivu etc.), più vicine al swahili parlato in Tanzania, e delle forme "migliorate" sul modello del swahili standardizzato in Africa orientale,[12] nate durante il periodo coloniale in ambito religioso e scolastico e a cui ci si riferisce complessivamente come *kiswahili bora* (swahili eccellente, migliore).

La varietà veicolare di swahili emersa nel contesto dell'industria mineraria in epoca coloniale[13] è divenuta nel corso delle generazioni lingua principale per la popolazione urbana di Lubumbashi, e spesso prima lingua.[14] Anche se condivide diversi tratti generali con le altre varianti di swahili del Congo, presenta una fisionomia piuttosto autonoma (Ferrari, Kalunga et Mulumbwa 2014: 6) e conserva forti tracce di meticciato – ad esempio nel lessico, in cui abbondano i prestiti da altre lingue bantu dell'area, nonché dal francese e dall'inglese –, in virtù del suo sviluppo essenzialmente orale, essendo utilizzata prevalentemente nella comunicazione quotidiana e in alcune forme di creatività artistica[15], spesso, dato il diffuso multinguismo, caratterizzata da fenomeni di *code-switching* e *code-mixing* con altre lingue locali, francese e lingala.

Scritti in swahili sono apparsi in Katanga sin dall'epoca coloniale (giornali, lettere, testi religiosi, autobiografie, opere drammaturgiche), influenzate in diverso grado dal *kiswahili bora*. Mentre in quel periodo, in particolare dopo la succitata riforma scolastica coloniale del 1925, le quattro lingue veicolari (tchiluba, kikongo, lingala e swahili) avevano ampio spazio nell'istruzione di base, dopo l'indipendenza l'ordinanza n° 174 del 17 ottobre 1962, da cui scaturì la riforma del 1963, impose il

12 Negli anni '30 l'amministrazione coloniale britannica decise di standardizzare nei propri territori la lingua swahili sulla base del dialetto *kiunguja*, parlato nella città di Zanzibar e dintorni. Venne, inoltre, fondato un organo responsabile della definizione e diffusione del swahili standard (*kiswahili sanifu*), l'East African Swahili Committee (Whiteley 1969: 79-80).

13 All'epoca la lingua swahili è stata utilizzata come lingua di lavoro, fino ad allora poco diffusa in Katanga (dove inglese e *kitchen-kaffir* avevano una posizione importante, anche perché reclutamento e trasporto vedevano il dominio degli anglofoni di Rhodesia e Sudafrica), nel quadro di una "belgianizzazione" della città e del personale dell'UMHK. Interessi capitalistici e nazionali conversero in politiche dirette a ridurre la dipendenza dalle compagnie dell'Africa meridionale, specie nel primo dopoguerra, quando da uno sfruttamento iniziale a bassa tecnologia del rame, che favoriva il reclutamento di persone a grande distanza e a breve termine, si passò a una attività estrattiva ad alta tecnologia che necessitava di una popolazione operaia più stabile e qualificata. Di pari passo con questo orientamento linguistico, procedeva il reclutamento di popolazione delle regioni a nord, dove il swahili era parlato, e l'incoraggiamento del suo utilizzo nelle scuole di formazione delle missioni, soprattutto cattoliche (Fabian 1986: 92-106).

14 Alcuni abitanti di Lubumbashi hanno una competenza passiva della lingua di riferimento identitario, oppure non la conoscono affatto (Ferrari, Kalunga et Mulumbwa 2014: 8).

15 Come la canzone e il teatro comico, in cui il supporto scritto ha una funzione limitata. Il teatro di Mufwankolo, difatti, si basa su un canovaccio in francese. Solo l'introduzione (*utangulizi*) e la morale (*mafundisho*) sono scritte dall'autore, in una lingua un po' più vicina al *kiswahili bora* (Le Lay 2014: 24-27).

francese come lingua dell'insegnamento nel ciclo scolastico primario (Maalu-Bungi in via di pubblicazione: 1). Nonostante le direttive linguistiche, stabilite allora, di facilitare l'adozione delle lingue veicolari regionali come lingua dell'insegnamento, in un quadro del sistema educativo molto critico, con un elevato tasso di analfabetismo (17,5% quello maschile e 45,9% quello femminile in area urbana) e il 15% di accesso alle secondarie, non sono mai state allocate risorse affinché il swahili divenisse lingua d'istruzione nelle zone swahilofone, restando un insegnamento marginale, limitato ai primi anni delle scuole primarie, e con insegnanti poco formati (Ferrari, Kalunga et Mulumbwa 2014: 130). Lo stesso Patrick Mudekereza ci ha raccontato di non avere praticamente avuto una formazione scolastica in swahili (Lubumbashi, intervista del 23/9/2018). La questione dell'insegnamento del swahili nelle scuole ritorna ogni anno d'attualità, soprattutto da qualche anno a questa parte, da quando cioè i grandi organismi internazionali come USAID (United States Agency for International Development), DFID (Department for International Development; UK) e altri, hanno ritenuto fondamentale inserire nei programmi di sviluppo della RDC l'insegnamento nelle primarie di una lingua "locale." In particolare dal 2017 è stato messo in piedi, dal DFID in collaborazione con l'USAID, il programma "ACCELERE!" con l'obiettivo di formare gli insegnanti e inserire le ore di lingua swahili nelle classi primarie del Katanga, nell'ottica di migliorare accesso, qualità e governance nell'istruzione primaria della RDC.[16] È bene tuttavia precisare che il *kiswahili bora* o standard non costituisce affatto una norma linguistica definita in Katanga e nella RDC, restando una categoria per molti versi indistinta, associata variabilmente al swahili standard dell'Africa orientale, al swahili parlato in Tanzania, al swahili dell'est del Congo, al swahili utilizzato dalle chiese e negli scritti religiosi e a quello dei mezzi d'informazione (radio e televisioni).[17] Le sue espressioni corrispondono,

16 Ringraziamo l'antropologo Edoardo Quaretta per averci introdotto al programma "ACCELERE!" (per maggiori informazioni si veda il sito https://devtracker.dfid.gov.uk/projects/GB-1-203154). Lo stesso ricercatore, che partecipa al PRIN "Mobilità-stabilizzazione. Rappresentazioni congolesi e dinamiche sociali, in Congo e nello spazio globale" come membro dell'equipe dell'Università della Calabria, durante le sue recenti ricerche sul campo a Lubumbashi ha seguito delle lezioni di swahili in periferia e parlato con alcuni insegnanti nel 2017, anno in cui molti di loro hanno seguito dei corsi di didattica di swahili "*bora,*" raccogliendo molte lamentele sul fatto di dover insegnare una lingua molto distante da quella parlata a Lubumbashi.

17 Oggigiorno la stampa in swahili, presente in epoca coloniale, è inesistente. La lingua swahili è invece presente sia nel settore radiofonico (nazionale e regionale), sia in quello delle televisioni locali (quella nazionale trasmette solo in francese). In Katanga, nessuna radio/televisione trasmette solo in swahili; tuttavia il swahili è molto presente nei media, specialmente a partire dalla liberalizzazione del mercato audiovisivo degli anni '90. Da allora, il settore privato radio-televisivo è in forte crescita (Damome et Kambaja 2012: 20-26). A Lubumbashi alcuni canali come *Nyota*, *Mwangaza* e *Djua* diffondono trasmissioni culturali in swahili locale (definito *swahili facile*). Il telegiornale è trasmesso in francese, swahili standard e swahili di Lubumbashi (Ferrari, Kalunga et Mulumbwa 2014: 132).

di fatto, a diversi gradi di negoziazione tra il swahili standard e le principali caratteristiche comuni alle varianti congolesi di swahili.

Mentre, dunque, l'uso del francese da parte dei locutori di Lubumbashi distingue chiaramente tra un ambito colloquiale e uno formale, soprattutto scritto, con una sua norma e corpus letterario (francese, congolese e dell'Africa francofona), contrapposto all'arte "popolare" in swahili locale, l'uso del swahili in forma scritta ha un modello linguistico più incerto in ragione della situazione sopra descritta, e meno produzioni testuali accessibili di riferimento (a parte gli odierni scritti a tema didascalico o igienico-sanitario pubblicati da edizioni religiose; Le Lay 2014), soprattutto per quanto riguarda la scrittura creativa, essendo le poche pubblicazioni letterarie congolesi in swahili poco reperibili in librerie o biblioteche, per non dire le opere swahili dell'Africa orientale (che, oltretutto, risulterebbero di dura comprensione, data la distanza linguistica e l'assenza di esercizio scolastico alla lettura di letteratura swahili classica o moderna).

In questo particolare contesto linguistico e letterario del capoluogo del Katanga si muove l'esperienza poetica di Patrick Mudekereza, esposta nelle prossime pagine.

4. La poetica di Patrick Mudekereza[18]

Patrick Mudekereza, nato a Lubumbashi nel 1983, è direttore del centro d'arte WAZA[19] che si trova nel cuore di Lubumbashi. Patrick ha iniziato a scrivere da adolescente prime poesie e brevi testi, ma nonostante questi scritti iniziali lo scrittore ha percepito la sua scrittura principalmente come esercizio affiancato all'arte. I suoi testi non sono un semplice commento dell'opera degli artisti con cui collabora, ma riflessioni originali in interazione con l'arte, un insieme a sua volta spesso in dialogo con studiosi ed esperti a livello internazionale.[20] A questo navigare tra media diversi si accompagna il "navigare tra le lingue" (espressione da lui usata durante l'intervista del 23/9/2018), non solo, infatti,

18 Questo studio si basa su un numero esiguo di liriche ricevute da P. Mudekereza; si tratta quindi di risultati parziali. Inoltre, non siamo in grado di valutare il percorso poetico dell'autore in quanto, seppure l'autore ci abbia detto che ha iniziato a scrivere da molto tempo, non ci ha fornito i vecchi testi né ha mai pubblicato queste poesie.

19 Il verbo *waza* in swahili significa "pensare, immaginare, riflettere e meditare i significati." Per informazioni sulle attività del centro si veda il sito https://www.centredartwaza.org/.

20 Ad esempio, Patrick Mudekereza è stato invitato insieme all'artista visuale Sammy Baloji a una residenza artistica presso il Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale et l'università di Gand, in Belgio. Durante la residenza, hanno prodotto diverse creazioni artistiche visuali/verbali, in dialogo con una équipe scientifica multidisciplinare e hanno scelto di battezzare il progetto "Congo Far West ", stimolando una riflessione sul rapporto tra le collezioni del museo e l'odierna Repubblica Democratica del Congo. Da questo progetto sono scaturite una pubblicazione, intitolata appunto Congo Far West (SilvanaEditoriale, Milano 2011) e una esposizione presentata al MRAC dall'11 maggio al 4 settembre 2011.

scrive in francese, swahili e a volte lingala, ma nel suo swahili di Lubumbashi vi sono molte influenze della varietà di Bukavu, nel Kivu, da dove proviene la famiglia.[21]

La poesia *Langues* (Lingue)[22] è particolarmente interessante presentando più lingue, per lo più in strofe diverse, anche se ci sono elementi di lingala nelle strofe swahili.

Zunguluka tukutane	Fai un giro, incontriamoci
Ngambo na ngambo aina mambo	Da un lato e dall'altro non ci sono problemi
Kwetu ni kwenu	Casa mia è casa tua[23]
Il n'y a plus de murs à escalader	Non ci sono più muri da scalare
Plus de barbelé, plus de gendarmes	Più filo spinato, più gendarmi
Juste une main qui se tend	Solo una mano tesa
À la mine de mon stylo	Alla mina della mia penna
Lexique, vocabulaire, étymologie	Lessico, vocabolario, etimologia
Sema sasa, sema yote	Parla ora, dì tutto
Hadisi ya nkambo, habari za inchi	I racconti degli anziani, le notizie del paese
Maisha, matumaini	La vita, le speranze
Boka na mateso	La paura e i tormenti
Le silence qui rebondit dans nos regards	Il silenzio che rimbalza nei nostri sguardi
Pris au piège, étouffé dans l'air	Intrappolato, soffocato in aria

21 In questo modo, cioè pensando alla lingua che Mudekereza ha parlato a casa nella sua infanzia, ci pare si spieghino alcune forme più vicine al swahili della Tanzania, piuttosto che come utilizzo del swahili *bora*, modello linguistico di cui non ha avuto esperienza scolastica e a cui non aspira. Ad esempio, nella poesia *Langues* troviamo la parola *bugali,* che non presenta i fenomeni di desonorizzazione (*g*> *k*) e la trasformazione di *l* in *r* a contatto con la *i*, tipici del swahili di Lubumbashi, in cui abbiamo quindi *bukari* (Ferrari, Kalunga et Mulumbwa 2014: 20-21). Appaiono anche parole che conservano la h, suono che fa parte del repertorio di consonanti del swahili del Kivu (Nassenstein 2016: 2), altre volte omesso rispettando la lingua parlata di Lubumbashi, ad esempio, sempre nella stessa poesia, *hadisi* (in SS *hadithi*; in swahili di Lubumbashi *adisi/arishi*), *habari* (in swahili di Lubumbashi *abari*). Quest'ultima parola è in classe 10 (come si evince dal connettivo *za*; *habari za inchi*, "le notizie del paese"), classe che non è presente nel swahili di Lubumbashi, mentre sopravvive in alcune forme idiolettali, che rimandano alla classe 10 storica, nel swahili del Kivu (Nassenstein 2016: 3).

22 I testi di Patrick Mudekereza analizzati in questo articolo non sono mai stati raccolti e pubblicati; ci sono stati offerti dall'autore stesso durante la nostra ricerca a Lubumbashi nel settembre e ottobre 2018.

23 L'espressione *kwetu* da un punto di vista linguistico è il possessivo di prima persona plurale in classe locativa 17 (prefisso ku-/kw-) ed è polisemica, potendo riferirsi a 'casa mia/nostra/della mia famiglia', a 'nel mio/nostro luogo d'origine' e 'nel mio/nostro paese'.

Lâche un dernier cri	Lancia un ultimo grido
Je capte, caresse, tords et écris	Capto, carezzo, torco e scrivo
Stylistique défigurée	Stilistica sfigurata
Nitaliya na machozi yako	Piangerò con le tue lacrime
Nitacheka na mate yako	Riderò con la tua saliva
Tukatiyane tonge ya bugali	Ci metteremo in bocca un boccone di *bugali*[24]
Karibu, karibu kwangu	Benvenuta, benvenuta da me/a casa mia
Maloba ya sukali	Le parole dolci
Bolingo ya malasi	L'amore profumato
Tokolangwa?[25]	Ci ubriacheremo?
Et comme dans un embouteillage	E come bloccate nel traffico
Les mots s'arrêtent	Le parole si fermano
Toutes les langues sont au feu rouge	Tutte le lingue al semaforo rosso
Les quitter et marcher à pied	Lasciarle, e camminare a piedi
Main dans la main	Mano nella mano[26]

Il poeta qui si appella all'ospitalità delle lingue che si fanno luogo abitato "Benvenuta, benvenuta da me/a casa mia" capace di confluire l'uno nell'altro "*Kwetu ni kwenu,*" ovvero "casa nostra è vostra" non è semplice ospitalità, ma è il far confluire un luogo abitato in un altro, quasi come per una parola che entra in una lingua e ne fa parte e si comporta come a casa propria, solo l'etimologia "*étymologie*" ci mostra una traccia. In questo modo in Mudekereza persistono le due lingue e, nonostante la consapevolezza della separazione e della disparità, l'una accoglie il significato dell'altra nella seguente doppia traduzione senza originale, che introduce un testo in cui si alternano poesia e prosa, in cui la città di Lubumbashi, con il suo passato e presente, si identifica nel corpo dei suoi lavoratori:

Funga macho, liya	Ferme les yeux, pleure
Machozi itasafisha macho	Les larmes purifient les yeux
Funga macho, lota	Ferme les yeux, rêve
Nvula itasafisha machozi[27]	La pluie purifie les larmes

24 In SS *ugali*, sorta di polenta preparata con farina di mais o manioca.

25 Gli ultimi tre versi sono in lingala.

26 La traduzione italiana dei testi di P. Mudekereza è a cura degli autori.

> C'est dans ma ville que le ciel est le plus bleu. Quand il pleut, nous levons nos mains colorées par nos travaux pour former un arc-en-ciel. Mains blanches de meuniers, mains vert malachite de mineurs, mains rouges de cultivateurs, mains noires de cireurs, etc. Des milliers de petites mains levées vers le ciel accueillent la pluie qui ensemence notre force vitale. Et mes mains multicolores de *choqueurs*[28] se lèvent aussi. Si elles peuvent arrêter la pluie, elles pourront aussi arrêter la fatalité de notre misère.[29]

Nel testo poetico Mudekereza afferma in francese ciò che afferma in swahili e il testo in prosa che segue è ugualmente in francese; si tratta di un registro corporale, concreto. Differentemente dagli altri testi non c'è bruttezza e sporcizia, nei lavoratori c'è bellezza, i colori, l'arcobaleno; in questo senso Mudekereza ricorda quasi Jean Genet, un autore che lo ha appassionato (intervista del 23/9/2018), che vede l'alto nel basso e il basso nell'alto[30]. L'immagine delle ultime righe è tanto forte quanto dura la condizione degli *choqueurs* che si arrabattano nella vita quotidiana, il poeta crea quindi un periodo ipotetico dell'irrealtà. Bene inteso, nessuno può fermare la pioggia, è questo che dà una cifra di ironia e disperazione. La miseria ovviamente non è arrestata da nessuno e abbiamo ancora bisogno (forse ne avremo bisogno per sempre) dello scarto cognitivo della poesia, quello che ci fa riconoscere che la miseria, "*notre misère,*" è nostra e non quella dei lavoratori, anche di condizione più umile. In questo senso, nella poesia *Buzuri tele* (Copiosa bellezza) la bellezza può coincidere con lo sporco:

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27 Chiudi gli occhi, piangi/Le lacrime purificheranno gli occhi/Chiudi gli occhi, sogna/La pioggia purificherà le lacrime.

28 Il termine *choquer* o *ku-choquer* (dal francese *choc,* "shock", "colpo"), è un nuovo verbo usato dagli inizi degli anni '90 a Lubumbashi, per descrivere l'azione di una persona che ogni mattino esce determinata a trovare una attività lavorativa che procuri il sostentamento per la sua famiglia (Petit, Mulumbwa 2005: 474). Il termine sembra essere nato tra i congolesi cercatori clandestini di diamanti in Congo e Angola ed è utilizzato anche nel Kasai orientale per i cercatori giornalieri di diamanti, riferendosi alla forza fisica e alla rapidità necessarie per questo lavoro. Fa parte di un nuovo vasto repertorio di espressioni in francese e swahili che sottolineano il coraggio e l'energia nell'affrontare la quotidiana ricerca di lavoro e sussistenza nell'ambito dell'economia informale generata dalla crisi socio-economica, che ha smantellato il sistema di lavoro salariato (*kazi* o *kaji*) attorno a cui si è sviluppata la città di Lubumbashi, divenendo un elemento fondamentale dell'identità collettiva urbana (Dibwe 2009: 123).

29 "È nella mia città che il cielo è più blu. Quando piove, leviamo le mani tinte dai nostri lavori per formare un arcobaleno. Mani bianche di mugnai, mani verdi malachite dei minatori, mani rosse dei coltivatori, mani nere dei calzolai etc. Migliaia di piccole mani levate verso il cielo accolgono la pioggia che insemina la nostra forza vitale. E le mie mani multicolori degli *choqueurs* si alzano pure. Se possono fermare la pioggia, potranno anche arrestare la fatalità della nostra miseria."

30 È un elemento consistente della poetica di Jean Genet (Parigi 1910-1986), basti pensare al suo cortometraggio *Un Chant de Amour* (disponibile in open source online) sull'amore in un contesto carcerario con un carceriere torturatore o ai suoi romanzi *Notre-Dame-des-Fleurs* (1944), *Querelle de Brest* (1947), *Pompes funèbres* (1948), etc.

Buzuri yake machafu tele	La sua bellezza copiosa sporcizia
Cheko yake inaivuyisha	Il suo sorriso la fa traspirare
Roho yangu naya inavuya vile[31]	La mia anima suda ugualmente
Na miye wote inalobanisha	E mi bagna tutto

Questo non è un ritrarsi della poesia, non è la sconfitta della poesia nei confronti del bello, è anzi il contrario. Il potere della poesia che non si ritrae nemmeno nelle condizioni più difficili, permea la nostra esistenza fino ai nostri scarti, alla nostra miseria e al nostro sudiciume. Questi elementi sono quasi una totale novità nella poesia swahili, per eccezion fatta dell'ultima raccolta del poeta tanzaniano Euphrase Kezilahabi che nell'ultima sua raccolta utilizza spesso un registro basso. Per esempio nella poesia *Mafuriko* (Inondazione, 2008: 4) questi elementi bassi costituiscono la poesia.

Nitaandika wimbo juu ya mbawa za nzi	Scriverò una canzone sulle ali di una mosca
Utoe muziki arukapo wausikie walio wengi	che volando possa portare a molti la musica
Ushairi wa jalalani utaimbwa	La poesia della discarica sarà cantata
Juu ya vidonda vya wakulima	su le piaghe dei contadini
Na usaha ulio jasho lao.	e l'ascesso col suo pus.

Anche Kezilahabi descrive qui il corpo dei contadini, dei lavoratori, ma a differenza di Mudekereza non riveste di bellezza il loro corpo. Kezilahabi è uno dei primi poeti swahili ad utilizzare un linguaggio quotidiano, scrive spesso dei lavoratori e contadini, ma raramente effettua un'inversione romantica o ironica, i toni rispetto a tali questioni è più drammatico. Tuttavia, lo scopo di Mudekereza e Kezilahabi pare lo stesso e, con mezzi diversi, riescono attraverso il corpo dei lavoratori a far emergere nella mente del lettore la loro condizione. La questione del corpo è centrale nella poetica di Kezilahabi (si veda Gaudioso 2019). Infatti in un saggio sulla poesia swahili classica e moderna Kezilahabi (1976: 121) scrive:

31 Questo e altri versi contengono forme nella varietà locale di swahili che divergono dal swahili standard.

> "Un poeta competente proverà ad usare tutti questi mezzi per fare in modo che il lettore veda l'immagine di ciò che è stato detto [nella sua poesia]; lui può eccitare il corpo o far sì che il lettore senta l'odore del sangue di una capra (per esempio)"[32]

Nella poesia *Langues* di Patrick Mudekereza non è solo un luogo o una lingua che confluiscono l'uno nell'altro, ma gli stessi corpi si fondono "piangerò con le tue lacrime/riderò con la tua saliva". Il poeta qui attua una sospensione dell'altro attraverso l'atto deflagrante della poesia "Solo una mano tesa/alla mina della mia penna [...] stilistica sfigurata" e dell'ospitalità del corpo e della lingua. Se qui l'utilizzo di due lingue non va preso come manifestazione sociopolitica, d'altro canto la sospensione dell'altro non è atto violento di soppressione identitaria, ma gesto d'accoglienza e accettazione totale, una dualità che l'arte e l'amore (eros) riescono a tenere insieme senza prevaricazione. In questa poesia, quindi, l'erotismo e la poesia sono gli elementi deflagranti che permettono a questi due mondi di stare insieme. Nella poesia *Langues* eros e poesia coincidono.

> Capto, carezzo, torco e scrivo
> Stilistica sfigurata[...]
> L'amore profumato
> ci ubriacheremo?
> E come bloccate nel traffico
> le parole si fermano
> tutte le lingue al semaforo rosso
> Lasciarle, e camminare a piedi
> Mano nella mano

È per questo motivo che le lingue restano separate nelle strofe, a segnalare non la confusione, ma due identità distinte e se si vuole il fallimento della promessa (nell'amore) e della potenzialità (in arte) di fusione. Secondo il filosofo francese Georges Bataille (1997: 20-21) l'amore e l'eros promettono una fusione temporanea e, quindi, illusoria.

> L'amore ha come essenza e meta la fusione di due individui, dunque di due esseri frammentari.[....] Per gli amanti è più probabile non riuscire a incontrarsi, piuttosto che gioire di una contemplazione senza limiti dell'intima fusione che li unisce.[...] Del nostro isolamento di esseri individuali noi soffriamo. La passione ripete senza posa: se

32 *Mshairi mashuhuri atajaribu kutumia vyombo hivi vyote ili aweze kumfanya msomaji aone picha ya mambo yanayozungumziwa mwake; anaweza kusisimua mwili au hata kumfanya msomaji asikie harufu ya damu au beberu (kwa mfano).*

> possiederai l'essere, questo tuo cuore assediato dalla solitudine formerà un cuore solo con quello dell'essere amato. Promessa che, almeno in parte è illusoria. Ma nella passione l'immagine di quella fusione prende corpo, a volte in maniera diversa per ciascuno degli amanti, spesso con un'intensità folle. Al di là della propria immagine, del proprio progetto, la fusione precaria che garantisce la sopravvivenza dell'egoismo individuale, può tornare a entrare nella realtà.

Questo sforzo è oltre le lingue, s'appella direttamente alla forza erotica e accogliente del corpo, della carne, e a quella generativa e ossimorica della poesia. In questo senso lo scrittore Euphrase Kezilahabi parla di poesia oltre la lingua capace di superare le barriere spazio temporali (intervista 2015, Gaborone; vedi Gaudioso 2019) e raggiungere così l'oltre, quel "*beyond*" che è cifra dell'arte. Questo consente, almeno nel suo momento più estatico, una sospensione del principio di non contraddizione, una sospensione del due, della differenza. Questo è necessario per superare il dolore della solitudine, come dice Bataille, per tentare una fusione e provare ad attraversare oltre l'esistenza individuale; è per questo che la stilistica è sfigurata, perché la poesia sfugga al principio di individuazione, al veloce giudizio conclusivo, manifestandosi invece come eternamente presente.

Solo attraverso questa trasgressione della propria materia (la lingua) l'arte della parola può essere ciò che promette d'essere, ovvero eterna fonte creatrice, oppure con le parole di Kezilahabi porsi sempre nel mezzo dell'esistenza dove l'essere coincide col divenire, l'esistenza con la creazione.

Allora il poeta fa appello alla poesia, all'amore, all'estasi festiva e all'alcool per attuare questa trasgressione del linguaggio quotidiano, rendendolo più libero e liberante. Nella seconda strofa di *Buzuri tele* Mudekereza scrive:

Chekeni chekeni	Ridete ridete
Mwanya ya meno yake	Spazio tra i suoi denti
Nyesheni buzuri yote	Piovete tutta la bellezza
Chezeni chezeni	Giocate giocate
Minofu ya roho yangu	Carni della mia anima
Mapendo ni feti,	L'amore è una festa
Leweni	Ubriacatevi

La trasgressione appare essere un elemento fondamentale della poetica di Mudekereza, non a caso ci dice che il poeta che apprezza di più è il cantautore francese George Brassens che cantava d'essere un "pornografo."

Tous les samedis, je vais à confesse	Tutti i sabato, vado a confessarmi
m'accuser d'avoir parlé de fesses	mi accusano di parlar di culi
et je promets ferme au marabout	e prometto fermo al marabout
de les mettre tabou.	Di farli divenire tabù
Mais	Ma
craignant, si je n'en parle plus	temendo, se non ne parlo più
de finir à l'Armée du Salut,	di finire nell'Esercito della Salvezza
je remets bientôt sur le tapis	rimetto presto sul tappeto
les fesses impies.	Gli empi culi
Je suis le pornographe	Sono il pornografo
du phonographe,	del fonografo
le polisson de la chanson.	il monellaccio della canzone
Ma femme est, soit dit en passant	La mia donna è, si dica en passant
d'un naturel concupiscent	d'una naturale concupiscenza
qui l'incite à se coucher nue	che la spinge a coricarsi nuda
sous le premier venu.	Sotto il primo venuto
Mais	Ma
m'est-il permis, soyons sincères,	mi è permesso, siam sinceri,
d'en parler au café-concert	di parlarne al café-chantant
sans dire qu'elle a, suraigu	senza dire ch'ella a, acutissimo
le feu au cul ?	il fuoco al culo?[33]

Anche per questo motivo, per il fatto che un cantautore francese sia il suo primo riferimento poetico, si è detto della poesia *Funga Macho* che è una doppia traduzione senza originale, perché in Mudekereza francese e swahili sono lingue della sua esistenza quotidiana alle quali può appellarsi per la creazione poetica. Il suo swahili non esprime alcun tentativo di adeguarsi al modello del swahili *bora*, è espressione del suo vissuto. Ovviamente gli accade di scrivere solo in una delle due lingue, così come gli capita di esprimersi in una sola delle due lingue nel suo quotidiano. Non stiamo suggerendo che l'attività poetica sia qualcosa di totalmente naturale e che l'autore non scelga come esprimersi, però è chiaro che la coscienza politica (post-coloniale) di Patrick non si legge in una semplice equazione, in un rifiuto della lingua francese come simbolo del colonialismo. Mudekereza è lontano

33 Nostra traduzione della canzone *Le pornographe* di G. Brassens.

da pose ideologiche, non fa del francese un simbolo, ma un elemento produttivo della sua realtà. Questo non toglie nulla alla sua coscienza politica, al suo impegno di operare sul suo territorio promuovendo l'arte africana, e di dar spazio e valorizzare anche il swahili locale.

Ovviamente il cantautore francese non è l'unico riferimento poetico di Patrick, fa riferimento anche ai canti *zangazanga* (intervista del 23/9/2018) durante i quali c'è una libertà assoluta, si può dire tutto fin quando si scorta la salma al cimitero. Joël Noret e Pierre Petit definiscono "umoristico e osceno" il carattere dei canti *zangazanga* (2011: 78) ma per lo più prima dell'interramento.

> *Après l'enterrement, les zangazanga peuvent encore rester présents sur les lieux du deuil, mais de façon un peu plus discrète. En échange de leur prestation, ils réclament de l'alcool lutuku, fument parfois du chanvre et entonnent des chants profanes. Ils font en quelque sorte contrepoids à la présence chrétienne, et n'hésitent pas à imiter les pasteurs avec beaucoup d'ironie.*

Noret e Petit affermano che in origine *zangazanga* è il nome che si riferiva ai canti che poi è finito per identificare i gruppi di giovani che dagli anni '90 a Lubumbashi, inizialmente nel quartiere Kenya, iniziarono questa pratica importandola da Kinshasa (2011: 78). Tuttavia non sappiamo a cosa si siano sostituiti *zangazanga* e se questi a Lubumbashi abbiano un carattere diverso da quello di Kinshasa. Noret e Petit (2011: 78) affermano che i canti di Lubumbashi sono meno violenti di quelli di Kinshasa, però non sappiamo se siano stati influenzati da caratteri specifici del luogo. È facile ipotizzare che almeno a livello dei testi, adattando anche la lingua, ci sia stata un'influenza di canti popolari preesistenti. Sarebbe molto interessante capire la particolarità dei *zangazanga* e l'interazione con l'altra musica di Lubumbashi, perché ad esempio in un contesto come il funerale a Lubumbashi si inscrivono due tradizioni musicali diverse: *zangazanga* e *kalindula* (Noret et Petit 2011: 59-149). Anche Patrick Mudekereza ha fatto riferimento al genere *kalindula* e al funerale nelle nostre conversazioni, mostrando un apprezzamento anche per questa forma. I gruppi *kalindula*[34] iniziano ad essere popolari a Lubumbashi durante gli anni '70 (Dibwe dia Mwembu e Mwilambwe Mwende 2003: 88), quindi un ventennio prima degli *zangazanga*. Se Noret e Petit (2011: 78-149) segnano una differenza tra i gruppi

34 La *kalindula* è una musica che viene dai Bemba che vivono nel nord dello Zambia e nel sud del Katanga (RDC). Dibwe dia Mwembu e Mwilambwe Mwende sottolineano che questi gruppi iniziarono ad essere popolari negli anni '70 a Lubumbashi e che c'è una netta differenza tra *kalindula* urbana e quella dei villaggi, aggiungendo che se a Lubumbashi è sempre stata sentita come elemento folkloristico, in Zambia invece ha raggiunto un certo successo (Dibwe dia Mwembu e Mwilambwe Mwende 2003: 110). Kapambwe Lumbwe (2013: 85) spiega che solo negli anni '80 in Zambia la *kalindula* e lo *zamrock* diventano popolari in città ma sempre in competizione con la rumba congolese (*bolingo music*). Inoltre nel suo glossario alla fine dell'articolo Lumbwe definisce la *kalindula:* "contemporary musical style of the Bemba of Luapula Province; it is characterised by a strong rhumba bass line and traditional drum rhythms".

di *zangazanga* e *kalindula*, i primi producono per lo più canti osceni, mentre gli altri hanno un repertorio di generi e registri più vasto, come confermano anche Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu e Claude Mwilambwe Mwende (2003: 87-111). Tuttavia nelle interviste condotte da quest'ultimi due studiosi gli intervistati mostrano un giudizio delle performance di *kalindula* non molto lontano da quello sui canti *zangazanga*, ovvero come musica di basso profilo, provocatoria e oscena, tanto che Dibwe dia Mwembu e Mwilambwe Mwende concludono ribadendo questo concetto e dando un valore di denuncia sociale ai gruppi di *kalindula*, in quanto in modo satirico e provocatorio fanno emergere in modo diretto la "verità" (2003: 110):[35]

> *Elle se caractérise aussi par une structure non raffinée de chansons spontanées, adaptées à la situation ambiante. La musique kalindula n'a de l'importance, selon l'opinion publique, que par rapport à certains événements heureux ou malheureux. Les orchestres kalindula regorgent d'artistes musiciens autodidactes qui, à l'instar des peintres populaires, crachent la vérité toute crue. Ils sont satiriques et font rire. Ils moralisent, prodiguent des conseils à qui veut les entendre. Ils savent consoler, détendre l'atmosphère lors des cérémonies de deuil, ils s'en prennent à l'attitude des parents.*

Kalindula e *zangazanga* fanno parte della tradizione testuale alla quale è stato esposto Patrick Mudekereza e se da una parte bisognerebbe indagare, ma come si è detto per esiguità del materiale non ci è stato concesso, la relazione particolare di un poeta che ha come primi riferimenti la musica, dall'altra Brassens e *zangazanga* si incontrano nella trasgressione. Il poeta quindi diventa pornografo e canto sguaiato, perché, come nella poesia di Kezilahabi, la poesia non si ritrae dagli elementi più quotidiani e più concretamente difficili della nostra esistenza, anzi, ne risulta potenziata: mostra quella cifra di libertà che ci colpisce emotivamente e cognitivamente. Tutti questi elementi, l'eros e la poesia, la trasgressione e la libertà si ritrovano potenziati nella poesia *Pima tuyambe* (Osa, e andiamo a cagare!)

Pima tuyambe!	Osa, e andiamo a cagare!
Tuende ngambo ingine ya mulima	Andiamo dall'altro lato della montagna
Kule mecho na kinywa inaimba	Là gli occhi e la bocca cantano
Shangwe ya uhuru[36]	La festa della libertà

35 Sarebbe interessante discutere qui il concetto di verità in arte e di che tipo di verità si tratta in relazione alle trasgressioni di Mudekereza e Kezilahabi, per ragioni di spazio rimandiamo questo approfondimento a prossimi studi. Chi volesse approfondire tale argomento in Kezilahabi veda Gaudioso 2019.

36 *Uhuru* vuol dire anche indipendenza.

Leta tuondje!	Porta, assaggiamo!
Anika ngozi fasi yote	Stendi la stuoia qui dappertutto
Tukigusa, tugusane	Se tocchiamo, tocchiamoci
Tukiona, tuonane	Se guardiamo, guardiamoci
Tukikula, tushibane	Se mangiamo, saziamoci
Panda tukomeshe!	Semina, facciamolo crescere!
Tupandane!	Seminiamoci a vicenda[37]!
Tuoteshe yetu shirika	Che germogli la nostra relazione
Ukitema jacho, nileye mikoyo	Se sputi sudore, mi occupo del piscio[38]
Ukikula yangu tunda, nilewe yako majiba	Se mangi il mio frutto, m'inebrio del tuo latte[39]
Hara, tuyambe	Purgati, andiamo a cagare
Tusafishe ndani mwetu	Ripuliamo il nostro interno
Yamba mawazo ya uchungu	Caga i pensieri dolorosi
Kumbusho ya vita	Il ricordo della guerra
Hara, tujaze raha	Purgati, riempiamo(ci) di piacere
Muda ilobanishe milele.	Che questo tempo si bagni per l'eternità.

Questa poesia ha un ritmo molto incalzante creato da una certa regolarità interna nelle strofe centrali. Si veda specialmente la seconda strofa, i versi dal terzo al quinto contano otto sillabe con cesura nel mezzo, una rima iniziale sia nel primo che nel secondo emistichio in "tu", un'assonanza della vocali finale del primo emistichio "a" e una rima finale nel secondo emistichio in "ane". I primi versi della strofa successiva continuano l'assonanza in "tu."

Nella strofa iniziale e finale il ritmo è più disteso, l'io lirico invoca un altro corpo e evoca la depurazione. L'assonanza tra "*hara*" e "*raha*" ribadisce infine che l'elemento fondamentale è il corpo e il piacere. Come enfatizzato dal ritmo si tratta di un corpo in movimento, danzante e amante. Il piacere e il sesso sono il mezzo e il fine de "la festa della libertà", perché l'io lirico invita ad andare dall'altro capo della montagna dove gli occhi e la bocca cantano la festa della libertà, ovvero dove

37 Il verbo *-panda* significa anche salire, quindi vi è un doppio senso, poiché l'espressione si può ugualmente tradurre "montiamo uno sull'altro."

38 Il termine allude anche al liquido seminale.

39 *Majiba* vuol dire anche "seni."

canteranno la festa della libertà che è l'estasi seguente. Allo stesso tempo l'estasi erotica serve a purgarsi "Purgati, andiamo a cagare [...] caga i pensieri dolorosi/ il ricordo della guerra" ovvero a far sì che ci sia davvero quella festa della libertà. È lo stesso processo in atto nelle poesie di Kezilahabi, soprattutto quelle degli anni '80 contenute in *Karibu Ndani* (Benvenuto, 1988) dove gli elementi corporali sono per lo più legati all'estasi della danza che comprende l'eros e *thanatos*, la morte dolorosa, il *tonicum* purgante. La differenza è proprio questa, tra anni '80 e '90[40] la scrittura di Kezilahabi si fa orfica e in qualche modo romantica invocando la magia del rito e della poesia per giungere ad una palingenesi dell'umanità. In Mudekereza l'elemento orfico della festa e dell'eros resta più terreno e individuale, la descrizione dell'amplesso, seppure con una sapiente e raffinata polisemia (per esempio per quanto riguarda i termini *-panda*, *mikoyo*, *majiba*, che si prestano tutti a un doppio senso) è precisa, mentre in Kezilahabi raramente troviamo tali descrizioni, spesso diventano tutt'uno con l'estasi della danza o metaforizzate. D'altro canto è con la poesia degli ultimi anni contenuta della raccolta *Dhifa* (Banchetto, 2008) che il linguaggio di Kezilahabi comprende un registro 'volgare' non drammatico,[41] come nella poesia *Mke wa Waziri (Wimbo wa Harusi)* (La moglie del Ministro (Canzone nuziale), 2008: 13).

Huyo mumeo anatoka kijiji jirani	Tuo marito proviene dal villaggio vicino
Tulimwona akilambwa na mbwa	l'abbiamo visto essere leccato dal cane
Alipomaliza kujisaidia	appena finito di fare i suoi bisogni

In questa ultima raccolta Kezilahabi è ormai cosciente di che posto abbia la sua poesia sia nella società e rispetto alla comunità dei poeti, sia rispetto alle religioni, nella poesia *Kuwako* (Esistenza, 2008: 10) ad esempio la poesia di Kezilahabi mette sull'attenti Dio.

Nitashtakiwa kwa yale niliyoyatenda uhuruni	Sarò accusato per tutto ciò che ho fatto in libertà
Na kwa ushairi wangu mbaya umfanyao akae macho.	e per la mia poesia cattiva che lo fa stare sveglio.

40 Cosa che non vale per la sua poesia degli anni '60-'70 e per i 2000; si veda Gaudioso (2019).

41 A differenza della sua poesia degli anni '60 e '70, si pensi alla presenza del sangue, vedi Gaudioso (2019).

È chiarissimo quindi che la trasgressione in entrambi i casi è necessaria per la liberazione. In entrambi i casi è la liberazione il fine ultimo – Kezilahabi è chiarissimo al riguardo. La letteratura africana dovrebbe essere liberatrice, ovvero dovrebbe avere come scopo liberare gli africani dalla colonizzazione mentale imposta da fuori e dal moralismo, spiritualismo e dalla falsificazione del passato attraverso una mitologia dell'origine imposta da dentro, promossa soprattutto dai leader africani (Kezilahabi 1985: 357-358, si veda anche Gaudioso 2015). Nell'ultima raccolta, infatti, Kezilahabi scrive anche esplicitamente di politica utilizzando questo registro basso e trasgressivo per insultare i potenti o far emergere situazioni paradossali con l'ironia o la satira[42] come ad esempio nella poesia *Dhifa* (che dà nome alla raccolta, 2008: 27) dove una mosca si avvicina al banchetto per mangiare il moccio (*kamasi*, scritto anche *kamaaasi* trasgredendo anche l'ortografia) del Bwana Mkubwa (Gran Signore) e poi va sul palco dove degli artisti intrattengono il banchetto e "*Akunja kiunoche/Kwa shibe anya kabisa/Ni dhifa* (Spreme i fianchi/Per defecare a sazietà/Questo è il banchetto). La poesia *Pima tuyambe*, pur non affrontando in maniera esplicita temi socio-politici, può lasciare spazio ad altri livelli di lettura oltre al suo significato individuale, che rivelano l'attenzione da parte dell'autore alla dimensione sociale della sua città, e alla crisi economica e politica del Katanga. "*Pima uyambe*" (osa, e va a cagare; osa e ne vedrai delle belle) è difatti un'espressione colloquiale di Lubumbashi che a partire dagli anni della crisi economica ha cominciato ad apparire spesso sulle case la cui vendita è oggetto di conflitto tra familiari. La scritta swahili, oppure la dicitura in francese "*cette maison n'est pas à vendre*", rappresenta un mezzo per ribadire la posizione contraria alla vendita di un patrimonio materiale e memoriale di famiglia, e per dissuadere i possibili interessati all'acquisto. Questo fenomeno, indice non solo della crisi economica del Katanga dovuta al declino dell'industria mineraria, ma anche della disgregazione socio-familiare a essa legata, ha colpito anche l'immaginazione di un artista visuale di Lubumbashi, Georges Senga, il quale, a partire dalla sua esperienza personale relativa alla casa di famiglia nel quartiere Katuba, ha dato vita al progetto fotografico intitolato "Cette maison n'est pas à vendre et à vendre" (questa casa non è in vendita e [è] in vendita).[43]

Anche se il percorso di Mudekereza appare più personale – da una parte certamente lo è sia in positivo, ovvero la sua poesia pare scaturire dall'esperienza, sia in negativo perché la sua poesia è

42 Anche nelle poesie *Dikteta* (Il dittatore, 2008: 31), *Cha watu* (Delle persone, 2008: 38) *Hatima ya watu* (La fine delle persone, 2008: 44), oppure dove esplicitamente incoraggia alla responsabilità e alla libertà come in *Wimbo wa Unyago* (Canzone dell'iniziazione, 2008: 17) *Binti* (Figlia, 2008: 35) *Kwa watu wenye rangi* (Per le persone di colore, 2008: 54).

43 Si veda l'esposizione fotografica (in cui appaiono anche case con la scritta "Pima uyambe") e la descrizione da parte dell'autore al sito https://www.georgesengart.com/cette-maison-n-est-pas-a-vendre-et-.

restata troppo nei suoi cassetti –, attraverso la poesia manifesta la sua potenzialità di universalità (ovvero coinvolgere altri lettori) e la sua polisemia (ovvero è aperto a diverse interpretazioni, per esempio sociopolitiche o psicologiche, etc.). In Kezilahabi come in Mudekereza non c'è la volontà di rendere in poesia la lingua e lo stile più eleganti, né il messaggio più semplice, anzi costituiscono insieme una forte unità poetica che rimanda costantemente l'una all'altra. In questo senso la poesia non è un modo più alto di dire le cose, come giustamente nota Heidegger (1973: 42) "L'autentica poesia non è mai un modo più elevato della lingua quotidiana", ma, per continuare ad usare un linguaggio heideggeriano, è "un dire chiamato entro l'ascolto," è un "dire ascoltando" (1973: 71-74).

> Poetare significa: dire ascoltando, ridire cioè quell'eufonia dello spirito della dipartenza, che viene partecipata. Prima di farsi un dire – dire nel senso di esprimere – il poetare è, per la maggior parte del suo tempo, un ascoltare. La dipartenza assume dapprima l'ascoltare entro la propria eufonia, affinché questa penetri di sé il dire che la ridice. [...] La parola di questo dire diventa così un ridire: diventa poesia. In e per quel che giunge a espressione il poema resta custodito come il per essenza inespresso. [...] Intrinseca al parlare della poesia è un'ambiguità ambigua. Ma questa molteplicità di significati propria del dire poetico non si vanifica in una pluralità indeterminata. [...] La molteplicità di significati propria di questo dire poetico non è l'imprecisione di chi lascia correre, bensì il rigore di chi lascia essere.

Il poetare è dire ascoltando, ovvero la poesia parte dalla propria esperienza, in questo senso Kezilahabi parla di "*event lived*" (evento vissuto) che può diventare "*living event*" (evento vivente)[44] sempre presente al nuovo lettore grazie a quello che Heidegger definisce "ambigua ambiguità" della poesia che è "rigore di chi lascia essere". Questo è la poesia, ovvero ciò che Heidegger chiama "il chiamare originario" (1973: 35-42):

> Il chiamare è un invitare. È l'invito alle cose ad essere veramente tali per gli uomini. [...] La poesia, nominando le cose, le chiama in tale loro essenza. Queste, nel loro essere e operare come cose, dispiegano il mondo: nel mondo esse stanno, e in questo loro stare nel mondo è la loro realtà e la loro durata. Le cose, in quanto sono e operano come tali, portano a compimento il mondo. [...] Il parlare dei mortali è nominante chiamare, è invito alle cose e al mondo a farsi presso movendo dalla semplicità della dif-ferenza. La parola pura del parlare mortale è la parola della poesia.

44 Per un approfondimento si veda Gaudioso (2017, 2019).

La poesia per Heidegger è dire originario (1973: 35; 117-123) che dice ascoltando e, quindi, "asserve e libera" (1973: 124). Come si è visto, infatti, non è la poesia che ha bisogno dell'estasi per creare quello scarto cognitivo nel lettore. La poesia di Kezilahabi e Mudekereza è come una rottura, una frattura non solo linguistica o di presunta eleganza poetica, ma anche come rottura dalla sguardo quotidiano per produrre quel gap cognitivo perché dal nostro corpo emerga una nuova coscienza, una verità che la poesia ci spinge ad accogliere. La liberazione non può che non coincidere con la verità, come affermano Heidegger e Kezilahabi (Kezilahabi 1985: 67). È a questa liberazione che ambisce Mudekereza con la sua poesia e la sua trasgressione.

La libertà è individuale, come Patrick Mudekereza dice nell'intervista che gli abbiamo fatto (23/9/2018), perché né lui né la sua poesia rappresentano l'espressione del Congo o di Lubumbashi. Non si sente investito di nessun mandato. Questa può apparire una limitazione, ma non lo è. Anzi, il poeta in modo a-ideologico costruisce la sua poetica dalla sua esperienza corporale, che partendo dall'evento vissuto, "*event lived*" direbbe Kezilahabi (1985: 220), può raggiungere l'oltre "*beyond*" (Kezilahabi in Gaudioso 2019: 61-100) e farsi esperienza di tutti. Ovviamente questa potenzialità di emergere nel corpo del lettore e questa cifra di universalità che in potenza tutta la poesia ha resta castrata fin quando le poesie restano in un cassetto o vengono pubblicate solo per articoli accademici: non trovando lettori, ma al massimo critici, un poema non potrà diventare carne, come dice George Steiner è il lettore che incarna il testo, il critico lo guarda con distanza (Steiner 1979). In questo caso è un doppio peccato visto che la poetica di Mudekereza parte dall'esperienza carnale. Queste liriche di Patrick Mudekereza, seppure esigue di numero, hanno la loro importanza nella riflessione poetica e nell'estetica della poesia swahili, anche perché Mudekereza si pone in linea di continuità con un altro outsider della letteratura swahili, Euphrase Kezilahabi, che sconvolge la letteratura swahili dalla fine degli anni '60 con continue riforme poetiche negli ultimi anni si lamentava del suo isolamento (intervista a Kezilahabi 2015, Gaborone, Botswana, in Gaudioso 2019) e del fatto che nessun poeta avesse raccolto la sua eredità.

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Face to Face with the Natural Environment:
A Look at African Literature

Graziella Acquaviva and Cecilia Mignanti

Human impact on natural environment has seriously increased over the last few centuries. However, it is only from the mid-twentieth century that a greater sensitivity has developed around environmental problems. With an eye on the development of the African environmentalism, the paper considers the reaction of some African writers and their efforts towards the conservation of physical environment and climate change through their literary works as narrative and poetry genres.

1. A Brief note on philosophical environmentalist thought[1]

Human impact on natural environment has enormously increased over the last few centuries. However, it is only from the mid-twentieth century that a greater sensitivity has developed around environmental problems. Conservation and sustainable development are the sum of today's vision of environmental management. The philosophical environmental thought of the last thirty years has changed the way we relate to nature. Human impact on natural environment has seriously increased over the last few centuries. Since the mid-twentieth century, the awareness that neglecting or underestimating the ecological carrying capacity of the Earth could lead to tragic consequences for humanity yielded a greater sensitivity to the environment. Among the various environmental philosophical positions, a distinction must be made between anthropocentric, biocentric, and ecocentric theses.

The word "anthropocentrism" was first coined in the 1860s amidst the controversy over Darwin's theory of evolution in order to represent the idea that humans are the center of the universe. Anthropocentrism in fact considers humans to be the most important life form, and other forms of life to be important only to the extent that they affect humans or can be useful to humans (Kortenkamp and Moore 2001: 2). Kopnina *et al.* (2018) highlight the debate concerning anthropocentrism and debate if it is a value restricted to humanity or if it resides in the rest of life,

1 As per Italian academic regulations, the authors hereby state that Cecilia Mignanti is the author of section 4, and Graziella Acquaviva of sections 1, 2, 3, and 5.

too. Scholars like Norton (1995) and Cocks and Simpson (2015) make a distinction between strong anthropocentrism and weak anthropocentrism. The first is limited to consumptive natural resources: nature does not appear to have intrinsic value, and its extrinsic values are limited to its obvious contributions to humankind. The second is more encompassing and includes less tangible nature-related human values. Nature allows humans to grow in character and to feel good about themselves by interacting and caring for something outside themselves.

Biocentrism, distinguished in an individualistic and a holistic form, extends the concept of value to everything alive: humans, animals, and plants. It considers the human beings as being just a part of the living world, and promotes the idea of equality at the level of the whole biosphere. Thus, humans have the duty to respect the living nature and to protect it (Caciuc 2014: 94; Kopnina 2012: 238).

Ecocentrism states that the whole nature is superior to the individual. It extends the moral sphere even up the non-human entities taking into consideration the nature as a whole with all its moral values and meaning. Ecocentrism highlights the idea that humans are just a part of the ecosphere they depend on, and this is why it is considered the most radical current of that revolutionary movement known as "deep ecology"[2] (Grey 1993), a philosophical movement attributed to Norwegian Arne Naess and based on an ecocentric concept including both an anthropocentric as well as a non-human perspective (Caciuc 2014: 93; Howardas 2012).

2. Ecologism in the postcolonial era: the African experience

The relationship between man and nature have become predominant problems, debated not only in academic circles but also amongst the environmental and politically oriented activists. The idea of ecocriticism finds its origins around the 1970s in the United States, following the hypothesis that literary criticism could start from the relation between literature and environment (Mihaljevic and Kakkonen 2016: 13-15). The term ecocriticism was created by Rueckert (1978). In order to promote

[2] Basic principles of deep ecology formulated by Arne Naess and George Session in 1984, and which constitute the DEP (Deep Ecology Platform) are: 1. the well- being and flourishing of human and non-human life on Earth have intrinsic and inherent values in themselves; 2. richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves; 3. humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs; 4. the flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population; 5. present human interference with the non-human world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening; 6. policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present; 7. ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life's quality rather than to an increasingly higher standard of living; 8. those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes (Ibanga 2017: 101-103).

the ideas of ecocriticism, the ASLE (Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment) was founded in 1992. ASLE is also responsible for the publication of the Journal *ISLE*: *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* published since 1993 (Mihaljevic and Kakkonen 2016: 16). Kern (2000:30) states that ecocriticism urges literature to connect to the issues of today's environmental crisis and ecological problems and concepts throughout literary texts. Although some scholars suggest that African writers have not been very attentive to nature and most postcolonial African literary text fight the ideologies of European colonialism and neocolonialism, it is equally true that some of them convey environmental themes (Brown 1972; Nwagbara 2010; Caminero-Santangelo and Myers 2011; Ibanga 2017), as for example Ngugi wa Thiong'o, whose literary works are closely related to the sacredness of the Earth and trees (Acquaviva 2019), Wole Soyinka's plays *The Lion and the Jewel* (1973), *The Swamp Dwellers* (1973), and *A Dance of the Forests* (1974), in which cultural aspects appear to be used as means to raise environmental awareness and expess the need to protect nature. An important role in the diffusion of environmental policies was played by ecological activists and writers like the Kenyan 2004 Nobel Peace Prize Wangari Maathai, founder of GBM (Green Belt Movement), focused on tree planting and environmental conservation (Acquaviva 2019), and the Nigerian Ken Saro-Wiwa,[3] who was leader of MOSOP (Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People)[4] and EMIROAF (Ethnic Minorities Rights Organization of Africa) (Osagae 1995: 327) and author of literary works like *Genocide in Nigeria: the Ogoni tragedy* (1988),[5] and *A Forest of Flower* (1995),[6] which reflect environmental issues such as the relations between ethnicity, land, water, pollution and human rights (Nixon 2007).

3. Eco-poetry in the Western and Eastern African context

As evidenced by Ngwagbara (2010: 17), Nigeria's political independence was soon followed by a serious crisis at the societal and economic levels, leading the country to a situation of great

3 For more information on Saro-Wiwa's life and literary works see: North (2001), Welch (1995), Fyfe (2017), and Nicholls (2017).

4 The Ogoni are a minority ethnic group inhabiting the Rivers state in Eastern Nigeria. They do not have a myth of common origins as other ethnic groups in Nigeria. Their ethnicity is based on a common language, customs, and farming methods (Osagae 1995: 327-328).

5 *Genocide in Nigeria: the Ogoni tragedy* (1988) is a collection of newspaper columns and articles written in the 1970s and 1980s, and provides an overview of Saro-Wiwa's political and environmental concerns. The articles document his concerns about the fate of the Ogoni people and their mistreatment by multinational oil companies and collaborating Nigerian Government.

6 *A Forest of Flower* (1995) is a collection of nineteen short stories in which a nation is seen crashing under the pressure of corporate greed, ignorance, and mercenary self-interest, and its people struggling against government abuse.

environmental and ecological threats and unsolved issues of resource control, in particular in the Niger Delta region. Unsurprisingly, many poets began to use their art to denounce the environmental devastation and contributed to the growth of the so-called ecopoetry (Johns-Putra 2016) – a genre that developed mainly in the 1990s. Nigeria made a great deal of fortune from the oil boom of the 1980s; however, this fortune was made at the cost of the Niger Delta region, whose land and environment have been desecrated, fish poisoned, animals killed and inhabitants obliged to leave (Orhero 2017: 159-160).

Ifowodo's "A waterscape," the opening poem of his *The Oil Lamp* collection (2005), describes a lost and imaginary ecosystem preceding the exploitation of oil in the Niger Delta:

> Hung above water, hands in the air,
> whited tongues and breathing fibrous hair:
> roots, white mangrove roots.
> [...]
> Floating hats of lily, yellow plume
> Plankton and shrimp, egg-and-fish in bloom:
> Lakes, ancestral lakes.
> [...]
> And in the mangrove waters, where tides
> Free the creeks of weeds, fishermen glide
> Home to the first meal (Ifowodo 2005: xi).

In these lines, the natural environment's richness of the land appears in symbiotic relationship with the indigenous people who rely on the environment for their daily subsistence. The exploitative environmental policies put in place by the multinational corporation and which destroyed the Nigerian environment are denounced in Ojaide's poetry collection *Delta Blues & Home Songs* (Ojaide 1997). The capitalist and state-sanctioned onslaught on the Niger Delta bioregion and its consequences are highlighted in the poem "Delta Blues," in which the horrors and tragedies caused by multinational corporations' presence are denounced (Nwagbara 2010: 24):

> This share of paradise, the delta of my birth,
> reels from an imeasurable wound.
> Barrels of alchemical draughts flow
> from this hurt to the unquestioning world
> that lights up its life in a blind trust.

The inheritance I sat on for centuries
Now crushes my body and soul
The rivers are dark-veined,
A course of perennial draughts,
[...]
This home of plants and birds
Least expected a stampede;
There is no refuge east or west,
north or south of this paradise.
[...]
I live in the deathbed
[...]
My birds take flight to the sea,
The animals grope in the burning bush (Ojaide 1997: 20-21).

In East Africa, Swahili poetry has not been insensitive to the problems associated with the degradation and transformation of the environment. The poetry collection *Kichomi* ("Sharp pain," 1974) by the Tanzanian Euphrase Kezilahabi contains poems such as "Uvuaji wa Samaki Victoria" ("Fishing in Lake Victoria") and "Namagondo" that evoke serious environmental issues. The first poem, *Uvuaji wa Samaki Victoria* (Kezilahabi 1974: 4-5) tells the story of over-fishing in Lake Victoria presented as a tug of war: *I have never seen a harder tug of war than this*[7] (Kezilahabi 1974: 9). The poem expresses the consequences of greed and the need to reevaluate fishing as an economic activity. As Ranne (2016: 179) remarks, the poem accuses fishermen of too much fishing: "Those people were still there, half nacked!/Fishing again/ 'We do this three-four times a day', they said" (Kezilahabi 1974: 9). In "Namagondo" (Kezilahabi 1974: 8-11), the village where the poet was born, Kezilahabi underlines how traditional food is no longer available ("where are the sweet potatoes so delicious they stunned their eaters"), and common agricolture techniques have been replaced by new farming technologies ("Where is the cotton we harvested in plenty?/ Rooms filled with it, and people had to move out").[8]

Another important topic discussed in the ecopoetry genre is climate change.[9] An example is provided by The Benji Poetry and Music Global Concepts, a Nigerian company very much involved in

[7] English version by Ranne (2016).

[8] English version by Drury (2015).

[9] Evidence from several studies shows that climate change in Africa affects infrastructure (Ghana, Uganda, Ethiopia and Tanzania, for example, experienced droughts which affected the water levels in their dams and led to low hydropower),

research work on climate change education and which has produced poems on climate change to help promote attitudes and behaviors needed in order to safeguard environment. Anabaraonye's seven stanzas poem "Plant a Tree" is centered on planting a tree for the betterment of the world and in order to curb the menace of climate change – in line with the mandate of SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals):

> Trees provide us with oxygen.
> Trees help keep the environment clean.
> Trees help to purify the air.
> Increasing moisture as they transpire.
> [...]
> Trees provide food.
> Trees provide wood.
> Trees combat climate change
> When properly managed.
> [...] (Anabaraonye, Nji and Hope 2018: 82).

In "Go Green, Keep Clean" it is clear how poetry can be used in educating African and also world communities about climate chage adaptation and mitigation for global sustainability:

> Go make the world a better place
> Beautifully occupy your space
> Go spread joy and beauty everywhere
> Spread like a breath of fresh air.
> [...]
> Go green, Keep clean
> Keep the simple laws of hygiene
> Our planet is our responsibility
> Our vision is to make it gree truly.
> [...] (Anabaraonye, Nji and Hope 2018: 83).

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human health (high temperature and severe rainfall events are precarious factors in initiating malaria epidemics in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Madagascar. Extreme day-to-day temperature could bring about increase in food poisoning), and ecosystem. Most common climate events are drought, flooding, desertification and land degradation and, consequently the displacement of people (Awojobi and Tetteh 2017; Anabaraonye, Nji and Hope 2018).

The poems by the Kenyan Kithaka wa Mberia touch on one of the most sensitive topics: the destruction and the conservation of environment and the threat to the very existence of the human race and creatures. In his poetic collection *Bara jingine* ("Another continent," 2001) the poem *Jinamizi* ("The monster") speaks about the devastations resulting from drought: "Cows collapsed/ like dry leaves/Fallen by the wind/during spring" (Mberia 2001: 57).[10] In *Ngao* (Mberia 2001: 59) the poet condemns the poisoning of the atmosphere caused by industrial gas:

Kwa macho ya akili	Use smart eyes
Tazama anga za mbali!	look at the distant sky
[...]	[...]
Kemikali jeuri	Insolent chemicals
Zinatafuna Ozoni (Mberia 2001: 59)	are chewing Ozone11

Mberia alerts people on the necessity to protect the environment. In *Mkalitusi* ("The Eucalyptus tree"), the poet underlines the benefits brought by this tree to the health of the planet:

Mizizi yako	When your roots
Inapohimili udongo	Support the ground
Na majani yako	And your leaves
Kusafisha hewa,	Make the air clean
Moyo wangu	My heart
Unaridhika (Mberia 2001: 67).	rejoices[12]

In *Mombasa mibuyuni* ("Mombasa inside Baobab trees"), the sea breeze is compared to a detoxifier:

Upepo laini wa bahari	The sea breeze
Unapuliza taratibu	blows constantly
Na kuufanya huu ukanda	and makes this 'belt'
Dawa ya kuyeyusha machovu (Mberia 2001: 72)	a drug that detoxifies from tiredness.

[10] English version by Nixon and Ronald (2014).

[11] English version by this article's authors.

[12] English version by this section's author.

In the poetic collection *Msimu wa tisa* ("The ninth season," 2007), Mberia talks about the benefits from the natural environment in his poem *Ukarimu wa Ekweta* ("The generosity of the Equator"):

Asanteni jua, mvua, udongo na hewa	Thank you, sun, rain, soil and air
Ushirikiano wenu na mkono wa mkulima	(for) your co-operation with the farmer
[...]	[...]
Katika miali ya Novemba	With the rays of the November sun
Kwa pamoja, parachichi, chungwa na papai	All together, avocado, orange and pawpaw
Yakishirikana na karakara na ndizi	Joining with passion fruit and bananas
[...]	[...]
Kesho, liamkapo jua, nanasi litachukua zamu	Tomorrow, at sunrise, will be the turn of the pineapple
Likishirikiana na embe, tufaa, pera na plamu	to join with mango, apple, pear and plum
[...]	[...]
Tufurahie ukarimu wa anga la Ekweta	Let's enjoy the generosity of the Equator.[13]

(Mberia 2007: 78).

As evidenced by Nabulya (2018), the poem "July"[14] by the Ugandan poet Tusingiiriwe deals with the impact of meteorological conditions on a subsistence farming community. Although the poem features a landascape characterized by banana plants, nut gardens and trees, the picture is that of a land completely spoiled by drought, as in the following lines:

The thirsty earth gapes wearily at the heavens,
the limp dry grass droops the earth.
Dry banana leaves rustle and crackle in the heat
[...]

[13] English version by this section's author.

[14] The title of the poem recalls the driest month of the year in the Lake Victoria's area (Nabulya 2018: 6).

Trees creak and screech and shriek. (Tusingiiriwe 2000, cited in Nabulya 2018: 6)

Climate change education is vital in order to prepare the society to the impact of climate change, teach how to adapt to it and mitigate it, and reach global sustainability. Poetry may be a valuable tool for climate change education and one that will enable people to achieve the sustainable development goals (Anabaraonye, Nji and Hope 2018).

4. Eco/egocentric criticism: the East African fiction's experience

"Literary environmentalism is an idea that is purely grounded in ecocriticism"
(Nixon and Roland 2014: 29)

Literary environmentalism and ecocriticism open new ways for debating environmental and literary issues: all of humanity is affected by environmental problems and environmental degradation in particular; thus, western literature and overall novels start exploring this theme in different societies and cultures in the 1960s and 1970s. In East Africa, in the 1990s several Swahili authors begin presenting works connected to eco-critical ideologies (Nixon and Ronald 2014: 29-33). This paragraph deals with a few Swahili authors whose literary works focus on environmental issues and highlight an African philosophy of life strictly connected to environmental debate. As reminded by Hillman (1983), telling a story, a human experience, or writing about people needs a deep engagement by the author in his literary itinerary and experience: starting from the 1980s, we witness a change in the Swahili literary expression: while it was a mere tool of nationalist propaganda, it now begins to explore new fields. The Swahili writer now thinks he can complete the meaning of his words through the language of nature. Thus, Said A. Mohamed in his novel *Utengano* ("Separation," 1980)[15] uses nature's metaphors such as the rise and fall of the tide, the alternation of wind and rain, and the constant change of the Earth's landscape (Mohamed 1980: 97) to make the reader reflect on the transience of human existence. Any natural phenomenon that becomes a myth – summer, winter, the moon phases, the raining seasons – is not just an allegory of the event but a "psychic event," a

[15] The plot is fairly intricate. Suffice it to say that the rich and tyrannical Maksuudi keeps his wife Tamima and his daughter Maimuna prisoners in their own home, to the point that, during her husband's absence, Tamima suffers labour pains but is too afraid to call a doctor or visit a hospital, while Maimuna runs away from home but is later driven to prostitution. Maksuudi, back home after visiting his mistress, blames his wife for Maimuna's disappearance and, after almost beating her to death, throws her out of the house. After a few years, Maksuudi, now alone and impoverished, finds Maimuna and in vain implores her to come back home. Finally, Maimuna meets Kabi and is saved by his love (Bertoncini Zúbkova *et al.* 2009: 471).

symbolic expression of the unconscious drama of the soul that becomes accessible to human consciousness through the reflection of the natural phenomenon itself. In the 1990s, as Gromov (2014: 40-41) states, the Swahili literature witnesses the emergence of the so-called "new" or "experimental novel," linked in stylistic and formal aspects to post-modern writings and which makes use of an allegorical and parabolic prose. The contents are not limited to East Africa local developments, but extend to the fear of future in Africa and for the human race in general. The main enemies represented are: globalization (*utandawazi),* imperialist ambitions (*ubeberu)* and individualism (*ubinafsi),* that are responsible for destroying the most important human values. Swahili writers elaborate these contents describing apocalyptic and dystopian worlds (global catastrophes, dictatorial powers, famine) in order to exhort the reader to pay attention to the future, leaving him with a hope for a better world.

Kezilahabi's *Nagona* (1990) and *Mzingile* ("The Labyrinth," 1991) are considered the founding texts of the "new" Swahili novels insofar as they present a dystopian and catastrophic view of the future of humankind (Gromov 2014: 41). *Mimi* – I – Ego is the narrative subject in both novels. The first novel, *Nagona,*[16] narrates of a spiritual hunting directed towards a mysterious gazelle-woman called "Nagona." In this quest Mimi goes through an unregulated world which is surrounded by an apocalyptic atmosphere altered by political, social and religious traumas. The protagonist of *Mzingile* undertakes a journey to give a message to Kakulu, namely the Creator, who is represented as an old disenchanted man who decides to go back to his village after "the great collapse." The land has been completely destroyed and it can only be reconstructed starting anew from new bases. The novel's metaphysical core problem is represented by religion and God, conceived as myths created by human beings. The main character is Kakulu ("Little Giant"). He is born as an old man, and he is no more than 30 cms in height. He is a mythic figure, an omniscient god. When Kalulu thinks he has reached the right age, he summons five elders in order to teach them History, traditions, costumes and local

[16] The novel *Nagona* is sprinkled with mythological motifs and African symbols, overall those taken by the *kerewe*[16] tradition. As we know, the myth assumes fundamental values in the primitive and archaic societies, namely in the societies in which the myth represents the basis of social life and culture (Eliade 1969: 17-18). The presence of the myth in the novel is due to the author's choice to connect his literary work to the people's traditions and origins. Every element of the novel: the heroic task of the protagonist to hunt the gazelle (i.e., the bound between the human and the divine), the connection with the traditional rites, the magic, the wisdom, and the elderly people guide, is bounded to the repertory of the African myth. The novel is full of symbolic universal images (the circle as the sacral representation of the universe, the light as the creative power, and the water as symbol of creation and purification). The use of myths and symbols allows Kezilahabi to observe the world transcending its contradictory manifestations and describing its polyvalent nature, which could not otherwise be conceptualized.

medicine lessons. Then the five make return to their village leaving Kalulu alone. One day the mountain is set on fire and all the plants, the animals and the people are destroyed, producing famine and collapse. All the people of the village start to offer sacrifices to Kalulu, who is seen as a divine man. Suddenly it rains and he becomes a saint: a real human being who is a symbol of eternity. After that, the narrator continues his trip looking for Truth, God and religion. But this journey will not give him any solution, and as the first novel, *Mzingile* has an open end. Mimi finds God in a physical man, a creature who lives in miserable conditions, disappointed by the human being and ready for death. God does not want to leave the mountain where he lives, and the protagonist is forced to go back to the external world alone: he thus finds out that the Earth has been spoiled by a nuclear catastrophe. He goes around to his native village, and there he finds the old omnipotent man who, after the destruction of his mountain hut, has chosen to pass away where the last human being traces were left. The narrator nurses him as much as he can, until a day it starts raining and nature starts growing again. The hero meets a young woman and they become a couple: in the final act they see the old man hiking back to his mountain. This open end can be read as a rebirth and a renovation of the human world, or as life being saved by the very absence of religion. Said Ahmed Mohamed's novels *Babu alipofufuka* ("When Grandfather Came Back to Life," 2001) and *Dunia Yao* ("Their World," 2006) do not differ from the idea of future described in Kezilahabi's *Nagona* and *Mzingile* (Gromov 2014: 42). As shown by Aiello Traore (2015: 22), the first novel depicts an impoverished, depressed country in the near future. K. is the protagonist and he represents the corruption and cynicism of African leaders. One day his grandfather raises from death and takes K. on a journey to a miserable and desperate land which symbolizes the "pitiful present." Back home, K. decides to hang himself in order to be reborn as a spirit and refuse his social milieu. Nixon and Roland (2014: 33-34) consider *Babu alipofufuka* a text of ecological exploration: it denounces the environmental calamity that has befallen the people of Eastern Africa. The village that K. discovers resembles hell and its surroundings are completely deserted, like the *Kingdom of Pate in the Al-Inkishafi* epic.[17] K.'s journey turns into frustration and the sun is incredibly hot because it has been many years since the last drop of rain has graced the land. The situation, as it is described in the novel, is worse than during "El Niño," the unusual ocean current that happens along the western coast of South America every two to ten years, killing large numbers of sea creatures and causing often severe changes in weather conditions in many areas of the world. Moreover, the country's resources have been depleted, so that people have

[17] *Al-Inkishafi* ("The Unveiling") is an epic poem *(utenzi)* written by Sayyid Nassir (d. 1820), a poet of Pate who contemplates the ephemeral nature of life on earth and the necessity of proper conduct towards God's creation (Topan 2006:104).

nothing to eat (Mohamed 2001: 145-147). For Bertoncini Zúbková (2000), the novel is a protest against the ravaging of the Earth and against a progressive destruction caused by the rich class: it is a protest that cannot leave anyone indifferent. As Roland and Nixon (2014: 34) highlight, the author uses vivid representations that transport the reader into an imaginary world. The language he uses has the capacity to make the reader reflect and ponder about his or her relationship with the environment.

The second of Mohamed's novels presented here, *Dunya Yao*, rather investigates the individualistic nature of human beings, and for its contents it is possible to consider it an "egocentric novel." The protagonist, Ndi, is self-centered: he is a former government officer of Tanzania in the near future who chooses to seclude himself in his house out of his disappointment with the practices of the world at large – indeed, "their world" (the novel's title). Aiello Traore (2015: 22-23) claims that the plot construction expresses the delirium and distress of the protagonist through a stream of memories, hallucinations, and visions. The world around the protagonist is full of violence, and Ndi finds his own way to escape it through writing, creating and expressing himself. Ndi will connect again with his society going back to African traditions and symbols, such as the rhino's horn (a symbol of unity), the traditional African food, and the knowledge of the heroes of the past (Gromov 2014: 43). As affirmed by Garnier (2019: 137), it is significant that this novel, completely haunted by global questions, takes place in the individual intimate space. *Dunia Yao* presents a sociopolitical criticism of globalization from an East African perspective and bashes neocolonialism, corruption in politics, class inequalities, the deterioration of education, the Zanzibari violence during the multiparty transition, and the dramatic experience of migration to Europe (Aiello Traore 2015: 22-23).

According to Garnier (2019: 136), the global space described in Kezilahabi's *Nagona* and *Mzingile* and Mohamed's *Babu alipofufuka* is also shared by the Kenyan author Kyallo Wamitila in his novel *Bina-Adamu* ("Wonder man," 2002). As Gromov (2014: 43-44) reports, the protagonist is an unnamed village boy who has to find the three hermaphroditic sons of the prophet of the village. If he succeeds, life in the village will start to prosper again and abject poverty will end. During his quest, the protagonist, accompanied by several magic figures, visits three continents: Europe, which lives in the time of "yesterday", Asia, that is industrialized and lives in the "hope," and Africa, that is living in the "suburbs of the global village" and has been destroyed by wars and famine. Wherever he goes he meets the effects of the irrational actions of a mysterious individual: P-P (an extravagant character who sells Africa to foreigners and poisons the ocean with oil and radioactive material). At the end of his journey the protagonist will find P-P in the USA, defined as *bustani ya eden ya pili* ("the garden of the second Eden") and where the inhabitants, the sharks of global economy, want to live in "today" and in the "reality." Together with P-P they are creating the "man of the future," namely a creature

that does not remember its origins and history, that is not able to think and has as its only interest the consumerism of industrial products. The protagonist thus decides to devote his life to the fight against P-P for the rise of the African Union. As it emerges from the text, the only way for Africans to leave the suburbs of the global village is through Unity and self-knowledge (Wamitila 2002: 154-155). Throughout his novel, the author suggests that nowadays imperialistic powers consider the whole world as their playground, and, as Garnier (2019: 136) states, this global unified world is a world of extreme danger, where specific areas are constantly destroyed by external forces. The space described is a desert, a land deprived of any culture (Wamitila 2002: 123). According to Gromov (2014: 44) *Watu wa Gehenna* ("People of Gehenna," 2012), a novel by the Kenyan author Olali, differs in structure from the previous novels, but it still resembles them for the main elements presented: the human world (the world of the future, ruled by the devil, where Africa is suffering from a never-ending misuse of power, poverty and the exploitation of resources) and another world, the Gehenna (where just corrupt people, criminals and unscrupulous politicians live). This world is well represented by its nature hostile to men: Gehenna is dominated by four volcanoes that afflict the humanity for eternity through their fire. Here it is not possible to avoid pain, there is no freedom of choice and there is no mercy. The only constant element is lava that bursts out everywhere (Olali 2012: 1). Also in this novel, the people's unity and courage are able to defeat tevil, and the enthusiasm of a shared rebellions creates a new force, in which young and elder people will fight against the evil and restore their world (Olali 2012: 125).

When analyzing eco-criticism in the Swahili novels, it is important to cite the Kenyan Clara Momanyi's *Nakuruto* (2009), an eco-critical feminist novel set against a backdrop of environmental activism (Nixon and Ronald 2014: 37-39),[18] and Emmanuel Mbogo's *Bustani ya Edeni* ("The Garden of Eden," 2002). In *Nakuruto*, the author analyzes the work authored by women who write on different ecological issues in their artistic expression. The writer uses the female protagonist, Nakuruto, to admonish humanity and educate society giving suggestions for a better future. Momanyi denounces in her novel the destruction of the African indigenous culture, which was able to preserve its ecosystem, by colonialism. The author draws an idyllic picture of the precolonial environment as a

[18] Ecofeminist theory has provided a critique of the ontology of domination, wherein oppressors are thought to be of a higher order of being than the dominated. In the modern era this ontology has been enabled by a binary epistemological mode and practice that reduces living beings to the status of objects, thereby dismissing their moral significance and permitting their exploitation, abuse, and destruction. In ecofeminist literal and cultural practice, texts are reconceived as vehicles for the disclosure of being, rather than as mechanisms for its elision, thereby helping to reconstitute the "objects" of discourse as "subjects" (Donovan 1996: 161-162).

beautiful scenario dominated by a living and colorful nature, a paradise where all creatures coexisted. However, the arrival of the colonial powers obliterates this paradise and creates a society of boundaries where all creatures fight each other. Through her criticism of colonialism, Momanyi also presents the present political and ecological problems by a female point of view. The author admonishes us about the women's difficulty to take part in the political agenda and suggests that women's participation would be useful in the struggle for the preservation of the ecosystem. Again, it is possible to notce in this novel, too a good use of symbolism: Momanyi draws a parallel between nature and women, affirming that when women suffer in a repressive society, ecology, too suffers, so that the liberation of women from repressive cultures means also the restoration of Mother Nature (Nixon and Ronald 2014: 38; Acquaviva 2019: 41). Mbogo's environmentalist novel *Bustani ya Edeni* (2002) is set in Dar es Salaam, where various kinds of pollution affect the lives of local people: the narrative focuses on the problems caused by a chemical factory called Sagasaga. Factory workers get sick because they do not wear gloves nor masks. The factory dumps waste materials into the river, poisoning plants and animals, while the people who use its water face the risk of contracting cancer. Following the public opposition to the environmental destruction caused by the factory, its managing director is forced to close it and finds refuge in the United States (Nixon and Ronald 2014: 33).

Ecocritical analysis is contemporary to the egocentric examination by Swahili authors who target in their analysis specific social actors. In the novels presented below egocentrism is a feature shared by the elder social class when it enters in conflict with younger people. An example is given by *Kipimo cha Mizani* ("The Weighing Scale," 2004) by Zainab Burhani. The novel tells about Halima and her husband Amini, who live a peaceful and happy life. Suddenly, Amini dies in a car crash, and Amini's brother, Umari, deprives Halima of all her property and even takes her children away, forcing Halima into an asylum. Nevertheless, Halima menages to restore her mental sanity and regains what she lost. Finally, she marries Selemani, her late husband's best friend, and she forgives Umari (Bertoncini Zúbková *et al* 2009: 352). As Wafula (2013: 112) highlights, egocentric features are depicted in the character of Umari, who decides to bribe the Police, and Dr. Juma, the doctor who certified Halima's mental insanity, contravening professional ethics, in order to deny Halima the right to inherit her late husband's property (Burhani 2004: 102). In the novel Umari is described as an extravagant person, selfish and envious of his brother (Burhani 2004: 61). *Kipimo cha Mizani* presents an intergenerational conflict where young characters are presented as active members of the society, capable of determining their own destiny. These values are internalized in Salama's character, a young nurse who fully adheres to professional ethics and decides to intervene when she notices that the corrupted Dr. Juma is contravening it. She prefers to observe social and communal values against

the immoral and corrupted conduct of the elder doctor. The author here expresses how youth is able to change society for the better and can refuse to be intimidated by their egocentric seniors (Wafula 2013: 148).

Another novel which expresses egocentric preoccupations is *Kufa Kuzikana* ("Life Buddies," 2003) by Ken Walibora. The novel is set in an imaginary country which can be easily recognized as Kenya in the early 1990s. The first person narrator is Akida, a fifteen-year-old student. Akida's best friend is Tim, who belongs to his opposite ethnic group, and when a tribal war between Akida and Tim's ethnic groups breaks out the two friends must struggle in order to save their friendship (Bertoncini Zúbková *et al.* 2009: 362-363). As Wafula (2013: 121) notes, in this novel the majority of the elder characters are represented as passive and egocentric people. An example is the figure of Mzee Muyaka, the father of Akida's friend, who is only interested in personal welfare and does not care about the political events, including war: when Mzee Muyaka's employer advises him about the killing of the Minister Johnstone Mabende, he answers the young boy's questions with silence. He does not think that all this deserves the people's attention, and he actually get furious with the young man's insolence, and sends him away abruptly (Walibora: 2003: 164-165). Mzee Muyaka's past experiences account for his indifference and egocentric attitude, and, as in the previous novel, younger generations manifest the will to eradicate this negative frame of mind (Wafula 2013: 121). Egocentric features are also presented in the Shafi Adam Shafi's novel *Vuta N'kuvute* ("The tug of war," 1999). The novel is set in Zanzibar at the end of the colonial era during the liberation struggle. The protagonist is a young Indian woman, Yasmin, who falls in love with Denge, a black militant freedom fighter who cannot marry her. The young woman therefore marries another lovely and kind man who takes care of her. Denge himself, after escaping from prison, seeks refuge in China (Bertoncini Zúbková *et al.* 2009: 474). According to Wafula (2003), this novel meditates on two conflicts: the conflict between the former colonial power and the communist ideologies shared by younger generations; and the conflict between a younger generation and the elder one that still promotes ethnic prejudices (Ellboudy 2005). The inter-generational conflict is represented through the clash of different generational values: younger people are represented by critical and patriotic characters, while the elder generation is depicted by naïve and egocentric personalities (Wafula 2013: 123).

5. Final Remarks: African environmental and ecological education programs

According to Lithoxoidou *et al.* (2016: 68-70), the ecocentric approach is centered on the abolition of the separation of humankind from the environment; moreover, humans could not have survived as a species if everyone cared only for himself, and empathy is the impersonal ability to discard impulses

while focusing on the needs of the other or the knowledge of the state of mind of another person and its spontaneous emotional response. Thus, human behavior towards the environment depends on human beliefs about it (Howardas 2012). As Svatina *et al.* (2014) claim, beliefs are a subject of change, in particular during the transition to adolescence, because this is a period when an individual develops the ability of complex and abstract reasoning. Understanding this transition is crucial for predicting the attitudes and course of action in terms of sustainable development later in life.

Batibo (2013: 161-162) emphasizes the importance of including indigenous knowledge in the learning programs of the new generations. Indigenous knowledge is based on the indigenous people's interaction with their physical environment, including fauna and flora, as well as the interaction between themselves and with their supernatural world.[19] In traditional African societies, children acquired their indigenous knowledge through their constant interaction with both the adults and the physical environment. This knowledge included an understanding of the surrounding ecological system and the acquisition of skills in the use of the various tools and devices in the daily activities. However, the traditional mode of preservation and transmission of linguistic, cultural and nature-based knowledge has been affected by the reduction of bio-cultural diversity and the adoption of Western-based lifestyles in most African societies. The reduction of the ecological diversity has been the result of a number of factors and circumstances, such as the deforestation of the equatorial forests for timber and pulp, the clearing of woodlands for cultivation and firewood, and the pollution of water sources (United Republic of Tanzania 2010-2014: 12). As a result of the diminished contact with nature and with the traditional cultural environment, the younger generations are losing the indigenous knowledge of the ecosystem, such as the names of plants and wild animals, their characteristics and uses. Batibo (2013: 165) stresses the fact that although during the Ujamaa period an attempt was made in Tanzania to develop education on the basis of traditional systems through the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance, not much was done to incorporate local knowledge in the school curriculum. However, in some vocational training institutions or informal learning centres, some traditional skills have been incorporated in modern skills.

Wildlife Clubs were founded in order to overcome the obstacles inherent in curricular innovation in schools, and in compliance with an adequate environmental education, Wildlife Clubs (McDuff 2000). The Wildlife Club movement in Africa is the largest grassroots conservation organization for students, and Clubs are found in seventeen Anglophone countries and ten

[19] Concerning the topic of indigenous knowledge and environmental conservation most studies relate to East Africa. Very interesting are the surveys conducted by Ayiemba (1981) and Dyson-Hudson (1987) on pastoral strategies.

Francophone countries. In Kenya, for example, the Wildlife Club (WCK) has a history spanning three decades and involving more than one million youth. In the early 1970s, WCK grew in the number of registered wildlife clubs and the initiation of field-based activities that promoted the engagement of Kenyan students with their national parks. In 1980s, WCK received both national and international recognition, such as the 1986 domestic tourism award in Kenya for taking 6000 students into the parks, and in 1990s it began a training program to increase the capacity of its staff and teachers in the participation to the monitoring and evaluation of its programs (McDuff 2000: 386-389). As Glasson *et al.* (2010: 125-126) claim, in response to global climate change, loss of biodiversity and the human impact on the carrying capacity of the earth systems, attention has been focused on a sustainable development worldwide. Also following the 2012 Arusha Declaration 18, the Africa Environmental Education and Training Action Plan (AEETAP) 2015-2024, promoted by United Nations Environment, was initiated in order to support environmental awareness in many African countries. It seeks to promote innovation on the basis of the best sustainability practices through information and communication technology, including the development and implementation of Massive Open online Courses (MOOCs) on sustainable development, as well as the promotion of a positive attitude and behavioral change. The plan's main strategies are related to four areas:

- Formal education (enhance environmental education in all levels of formal education through policy and quality assurance systems; support curriculum innovations; professional development of educators; grants and scholarship programme to promote environmental education research);
- Informal or Vocational Education and Training (promote demonstration learning environments for green Technical Vocational Educational and Trainings (TVETs); establish competence-based models for green TVET; train TVET college lecturers and curriculum developers);
- Lifelong Learning, Youth Development and Community Education (Adult learning; indigenous knowledge and learning for sustainability; small grant system for social innovation through Environmental Education and Training).
- Capacity Building, Networking and Social Learning (media, social media and social e-learning capacity development; network building and support; mentorship and leaders programme; donor and research organization involvement) (Lotz-Sisitka *et al.* 2017).

At the end of this longish overview of ecological issues and concerns in African literature, the reader may have been struck by the shallowness, naivete and, too often, ideological bias of many plots. Still, intellectuals and authors from both West and East Africa have been instrumental not only in promoting among their (admittedly still limited) public an ecological awareness, but maybe even in

bringing about promising changes in environmental policies at large, especially addressing the educational system and the need to promote an environmentalist consciousness in the future generations. By no means an easy feat.

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Political Clientelism, Political Culture and Development in Africa

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Culture, society and development are the three most pertinent factors associated with every human civilization; however, they are distinctive and relative. Thus, development exists distinctively in every society. Today, globalization has promoted and consolidated democracy – 'liberal democracy' – almost across the globe as the single ideology and the best form of government that must be practised for the protection of individuals' fundamental human rights. However, the adoption of liberal democracy varies and continues to create a dichotomous marginality between the 'capitalist West' and the so-called developing nations with respect to its results. The pertinent questions are: what is the relevance of liberal democracy to Third World development? How important are the desirability, feasibility, conditions and possibilities of liberal democracy for a country where democracy is alien to its political culture? And how is the cultural and historical backdrop of the developing world different from that of the West? We will explore the importance of political clientelism in African political development and look beyond liberal democracy for an African-like democracy. This essay aims to contribute to our collaborative intellectual efforts by looking at the existence of development in human cultural patterns, the historical perspective of liberal democracy, its meaning, its validity, its relationship to African development, neo-colonialism and the global clientelistic structure for continuous dependency, as well as political clientelism importance to African development; by reconstructing the ontological notion of development to the Third World nations as envelopment-overt control of the progress of Third World nations by Global West and by suggesting a possible alternative for a sustainable development.

1. Introduction

Africa suffered great economic and political losses under the exploitative and brutal manifestations of colonial rule. This destruction was so intense that after colonial rule the continent was in no position to develop itself without foreign assistance. A further reflection of this is the importation of the liberal democratic system of government. Liberal democracy as a system of government may be defined in a minimal and procedural fashion as a political system where multiple political parties are in competition to take control of the government by contesting in free and fair elections (Foweraker and Krznaric 1999).

The ideological and philosophical makeup of liberal democracy hails from Western thought, and liberal democracy has been seen as the only, irrefutably good form of government. Many countries around the world are undergoing "democratization:" indeed, some are compelled to adopt it by the emergence of the "good governance" agendas of international institutions such as the World Bank. International organizations and states are intruding on other states' sovereignty in various and bold ways for the sake of promoting democracy and freedom. They even want democracy to be recognized as a fundamental human right.

This is as a result of their intention to consolidate and promote their capitalist system across Asia, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite popular perceptions to the contrary, the pattern of democratic expansion and improved well-being holds for Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa.

African nation-states consists of multilingual and multiethnic units in which cultural practices and heritages are seen to be distinct and unique. Many African societies practice political clientelism because it can be traced to their social system, heritage, social thought and belief systems. Clientelism is a kind of social relationship whereby the additional privileged people (patrons) exchange merchandise for the loyalty of less privileged people (clients; Joseph 1991; Taylor 2004, Garcia-Guadilla and Perez 2002). Political clientelism is essential in African society because it is a system in which the loyalty of the people is domiciled in traditional rulers and religious leaders rather than elected leaders.

Consequently, liberal democracy and political clientelism have not taken African nations, including Nigeria, anywhere. This is as a result of the continuous influence of neocolonialism, which causes the loss of internal control among developing nations. This effective loss of internal economic control has occurred while many developing nations have embraced democracy is deeply ironic and carries with it potentially explosive political consequences. Among these consequences are the surge of ethnic hatred, competition, ethnic favouritism and nepotism that are visible in African democratic nations.

Liberal delegative democracy operates as an ambulant monarchy that periodically mobilizes people to choose their new ruler, hijacking and kidnapping society and its resources in the process. No matter its avowed ideology, creed and, occasionally, good intentions, it tends to derail into oligarchy-like structures. Michels' (1911) "iron law of oligarchy" is perfectly valid, but only so in the case of delegation, not of representation.

Appropriation of power by elites only creates social and political disasters in national policy and at the global level as well as harbours polarization and extreme violence. Globalization, appropriation of power and inter-elite confrontation are contrary to the genuine interests of the people of the

world (Sankatsing 2004). This can be seen in the current insurgency experienced in Nigeria, in which Boko Haram continues to terrorize the nation on both political and religious matters with the ultimate goal of causing a political disaster for the present government.

The West has continued what they called development politics for the ex-colonies, based on their intention to secure the control of resources, economies and politics of the ex-colonies (Monar 2000: 119). Development politics, as it was introduced by the colonial masters during the formation of the EC, was intended to make good on the destruction that Europe had caused in Africa through colonialism. Development aid thus started as a mechanism to provide help to develop the new nations.

Madubuike (2000) emphasized that, in the light of current development, it is urgent to pose the question: what sort of democracy is desirable for Africa? Is it the one bound to the dictates of West? When are we going to determine how much our raw materials are worth to our prospective buyers? Is it still possible to go back to our cultural values as a people, without the colonial mentality of wholesale Western norms?

With social forces and the struggle for survival continuously on the scene, the vital issues are inspiring individuals to pursue self-fulfilment and increasing awareness wherever the deepest secret of political modification is found. The conviction that real options to take command of the own destiny are available, or can be brought within reach, is the key to liberate people from adulterating discourses and from induced consent. A sensible definition of awareness is, therefore, necessary for examining an alternative to the existing reality.

2. Democracy, its origin, meaning and validity

One basic shortcoming created by the elastic use of the construct of democracy is the problem of its definition (Falaye 1998: 97). As one scholar wrote, "the promotion, practice and vicissitudes of democracy in different parts of the world have exposed it to some definitional haze and diverse forms of interpretations (Adediran 1996: 47). Therefore, it is not an issue of surprise that by the word "democracy", many scholars could have cardinal divergent opinions. Two reasons advanced for this by K. A. Owolabi is that initial "democracy" has become in current usage, another word for political decency and civilisation" (Owolabi 1999: 5).

Democracy is derived from two Greek words: δῆμος and κρατία, meaning *people and rule*, respectively. The combination of both phrases has been translated to literally mean 'rule by the people'. Perhaps, this explains why Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as the "government of the people and for the people".

In ancient Athens, democracy was used to describe a practice in which all male citizens (therefore to the exclusion of women, children, slaves and foreigners) met freely on a regular basis to deliberate on issues impacting their lives. Everybody was playing the role of government by creating rules and regulations and running an orderly society. Direct democracy was made easier because the population was not too large for the convenience of such practice. However, we must understand that the economic systems of slavery and feudalism served as a catalyst to the success of direct democracy because the slave owners had ample time to partake in government business.

In a nutshell, etymologically, democracy does not stand for 'rule of the people', but for 'power of the people' because δῆμος means 'people' and κρατία means 'power' (the emphasis on power is also found in aristocracy, plutocracy, meritocracy, and theocracy). Rule is expressed by the suffix '-archy,' such as monarchy (one ruler), anarchy (no ruler), oligarchy (family or small group rules) and hierarchy (structure of rule). Therefore, what is needed is a democracy that has evolved into 'demoarchy,' not just the power to elect, but rather the power to rule should be in the hands of the people, not delegation but representation.

3. Liberal democracy

In discussing the concept of liberal democracy, it is pertinent to start by separating liberalism from democracy, to trace and scrutinize their historical contexts in order to facilitate a clear meaning and understanding of the concepts. Liberal and democratic principles dominate contemporary political thought. The primary principle is that selection rests with the individual and not with society. The second principle attributes the ability of making decisions to the 'majority' (Samet and Schmeidler 2002). As its commonn etymological derivation suggests, the most basic meaning of the word "democracy" is the rule of the people. As the rule of the many, it is distinguished from monarchy (the rule of one person), aristocracy (the rule of the best), and oligarchy (the rule of the few). The word "liberal" on the other hand in the phrase 'liberal democracy' refers not to the matter of who rules, but to the matter of how that rule is exercised.

Liberalism and democracy are not necessarily compatible. While one emphasizes the resolution of disagreement by debate where ideally everyone is convinced and won over, the other resolves it by vote where some are silenced.

There are many other definitions that can validate this claim. Liberal democratic government may be defined in a minimal and procedural fashion as a political system where multiple political parties compete for control of the government through relatively free and fair elections (Foweraker

and Krznaric, 2000). However, beyond this minimum benchmark, it is recognized that liberal democratic performance in such political systems varies widely.

Liberal democracy, whether in theory or practice, seems to be a socio-political formation, which embodies two different tensions:

First, democracy can be seen as a principle of popular rule and popular control of decision-making. We can consider the principle of private property rights in the means of production on the one hand and distribution and exchange on the other. This tension can be expressed in many different ways. The idea of equal citizenship is embedded within the notion of popular rule is restricted by the relationships that control and subordinate possession rights within the sphere of production, and by the unequal weight of the guarantees to a minority within the sphere of politics. The range of popular government is limited by the resource allocation and distributive functions of the market, whether it is conceived in its classical or oligopolistic form.

Second, liberal democracy is a more specifically political term between democracy as a principle of popular control of decision-making, and a conception of representation that assigns the representative a competence to decide public issues according to his or her own conception of the public good. This competence goes beyond the reciprocal influence between leaders and leads to a concern with protecting the positions and prerogatives of the representative against encroachments from below. The elected representative thus embodies essential elements of the liberal ideal of the independent individual, capable of freely assuming responsibility for his or her decisions (Beetham 1992).

Liberal democracy is debatable as a mode of legitimate endorsement of power. The 'electorate' is not the equivalent of the 'people', and it does not even represent any meaningful social force or social group. The electorate is an amorphous mixture of people, delinked from social ties, social contexts and social networks, and it lacks any meaningful existence outside the ballot. It is best then to categorize the electorate not as a social grouping, but as a political construct.

In practical politics, a complicated network of political leaders, intermediary organizations, key persons and opinion-making institutions rearranges pre-existing social, economic, cultural, religious and ethnic power structures into bargained legal authorities. This method endows vested interests, economic elites and dominating powers with ample space to translate their fractional influences in society into concerted efforts to control the monopoly of power by the state (Sankatsing 2004).

4. Africa and liberal democracy

It is important to note that the spread of liberal democracy did not just occur "naturally" or "inevitably," but it resulted from deliberate steps taken by the victors in World War II that not only governed and stimulated international economic relations but also regulated the internal matters "of the world's nation-states." Before the advent of colonialism, most African systems of government were not democratic in any modern sense. Gregory Mahler (1995) clearly explained African situation: he wrote that Africa is a large region of over fifty independent states with diverse political institutions, political histories, political culture and customs; yet, in spite of these differences, there are features the states have in common that affect them politically.

Most African countries were colonized and later gained independence from colonial powers. The political culture in most of the states is heterogeneous due to the various traditional ethnic groups and tribes within these states. Gregory further explains that elections and democratic politics in Africa have common histories because of how the countries were politically organized by their colonial masters. For instance, in Ghana, Kenya, Sierra-Leone and the Gambia, Africans were elected into legislative councils in the 1920s. After independence, the success and importance of elections in African countries became bleak and doubtful. "Elections in much of contemporary African countries were widely regarded as irrelevant or a sham. There was growing evidence of elections which did not reflect democratic values that those responsible followed neither the electoral procedure set out in the institutions bequeathed at independence nor other requirements of free and fair competition" (Mahler 1995: 357).

To differentiate the term African democracy from liberal democracy as used in this research, it is important to analyse the thinking of African leaders of post-independent Africa. According to Ahluwalia (2007), all the African leaders of post-independence Africa, such as Nyerere in Tanzania, Nkrumah in Ghana, and Kenyatta in Kenya, dismissed multiparty democracy, a fundamental principle of liberal democracy, as not being congruent with their African traditions. They argued that a system of one-party government was African and an essential part of the African tradition. Therefore, according to their definitions, African democracy is a form of government based on one-party rule. Political parties may exist nominally, but they may not freely organize political activities in opposition to the rulers and the ruling party.

Another description of African democracy put forward by African leaders after African independence is based on their argument that traditional African societies rested on a politics of consensus, not of competition – a principle they professed to be promoted by proponents of multiparty democracy. In the post-colonial era, the problem with this concurrence under this so-

called African democracy in terms of democratic governance is that it functioned primarily between the monarch and his/her retinue (mainly relatives of the monarchs, such as uncles and in-laws) and the ruling elites. The ordinary voters were rarely consulted. Their role was to adapt, not challenge, the commands of the ruling elites. In this scenario, the powers of the three branches of government, ordinarily separated in Western democratic states, are concentrated in one man (or woman) at the helm of government in a form of African democracy. According to Staffan Lindberg (2004), the 1950s was the initial period for Africa's first wave of democracy. This was the time Africans were struggling to gain independence from their colonial masters. Because African countries were still under their colonial powers, restrictions were imposed on them. In the Francophone countries there were limited electoral roles for Africans, while elections were restricted to the local government in Anglophone countries (Lindberg 2004).

Fayemi (2009) noted that democarcy is embedded within political culture of traditional Africa society. This he noted can be found in the mode of goverance in Bostwana. To justify his position, he gave an historical analysis of the Yoruba (a major ethnic group in Nigeria) political culture before colonialism. He argued that the system of governance in the Yoruba poilitcal cultue is a balance of "monarchy and democracy". Pre-colonial Yoruba political system comprised of metropolitan cities headed by the *OBA*- traditional ruler or monarch, subordinate viilages and towns ruled by *BAALE or OLORI ILU* (Head of the village or town) subsivient to the Oba. Each town is subdivided into quarters headed by a chief and quarters divided into compounds or extended families joined together by descendants from an ancestor headed by *OLORI EBI* (Family Head). Decisons taken at the various levels of governance is done by consensus and particpatory democracy. Before vital decisons are taken at the compound level, all members of the family must be involved in the decison making process. Particpation is regarded asa duty for all members, any who refuse to particpate may face ostractism. Decison making process is done the same at the quarters and village or town levels. At the metroplitan city, the Oba must consult the chiefs, the cult and sect priests and representatives of vital sections of the populace such as traders, guild of hunters, army etc before making vital decisons.

Leadership is not hereditary- from father to son at any of these levels. The *BAALE OR OLORI EBI* is selected uniamously based on age and prominence. The quarter chiefs are selected amidst the leading family investing with the title and presented for approval to the members of the quarters and then to the BAALE or OBA for investiture. The OBA is selected amidst the families that consitute the royal clan and every male member is eligible for the position. The power to select the new *OBA* is given to a standing council of chiefs called – *AFOBAJE* (the KINGMAKERS) in consultation with the *IFA* oracle. Before the new *OBA* is selected, there are laid down rules and regulations that must be followed- the

eligible candidtates are investigated for their moral disposition, leadership styles and skills and personality traits. The consensus of the general populace concerning the candidates are gotten by the the Kingmakers before final selection and the spiritual guidance of the oracle is sought. The new king upon installation is informed that his government is based on the decisions of his subjects. The people have the right to express their opinions about their leaders directly or through other means. The king is not expected to be autocractic since there are several checks and balances curtailing the excesses of any autocractic king. Yoruba history is repleted with histories of autocratic kings and how they were rejected and forcibly removed by their subjects.

5. African democracy and political clientelism

The literature is fertile with definitions of clientelism. Some definitions tend to associate the phenomenon with democracy or democratization. Kitschelt (2008) refers to clientelism as a particular mode of principal-agent relationship in democracies. Clientelism, for several authors, is one of many historical forms in which interests are represented and promoted in political society. It is "a practical (although in many ways undesirable) resolution to the matter of democratic representation" (Roniger 2004: 360).

A recent survey of political clientelism by Susan Stoke was based primarily on European and recent Latin American political science literature and barely mentioned are the African literature or the anthropological and sociological sources that have been so influential for understanding of the concept in the low-income world. Focusing on the impact of formal electoral rules on these practices, Stokes defined clientelism as "the proffering of material goods in return for electoral support" (Stokes 2008).

Irrespective of the varied positions of scholars on patronage, an inherent component of patronage is an inbuilt relationship of power between patrons and clients. Of course, it is straightforward to assume that the patron should have a monopoly of power, since he is the one who provides material resources. It is however necessary to note that clients too exercise an enormous amount of power in the exchange relationship through the non-material resources they control. Indeed, the patron may control power over state and productive resources, but he requires the loyalty of clients to sustain it (Omobowale 2008).

Omobowale (2008) carried out a study on the values and meanings connected to patron-client relationships in Yoruba social thought looking at proverbs that relate to these relationships. The proverbs address the positive values the *baba-Isale* as patron is expected to portray in order to secure the loyalty of the client. Indeed, aside from providing goods, the patron is expected to be exemplar in

his character, all of which is embedded in the social values of *Iwa*, *Ihuwasi*, *Isesi* and *Ajumose*. Once a patron has internalized these ideals, which are relevant to the sustenance of the social structure, he would be recognized as an *omoluabi* and the services he extends to the clients would be significant. This study shows a cordial communal relationship among the Yoruba social group (Omobowale 2008). A similar structure exists among the Hausa: taking the Sokoto caliphate as an example, its administrative system was largely organized around a number of largely independent emirates pledging allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto. The Hausa kingdoms prior to the caliphate were run largely through hereditary succession for leadership.

Omobowale's study on the Ibadan further explains the clientelistic relationship among the social groups. His work clearly explains the perception of people that Ibadan men must be appointed at federal and state administrative levels to represent and protect Ibadan interests. More often than not, officials are selected for positions based on the recommendation of patrons. Of course, such officials are expected to be loyal to the patrons who recommended them, while also extending goods to clients through the patronage/clientelistic system that ensured their appointment (see also Omobowale 2008; Omobowale and Olutayo 2007; Omobowale 2006; Olurode 1986). He further emphasized in his work that clientelism is unique because it shows that clients do not operate as lone individuals but as members of associations that are deliberately created in order to have more clout with patrons; he emphasized that aggrieved clients, in addition, can exert leverage by changing, or threatening to change, their patrons. A patron is appointed on the basis of his financial strength and good character as exemplified in his philanthropic deeds and wisdom: "the appointment of a patron starts from money and then good character" (Omobowale 2008).

Omobowale concluded that it is important to admit that associations are pivotal to clientelistic structures. Clients do not relate to patrons as individual adherents, but they rather form social and welfare associations in order to increase their clout with prospective patrons. These associations subsequently become essential to the clientelistic system through the attraction of goods in exchange for loyalty. Indeed, once association members yield their support to particular patrons and politicians, they informally campaign and solicit the support of friends, family members and other close associates for a particular politician or party during election periods. This network of associational clients, patrons and politicians goes a long way towards determining who gets power and who retains power (Omobowale 2008).

6. Neo-colonialism: democratic hegemony and global clientelistic relationship

After political independence, many African leaders were perplexed to find that the economic, political and cultural exploitation of the continent actually continued in what became known as "neocolonialism" (Mwaura 2005: 5). Neocolonialism operated in varying ways in post-colonial Africa: control over government in the neocolonial state through foreign financial support or through the presence of foreign consortia serving and upholding foreign financial interests. Whichever way one analyses it, neocolonialism resulted in the exploitation of the African states, such that foreign capital entering African states to foster development "promoted" instead underdevelopment (Nkrumah 1975: 415). In some cases, neocolonialism has gone as far as using troops from colonizing nations to control or support the government of the neocolonial state. For example, French troops remained present and active in French colonies long after independence: in May 1996, French soldiers supporting the CAR government fired at national soldiers who were angry at their government for failing to pay their salaries (New York Times, 24/05/1996).

Kolawole Owolabi discussed extensively on the democratic hegemony the West left for Africa nations as a legacy. He asserted that "having realized that the days of colonization were numbered, the West discovered that it could not survive without exploiting the resources of the third world countries. One way by which the West can successfully realize this goal is to step up its cultural Imperialism and promote its democratic culture as the ideal culture" (Owolabi 1994: 115). Neocolonialism survived because the West established a dependent economic and political structure on the continent, which was inherited and retained by the new leaders. These "ambassadors" of the colonizers, as N. Mwuara (2000: 6) describes them, promoted foreign interests over domestic interests, maintaining the economic and political structures of the colonizers. They got involved in "brainwashing" their followers to support and uphold neocolonialism. The mass brainwashing of post-colonial rulers and their successors resulted in sustained neocolonialism to the detriment and underdevelopment of Africa. Deji Odetoyinbo (1994) chooses to describe the instilling of the neocolonial political culture in African leaders as "brain-dirtying". According to Odetoyinbo, brainwashing forces the understanding of "cleaning or make pure" in one's mind, which is far from being the case with neocolonialism. As a result, the minds of Africans "have been deeply and thoroughly sullied by our contact with Europeans" – Odetoyinbo continues - including all "contacts, past and present, wilful and enforced, intimate and casual, malicious and well intentioned". (Odetoyinbo 1994).

7. The core question: can Africa develop?

7.1. Breaking the hegemony

As illustrated above, democracy as a modern style of governance was not born in Africa. The literature shows that in the early 1980s, the IMF and World Bank used a number of measures, such as financial aid and economic sanctions, to try to force many African countries into adopting a form of liberal democracy. According to Pausewang *et al.,* "today Europe is the driving force in spreading democracy in Africa".

The most pertinent question is: are Africans doomed forever to be dependent on the West? Can't we rethink our persistent dependence on the West? Uroh (1998) argued that "by implication, Africa may not be able to develop beyond the stage dictated by the west".

Anthonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony can be used to explain the situation: it refers to social situation in which a certain social group or an alliance of social groups has "a total social control or authority" over other social groups, not as a result of direct imposition of ruling ideas, but by winning and shaping consent, so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural.

Hegemony and discourse are vital concepts for understanding the processes of awareness among social forces. A notable effort to overcome the constraints of economic reductionism within the Marxist tradition is Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which highlights the role of non-economic factors. Hegemony is the influence exercised by enhancing legitimacy in society, while domination is exercised through control of the state. Hegemony "can be understood as the degree to which a combination of coercion and consent establishes authority and leadership without a direct resort to visible force or violence. It does not draw on naked power but on the awe towards power; therefore, the contribution of 'power' to 'hegemony' does not lie in its application but rather in the persuasive capacity of power as a potential and latent entity without the need to resort to direct force or violence" (Gramsci 1995: 57).

Hegemony is typically supported by discourses that justify narrations presented as self-evident truths to mitigate the perception of reality. Their prime function is to prevent people and social forces from becoming aware of their real conditions and development options. Once social forces become conscious of their own reality and of their capacity to act, conditions are ready for them to design viable channels for collective survival, starting with the pursuit of interests and objectives that are critical for the own group.

7.2. The need for social change and class consciousness

The most important single factor for triggering social change is awareness, defined as the sight of an alternative to existing reality. Two widely accepted tenacious myths surround the concept among social scientists and social reformers. The first is the tenet that the level of awareness and eagerness to take corrective action bears a causal relationship with the degree of pauperization, similar to Marx's *Verelendungstheorie.* Second, it is believed that change in awareness is impossible on short notice, as changing the mentality of people requires huge efforts during an extended length of time, sometimes even generations. By inference, structural social and political change becomes utopian. The history of Caribbean slavery demystifies this defeatist tenet that only serves the status quo and the vague concept of mentality, which nobody cares to define with precision.

However, class consciousness, according to Marx, is the transition from a 'class in itself' (a category of people having a common relation to the means of production) to a 'class for itself' (a stratum organized in active pursuit of its own interests). History dramatically shows that one can only dominate people by controlling their minds, thoughts and consciousnesses. It also provides the valuable lessons that, under the weight of harsh reality, avenues exist to trigger awareness on short notice. Accumulated frustration and hopelessness alone are not enough, but there comes a point that naked reality can overwhelm the strongest discourse. The time is then ripe for the minds and energies of people to be liberated by watching the conditions of their own reality, unmitigated by false narration. Evidence turned into action always triggers the motor of history.

8. Interrogating concepts: development vs. envelopment

All development theories of the last fifty years have failed, without exception. Worldwide, ambitious development initiatives derailed into deep crisis, casting the majority of humanity, living in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, into deep trouble and grave sorrow for the future. These failures, both in theory and in praxis, had one indisputable historical cause.

The empire that does not claim to bring civilization has yet to be born. By deduction, the other is the barbarian. What was labelled 'development' was, in reality, the very opposite, 'envelopment', a paternalist process to incorporate the other, to overwhelm, to enclose and wrap up by envelopment, as done with an envelope. Annexation, insertion and incorporation into an alien genealogy and teleology were the goal, rather than supporting the growth of inner forces and allowing them to flourish from within the society. In the false development/underdevelopment dichotomy, the transfer and mimicry of devices from abroad were taken as the prime agents of progress, in an

imperial attempt of projecting oneself onto other societies, instead of mobilizing the inner forces of communities. The correct definition of development is the mobilization of the potentialities and social forces in a project of self-realization, in interactive response to nature, habitat, resources, culture and history for the realization of a project of one's own. Development is a process from within that can trigger, support and sustain but can never donate by transfer, not even as a generous gift. This unmasking of the false development discourse has led to a new promising explanatory model, the development/envelopment paradigm, with development as self-realization and its negation, envelopment, as the incorporation of subdued people in a project that is alien to their internal social dynamism.

By merging the development/envelopment paradigm with the social-reality-based extradisciplinary method, a powerful practical tool becomes available to formulate democratic alternatives in the realm of politics. The extradisciplinary approach eliminates the dichotomy between theory and praxis by putting an end to the inverted logic of current social sciences that the analysis of academia determines how society is analysed. This reality-based de-academization of social science rejects autonomous social science disciplines and overcomes the gulf between theory and practice inherent in the academic tradition. Complex social reality and history demand specializations for purposes of study rather than autonomous disciplines derived from academia, but always with the compelling requirement to put bits together before making any final statement. Social reality, rather than fragmentation in disciplines, becomes both the starting place and the end of the scientific enterprise in the extradisciplinary approach.

With the development/envelopment paradigm, the nature of the alternatives of delegation and representation can be elaborated, since delegation is based on envelopment, while representation is an outcome of development.

Development, based on this new paradigm, immediately poses the critical issue to the political realm of how the free individual voice can help secure both its self-realization and the collective destiny in a future-directed, development-oriented politics. Development, democracy and representation go hand in hand. Only in their close conjunction, a genuine project of society is possible under the command of social forces as the architects of history. Only people jointly determining the path to mobilize their own potentialities can control their own destiny by taking their concerns, needs and aspirations as the focal point.

9. Recommendations and possible alternatives to liberal democracy

In history, alternatives are not found in encyclopaedias or the Internet but are constructed as a wilful act of conscious future-oriented people. Alternatives are always created in real life on roads heading to a future. Establishment of a synthetic democratic structure would be considered necessary. Development-based representation as the alternative to delegation is also the only escape route from social death and can promote development. Instead of people with muted voices, representation turns them into their own ombudsmen. At the same time, it opens the difficult but promising avenue to global harmony. An alternative democratic structure will ensure that rights of citizens are respected and kept. Citizens or groups in the society who are socially excluded will be given opportunity to be adequately represented. The new form of democracy will be one that takes into consideration the culture, beliefs, history and ideaology of the people in the different African countries. This will form the basis of a new model for development in Africa.

9.1. Establishment of a democratic structure that supports the Afrian project

For example, the United States and Canada drew a protectionist wedge against Japan's cheap industrial products, and Japan's foreign investments were restricted. However, in spite of these acts of discrimination by the West, and consequent economic depression back home, the Japanese were determined to build a "self-sufficient empire". They formulated policies that drive their political, cultural and diplomatic relationships (Madubike 2000). In this sense, Africa must develop its democracy in the traditional sense because the importance of traditional ruling system cannot be taken away from African society. Africans must develop immunity to foreign influences and structure their own political goals. Taking Japan, Germany and China as examples, whatever form of foreign influences they might have been exposed to at various points in their respective histories, they built their indigenous political systems without support from external factors. This form of democractic structure should take into comsideration the existence of cultural diversity and plurarity in the society and ensure equality of citizens and in their involvement in governance, this is the best the system to ensure development.

9.2. Democratizing political clientelism

It is pertinent to note that democratization has changed some of the key socio-political characteristics present in Africa while leaving others unchanged. Therefore, political clientelism will not disappear, but it will change in form and function as a result of these changes. However, Africa

has been characterized by unusually high levels of social inequality (van de Walle 2009). This seems inevitable, as the region's political and economic institutions have generated social and economic stratification.

Taking the Oyo state in Nigeria as an example, the Alafin (king or traditional ruler) claims that he is responsible for the installation of any political leader who will govern the state. This simply means that the power of traditional system and ruler can never be removed from Nigerian political culture. The people tend to be more loyal to their patron because they believe that they are closer to their patron than a political delegate as designed by liberal democracy. This is still evidenced in the current administration of Governor Abiola Ajimobi, whose administration seems unfavourable to the Oyo people despite visible infrastructural provisions.

10. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to look beyond the present democratic structure of liberal democracy. However, democracy and development should now be perceived in the African context. Having seen the importance of cultural development in every society, the historical background of liberal democracy, its etymological meaning, context and influences in our contemporary world, it is pertinent to assert that the so-called Third World nations should structure their democratic systems and developmental affairs without the influence of the West. Because liberal democracy received the benefit of the doubt for so many years, the Third World nations have more doubts about the benefits of development.

Our attention should be diverted away from delegation as it is practised in liberal democracies in which the traditional beneficiaries of the system are not the actors most inclined to modify it structurally. Rather than changing the rules of the game, what is at stake is changing the game itself in order to allow people to take command of their own destinies at a time when the stakes are high. Representative democracy is the only viable road left open to pursue global harmony by providing the minimum conditions to overcome three imminent threats, the collision in development, the collapse of ecology and the confrontation in religion, every single one of which directly endanger the survival of humanity. For most contenders in liberal democracy, corruption is not an excess of democracy, but the premium of democracy. Democratization of political clientelism is also pertinent so that the exchange relationship is visible between the political patrons and their clients in order to promote economic and social development. Since they are rational and tend to be calculative, the give-and-take principle will promote long-standing relationships in the political system.

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Depicting the others:

Late Bronze Age Southern Levant's cultural identity and adornment from the Egyptian view. Reality *vs.* Perception

Giulia Tucci

The Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age is to be considered as rooted and capillary on the territory. Nevertheless, by excluding some written sources as the Letters of el-Amarna, it is practically impossible to evaluate local perceptions and representations of who populated the region during this period. In fact, Southern Levant presents an extreme lack of human depictions and iconographies, thus Egyptian direct witnesses become very useful to provide a vivid picture of society and its prominent historical protagonists.

"Asiatics" depictions on reliefs, paintings and Egyptian artifacts, give us a quite punctual idea of who the Levantines were and what they wore during this period. The paper means to focus on the analysis of the personal ornaments by which "Asians" are identified and represented, as well as on the function of ethnic, cultural and identity markers these items represent in the depictions.

An iconographic and stylistic analysis will try to show the association between images and objects through material culture findings in and extra context, though bearing in mind the asymmetric vision the Egyptians had in perceiving themselves and representing other people, sometimes far more distant than it appeared.

1. Introduction: Egypt meets the Southern Levant

The Egyptian presence in Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age is to be considered as rooted and capillary on the territory. From the Battle of Megiddo (Redford 2003: 9; Weinstein 1981: 10), during the reign of Thutmose III, Pharaohs returned to the Levant almost annually with military campaigns (Burke 2010: 54). It seems that during the Amarna Era many Levantines immigrated to Egypt as merchants, soldiers, artisans, sailors and ambassadors; at the court of Amenhotep IV is in fact recorded the presence of many Asians in various relevant positions (Bietak 2007: 437). Conversely, since the 19th Dynasty, the Egyptian presence in the Southern Levant became stable with a possible co-habitation of Egyptians and local Levantine population in sites where Egyptian fortresses and residences had been built (Tucci 2016: 98).

During the conquest, it is clear from the Egyptian's scribes reports that a number of Asiatic workers and slaves were brought to Egypt. These, as we can see from the scenes immortalized on the

Egyptian monuments, arrived by land and by sea, usually they were prisoners of war but also dissidents and victims of internal turmoil in the cities of origin. According to their attitudes and abilities they found themselves occupying different positions in Egypt, with also tasks of responsibility (Redford 1992: 214)[1].

During the Middle Bronze Age scenes depicting Asians were mostly related to the commercial involvement of the peoples of the East; from the 18th Dynasty began to appear representations of Asian mercenaries who served regularly in the Egyptian army, testifying to a process of allocation that began as early as the Middle Bronze Age. From the firsts Pharaonic campaigns in the Southern Levant, the representations also include processions of prisoners and bearers of tributes, as well as foreign princes paying homage (Sparks 2004: 28). Thus, it is probably during this period that the depictions of the Levantines assume the contours of the "enemy" or the generic "other/foreigner", being depicted also on objects of daily use as a demonstration of the familiarity of the Egyptians with such characters (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Sandals with the depiction of foreign prisoners, from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

[1] The movement of people from the Levant to Egypt is a phenomenon known since the Chalcolithic period. The flows of Asiatics who reached Egypt in the early periods spontaneously for reasons of trade and better living conditions, then become forced movements, with the Egyptians in extreme need of workers, craftsmen, mercenaries and soldiers. The Egyptians' expeditions to the East have always been motivated by the need for raw materials such as wood, but also wine and oil (Bietak 2007: 417-419).

Thus, these inward and outward movements contributed to a better Egyptian knowledge of the human neighborhood. From the New Kingdom on we have a variety of scenes of war and tributes (Aldred 1970: 105), and, due to the fact that Southern Levant presents an extreme lack of human depictions and iconographies, Egyptian direct witnesses become very useful to provide a vivid picture of Levantine society and prominent historical figures.

Starting with Thutmose III, the chronicle of Egyptian military operations and political outcomes is recorded in the so called "Annals". The parts dedicated to the flows of peoples, tributes and gifts of foreign countries are of a great interest for this topic. In this period the pictorial counterparts of the Annals are the scenes of processions in some of the Theban private tombs (Panagiotopoulos 2006).

During the 19th Dynasty we know from textual sources that Asiatics who had come to Egypt as prisoners obtained works and positions depending on their intelligence, skill and prior training (Redford 1992: 214). At the same time Egyptian specialists worked in Southern Levantine sites (Tucci 2018: 424).

2. Levantine iconographies in the Egyptian New Kingdom

Egyptian textual and artistic representations were based on a strong underlying definition of "us" *versus* "them"; moreover they demonstrated a great knowledge of the populations living beyond the Egyptian borders: Levantines, Libyans, Nubians and Aegeans are all well allocated in the geographical space (Mourad 2015: 13). Foreigners have an immediately recognizable type. North-eastern people from the Levant had typical features, but when they were not taken directly from a personal experience, the human figures might often present traces of hybridism of transference (Wachsmann 1987). Egyptian artists tended to mix elements belonging to separate entities, or to transfer figures and scenes from a rendition to another, in order to attain the most understandable result.

Egyptian representations present a great variety of human/ethnic stereotypes, but in the New Kingdom solar theology just four basic ethnic groups are incorporated: Egyptians, Asiatics, Libyans and Nubians (Tyson-Smith 2007: 218; Fig. 2); starting in the the Middle Kingdom, Levantine males are depicted with black or red coiffure, prominent aquiline nose, and often yellow skin (Posener 1971: 22).

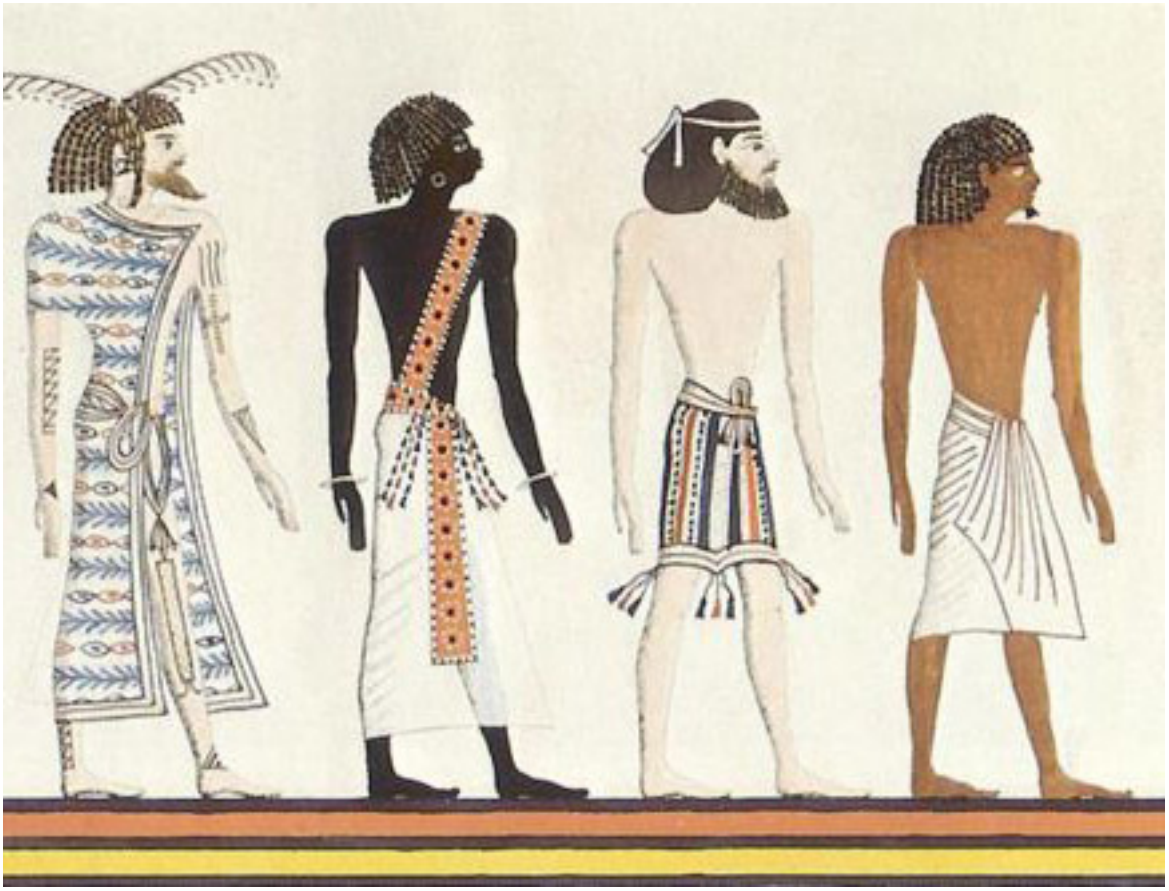

Fig. 2 Four human "races" depicted in the Tomb of Seti I, Valley of the King (Freiherrn von Minutoli 1827, pl. III).

Besides some recurrent physical features, also associations of personal objects were used to reconnect to a certain ethnic group: all this is then partly confirmed by the few Levantine representations of the local population.

In Egyptian representations there is a strong contrast between reality and perception and this artistic and propagandistic loophole is well explained by the concept of A. Loprieno who in 1988 speaks of *topos* and mimesis. *Topos* is an idealized view, a negative rhetorical representation usually motivated by power relationships, while the *mimesis* is the result of a real knowledge of what you are representing, of a contact that has taken place.

Despite the great ability of Egyptian artists to make aesthetic differences and portray their characters we can say that a certain vision of Asians remains rather unchanged in the Egyptian imagination. The representation of the caravan of merchants and metallurgy reproduced in the tomb of Khnumhotep II is a vivid example of this (Newberry 1893: pl. 31).

3. Jewels of the Levantine peoples in the pictorial representations

From what has been possible to observe from the few and preserved iconographic representations, it seems that Southern-Levantine taste in clothing, hairstyle and jewelry just partially evolved following neighborhood cultures. Despite this, the production of Southern Levantine jewelry in the Late Bronze Age has for too long been linked only to imitation and importation of Egyptian jewelry, with few attention to local expertise. My doctoral research has demonstrated the large amount and the quality of local production, along with the presence of local workshops in strategic sites (Tucci 2018: 419).

The original data of my PhD perfectly match with jewelry displayed by Levantine peoples in Egyptian representations. The recurrence of some ornaments in the pictorial representations, made specific personal ornaments become real cultural marker. The association of specific jewelry to an ethnic group usually follows criteria such those well enucleated by Dr. A. Golani (2010: 752): the object may have a distinctive shape with a specific significance and such object may have a defined geographic distribution.

In pictorial representations Egyptians often depicted Canaanites wearing rounded star or cross pendants (Sparks 2004: fig. 3.6.d; Fig. 3-4).

Fig. 3 Scene of Asiatic tribute-bearer, from the Tomb of Sobekhotep, 18th Dynasty (British Museum, London EA37987
https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1176536001&objectId=124908&partId=1).

Fig. 4 Detail from the footstool from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 62030).

This pendant type (McGovern 1985: *typ. VI.G.2.c*; Tucci unpublished PhD *typ. C.I.*) is characterized by a metal (gold or silver) sheet worked in *repoussé* with the representation of a star. The final rendition of the artifact could be less or more elaborated. This typology, quite widespread in the Near East, but not in Egypt, dated mainly between the 2nd and the 1st millennium BC. In Southern Levant this specific pendant seems to be limited to the Late Bronze Age. The star emblem is connected with the solar god. In Southern Levantine contexts star-disk pendants are usually found in burials or cultic contexts.

The first representation of an Asiatic wearing a single anklet dated to the end of the Old Kingdom, otherwise this kind of ornaments are depicted to the latter half of the 2nd millennium (Tufnell 1958: 39) (Fig. 5).

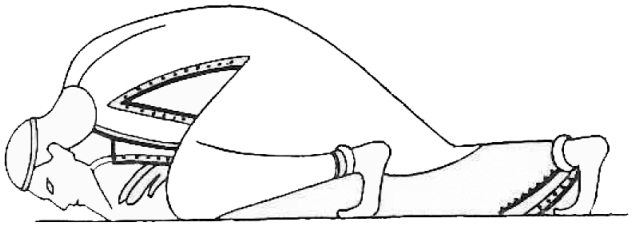

Fig. 5. Levantine chieftain wearing anklets (after Tufnell 1959, fig. 4).

According to O. Tufnell (1958: 5) the fashion of wearing anklets spreads in the Northern Iran during the 3rd millennium BC. The use of large solid metal rings is attested in the Southern Levant from the Bronze Age to the Persian Period, and beyond. Ethnographic parallels show the tradition of adorning bride with anklets in pairs (Granqvist 1931: 60). The iconography, pictorial and burial evidences show that anklets were common both for female and male (Golani 2013: 151), young and adult, although the use of multiple examples are limited to women who have reached sexual maturity (Tucci: in preparation). The use of anklets in pairs was possibly connected with an audible effect (Meyers 1992: 256). The Egyptian representations of Asiatic dignitaries show, in few cases, men kneeling down with just one anklet.

Excursus: Distinctive Southern Levantine adornments

To give a clearer overview of the local Levantine jewelry of the Late Bronze Age it seems useful to provide some data on the objects more markedly connected with the populations of the Southern Levant. Without going back on the rounded star or cross pendants and anklets already described above I will present other type of objects.

Some scholars claim that the tradition of piercing earlobes to insert earrings and therefore the custom of wearing this ornament is of Asian origin and that it spread to the Nile Valley, passing through the northern territories of the Delta, or from the neighbors Nubian, only at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (Brovarsky *et al.* 1982: 227). From this moment on, Egyptian craftsmen began to produce a wide range of earrings of various shapes, copied, emulated or exported throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin.

In the Southern Levant, however, it is possible to find some earrings that are unparalleled outside the region. One of the best examples, even for the limited geographical spread is the drop/bud shaped earrings. These items are made in two parts the hoop and the three-lobed shaped pendant (McGovern 1985, *typ. IV.H.*1; Tucci unpublished PhD *typ. A.II*) (Fig. 6). Few sites have returned this typology of earrings: Beth Shemesh, Deir el-Balah and Tell el Far'ah South, (Grant 1932: pl. XLIX:22 Grant 1931: pl. XVIII; Dothan 1979: fig. 164; Dothan 2008: 154; MacDonald - Starkey - Harding 1932: pl. LI:1-3), but the specimens found are virtually identical[2].

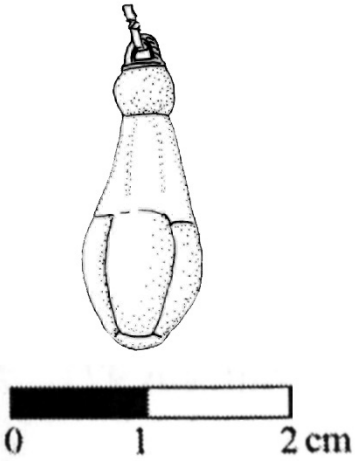

Fig. 6. Drop/bud shaped earrings from tomb 118 at Deir el-Balah (Dothan 1979, fig. 164; redrawn by G. Tucci).

[2] Just one example was found in the North of the region at Ugarit/Ras Shamra (Schaeffer 1935: 144 fig. 6).

Rather common in the Southern Levant is the crescent shape body pendant (McGovern 1985, *typ. VI.B.*1; Tucci unpublished PhD *typ. E.I-II*). The specimens found are all in silver gold, electro, bronze or alloys[3]. These objects are made with a crescent with a circular or square section to which at the top is welded a tubular element for suspension, often decorated with engravings or repoussé. This type of pendant also known as "bull's horns" is widespread in the Near East since 2000 BC, in the Southern Levant these pendants appear at the end of the Middle Bronze. this pendant was probably worn in association with the lunar divinity because of its shape (Ilan 2016). This pendant is also visible around the neck of some recently found female pottery figurines from the Tel Burna site (Sharp McKinny - Shai 2015:63) as well as around the neck of the basalt statue of a seated male figure, found inside the so-called Sanctuary of the Stele of the Lower Town of Hazor (Keel - Uelingher 1998: fig. 4; Fig. 7).

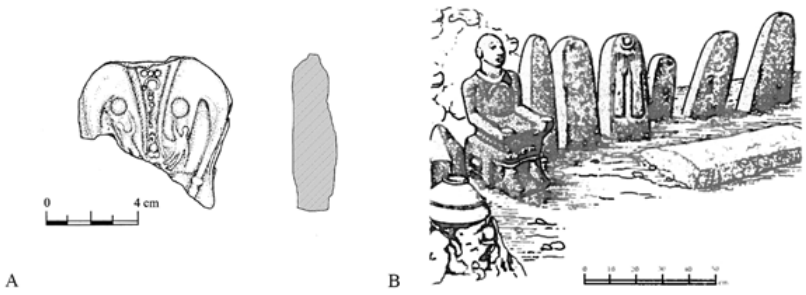

Fig. 7. A) Female pottery figurine from the Tel Burna site (Sharp McKinny and Shai 2015: 63); B) Sanctuary of the Stele of the Lower Town of Hazor, Area C (after Keel and Uelingher 1998, fig. 4).

The pyriform laminettes, reminiscent of the female pubic area, are widespread throughout the Levant area, worked in repoussé with representations of nude frontal female figures (Tucci unpublished PhD *typ. D.I-II*). In this iconography the gods of Ishtar, Astarte, Hathor, Asherah and Qudshu have been recognized. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop (1971: 141) divides the figurines into two categories, the representational and the pictorial one, according to the rendering of the features belonging to the figures represented. The diffusion of these pendants is in the Southern Levant starting from the Middle Bronze IIB, most of the specimens come from Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el'Ajjul.

[3] Just one example in onyx from Tell el-'Ajjul (Petrie 1934: pl. 20: 154).

The hypothesis related to these particular ornaments is that they were objects of a private cult, as apotropaic amulets, for those who wore them and, that on the occasion they could become an *ex-voto* dedicated in places of worship.

Canaanites, contrary to what is known to the Egyptians, used to fast the clothes toggle-pins. The pins, usually in metal, but sometimes also in bone or ivory, widespread since the Middle Bronze Age, are not found in portraits of Levantines but we have various examples of the object found in the funerary context that clarifies its use (Sparks 2004: 33).

Particular objects come from funerary contexts, they were metal foils with a width of less than 4-5 cm decorated in repossè or engraving (but also not decorated) that were placed on the mouth of the deceased. These ornaments have been little studied and often confused with diadems to be placed on the head. There are not many examples found in the Southern Levant (Ben-Arieh - Edelstein 1977: pl. VIII:7; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 120-121; Rowe 1930: pl. 39:2; Guy 1938: pls.128:10-11; 165:12-17; 168:15).

4. Ethnicity and jewels as ethnic or cultural marker

Ethnicity[4] is an inherent feature of a definable and identifiable group or individual, connected with race, language and cultural roots (Tucci: In preparation). At the same time the ethnic element is self-determined and negotiated by social relationships (Barth 1969); thus ethnic identity is both a biological-hereditary fact (Geertz 1973: 19) and a superstructure of a group or individuals that allow a reciprocal recognition and a differentiation from others. The inherent features that define the ethnicity are a common name, a common foundation tale and a common history, a same language and religion, a common territorial provenance and a shared sense of community (Smith 1996: 6). Ethnicity in the archeological record passes through the material culture of a group. The ethnical elements of a population may undergo phenomena of respect, elimination in case of submission and domination or cultural entanglement or hybridization in cases of coexistence and assimilation, when facing another culture. Distinctive cultural traits may appear also in textual sources and iconographical representations, in this case it is important to take into account if the group is representing itself or if the image is the product of a foreign element, and it is fundamental as well to detect the ultimate purpose of the representations. Different cultural markers may be

[4] The concept of "ethnicity", the research on the subject and therefore its application on the archaeological field has been the subject of a careful re-evaluation in recent years. See for an introduction Moreno Garcìa 2018.

displayed in different circumstances, in order to express different meanings (Moreno Garcìa 2018: 2) The Levantine representations in Egyptian iconographies have been used as a symbol of conquest and power. It is likely that soldiers did not wear any kind of ornamentation during the battle, and prisoners were deprived of their possessions; nonetheless in Egyptian depictions some foreigners wear their jewelry: I can assume they are here both a symbol of their *status* or wealth and an identifying mark of their provenance[5].

Some classes of materials, of course, are better as cultural markers, such as tools and implements for food preparation and consumption, but also personal, portable objects as jewelry and ornaments. Due to its personal nature jewerly is a clear method to proclaim ethnical and cultural belonging (Golani 2014: 270); as for dress and ornaments, they are a non-verbal communication means still in use today.

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[5] The same phenomenon is found in the representations of the Nubians, directly close to Egypt and certainly better known in the Egyptian perspective. See van Pelt 2013.

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Language Reform by Lebanese Lexicographers in the *Nahḍa*

The case of Saʿīd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī

Stefania Porcu

This article provides an overview of the social and literary revival and linguistic regeneration of the nineteenth century in Arab countries, especially in the Syro-Lebanese region. After outlining the work of the most important Lebanese lexicographers, this research focuses on the author Saʿīd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī and his multiple interests. The aim of this paper is to understand the role of this author in a reform carried out by two groups of intellectuals, one conservative and one reformist, in the period called *Nahḍa*.

1. *Nahḍa* and the role of the Syro-Lebanese region

Nahḍa,[1] or Arab Renaissance, represents a cultural, political and economic rupture that puts an end to the so-called *ʾInḥiṭāṭ*, a period of decadence which led the Arab world to a deadlock and a delay in the cultural and civil fields, if compared to the Western world. This is a situation unique of the Arab world that represents the way in which non-Western societies have conceptualized their entry into the historical stage of modernity. *Nahḍa* replaces the era of ignorance and obscurantism (*ʾahd al-ǧahl wa-ẓ-ẓalām*) characteristic of the period between the eighth and fourteenth centuries and characterized by a strong cultural impoverishment.

The allegory of rebirth is a colonial element and the "price of entry" in modernity "was a confession of decadence" (Fieni 2012: 145). It is seen as an historical event whose cultural aspects are a simple echo of larger social and economic forces, especially the growth of the colonial presence of Western powers in the Arab world, the weakening of the Ottoman system, the birth of new forms of capitalist economy, and so on. In other cases, *Nahḍa* is defined as a product of the genius of a pantheon of "great men" (Rastegar 2014: 227-231). In each country there have been people who are credited with favouring a turnaround because they wanted change and they paved the way for later generations. They are called *ar-Ruwwād* (the pioneers) and among them we know, for example, Rifāʿa

[1] The term derives from the root NHḌ, which means "to rise," "to rise again," "to awaken."

Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (d. 1873 CE) in Egypt and Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī (m. 1871 CE) and Buṭrus al-Bustānī (d. 1883 CE) in Lebanon.

It is important to understand how the authors were, at that time, a product of socio-economic changes and how, at the same time, they themselves originated new social, cultural and political conditions, within that individual and collective project that was the *Nahḍa*.

Arab intellectuals, when they travelled to Europe or the United States, physically or intellectually, already had some idea of what they were looking for. Their travel experiences could modify and sometimes completely change their ideas, but they rarely abandoned the initial idea, often determined by their position in their country in the face of power, social status and class interests. It is therefore necessary to revisit the notion of European "glimmer" that inflamed this sort of Arab enlightenment in the nineteenth century, when Napoleon's adventure in Egypt woke up the entire Arab East from its sleep. The history of cultural transformations in Lebanon upsets this Egypt-centric "glimmer" of *Nahḍa*. While in Egypt the rebirth began with the Napoleonic expedition (1798-1801) and marked a recovery in the economic and social fields, Christian communities of Syro-Lebanese region (*Bilād aš-Šām*) had already implemented a linguistic and cultural renaissance.

Therefore, when referring to *Nahḍa*, we speak of a composite political, social and literary revival movement, which did not begin at a specific time in history. It was a gradual process, which had already had signs at the end of the eighteenth century and which strengthened itself over the following century, stimulated by different causes in each country.

As already mentioned, in the Syro-Lebanese region *Nahḍa* had already begun and from there it spread to the other near eastern regions. We speak of Syro-Lebanese region and not of Lebanon because it did not exist as an autonomous region yet, but it was a province of Greater Syria.

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in this region the illiteracy was rampant, the academic standards imposed by the schools were low and the offer of courses was limited. Furthermore, teachers had no professional skills, there were few libraries and books were limited both in number and distribution. As a result of these problems, the language became impoverished and the writing styles were artificial, with a highly inexpressive vocabulary.

The writings were saturated with colloquialisms and emphasized *Sağ'*[2] at the expense of content. Classical Arabic in Arabic-speaking countries was in decline to the point that the use of colloquial varieties prevailed also in official circles.

In this situation of impoverishment, Arabic language was accused of incapacity in its primary function as a means of expression and could not be placed on the same level as other languages, particularly when compared to English and French. To counter this criticism of Arabic language, some important scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century undertook a defence of the language by planning ways to revive it. This included a return to the roots (*al-'uṣūl*), emphasis on linguistic and literary subjects, translation of modern sciences in Arabic, development of journalism and interest in publishing in general. All these efforts were designed to eliminate the limitations of Arabic language.

There was a vast emigration of intellectuals both internally and in the opposite direction in Egypt and Western countries, which favoured contact between the two shores of the Mediterranean and between West and East. Furthermore, the opening of many schools and the foreign missions operating in the Arab territory and in that area further encouraged contact between the populations, contributing to spreading culture and raising the level of general culture. Writers and intellectuals focused on the regeneration of the language to make it able to express new ideas and new tools and to react to the needs of modern society. This included a correction of dictionaries.

From 1860, the stabilization of American missionary schools in Syria and Lebanon (which will later represent the American University), favoured a linguistic and literary revival of Arabic.

The oldest of the linguistic academies, the Arab Academy of Damascus, founded by Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī (d. 1953 CE), was modelled on the Académie Française and its goals were the protection of the language against dialectal influence, the maintenance of linguistic purity by eliminating all the terms of foreign introduction and adapting the language to modern needs, particularly in the area of science and technology.

The proliferation of academies was, however, a reflection of the political fragmentation of the Arab world and consequently they were themselves a factor in ensuring that the terminological inconsistencies they wanted to avoid continued to be a plague in scientific communication in Arabic. But this was not the only trouble. Scientific progress in the Arab world was conducted, as

[2] Prose characterized by a rhyme or a similarity placed at the end of the period. It was already in use in pre-Islamic times (*ǧāhiliyya*). It derives from the root SǦʿ which in other Semitic languages is connected to the "sacred slave of a temple;" in Arabic the root also means the monotonous and cadenced "cooing" of a pigeon (Amaldi 2004: 29).

everywhere, in English, and Arab neologisms found their way only later in university textbooks. Thus, the first goals of academies concealed several internal contradictions and historical inaccuracies.

The academies' desire to protect language from dialectal and foreign influences was based on the idea that dialects were degraded forms of a language that had been corrupted by contact with foreigners but that, at some indefinite point in the past, had been pure. In the early medieval period, drawing a line that distinguished the classical language from the non-classical one had mostly religious political motivations and this was destined to be a limitation. Despite the prescriptions of medieval grammarians, foreign lexicon was continually finding its way into Arabic, particularly in the tenth century, at the time of the Abbasids.

If, according to them, the flow of foreign terms and expressions had to be stopped to preserve the purity of the language, the solution would have been to create an alternative, autochthonous lexicon. In this regard, there were two possibilities. The first was *al-'Iḥyā'* (to revive) which consisted, precisely, in reusing one's own heritage and exploiting archaisms to indicate something new. An example is the term *qiṭār* which denoted the caravan of camels bound to each other and which was then used to indicate the train. The second possibility was *al-Iqtibās* (adaptation) which consisted in the use of the heritage of others and, substantially, in the transcription with the Arab alphabet of foreign terms (*ta'rīb*; Toelle and Zakharia 2007).

From the beginning, the idea of the academics was to allow the minting of new terms only according to medieval grammar principles. This meant that the simple *ta'rīb* had to be avoided at all costs and that the new terms had to be derived according to the principle of analogical derivation (*al-'ištiqāq bi-l-qiyās*). For this reason, the options of the academies were limited to the assortment of attested roots and to a relatively small set of morphological models. But this self-limitation has proved to be impractical and, in practice, ignored by the academicians themselves, since the desire to preserve the "spirit" of the language using only a few derivational schemes showed difficulties in reconciling with modern science. The request for new terms was too high and the analogic system alone was not capable of generating large families of terms comparable to those of Western scientific language (words such as "rheumatology," "rheumatism," "rheumatic," etc.) in which morphemes can be freely added to a fixed base. In some cases, in fact, to make up for this lack, compounds (*naḥt*) were created from the Greek-Latin formations. The simplest type of compound is the one which does not require an abbreviation, such as *barrmā'ī* (amphibian) formed by *barr* (mainland) and *mā'* (water) with the suffix *ī* indicating the derived adjectives (*an-nisba*).

Language in this period is seen as a sociological organism whose growth and evolution are analogous to that of a population or a nation and, in this case, the nation was formed through two paths: the natural increase of the Arab ethnic group native population (*at-tawālud*) and the assimilation of non-Arabs (*at-tağannus*). Language, in the same way, has grown both through *'ištiqāq* from Arabic roots, similarly to *tawālud*, and through assimilation of foreign lexicon, whereby the *ta'rīb* would correspond to *tağannus* (Maġribī 2015).

During the nineteenth century, many Lebanese intellectuals focused on the study of Arabic language. The most important were Father 'Anastās al-Karmalī (d. 1947 CE), 'Aḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq (d. 1887 CE), Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Nāṣīf al-Yāziğī and Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī (m. 1912 CE). These pioneers had undertaken a reform of the Arabic language (Kašlī 2002: 42) and they can be divided into two groups: the conservative reformists, including Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī, and the liberal reformists, among whom the figure of 'Aḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq stood out. These scholars agreed on the need for a linguistic reform, but they had a different purpose, method and above all a different conception of reform.

The conservative idea should be understood as a concern for the correct use of Arabic with the intention of purifying the language, while the liberal reformist conception was mostly aimed at making the language an adaptable means of communication with the purpose of simplifying. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, there were several linguistic controversies between these two groups of scholars.

The attitude of intellectuals belonging to both groups was mainly critical of classical dictionaries which, in fact, had several limitations. For example, classical lexicographers had left aside the dialects of many tribes, considering that the only one worthy of being called classical Arabic was the dialect of Qurayš tribe (the Prophet's tribe). No ancient dictionary followed the alphabetical order from the beginning to the end of the word[3] and there was great confusion in the placement of many words, as well as the repetition of some of them. Many linguists accused each other of having made a mistake. In any case, they mostly used material acquired from other dictionaries such as al-Ḫalīl's *Kitāb al-'Ayn*, Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-'Arab* or Ibn Durayd's *Ğamharat al-Luġa*.

[3] The most complete dictionaries were written on an anagrammatic basis, according to an artificial alphabetical order based on phonetic principles and through the separation of the roots according to the number of the letters that included them. Later, roots were ordered according to the rhyme, considering their final consonant. Each dictionary had an organization system that could be phonetic-permutative, alphabetic, based on the final rhyme and onomasiological. There were also specialized dictionaries, such as those in religious matters (Baalbaki 2014).

In this spirit of criticism, it was remarkable the one by ʾAḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq towards Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. He wanted to urge Arab scholars to compile a dictionary with a simple organization that would satisfy the needs of the age. He also criticized the contents, believing that Fīrūzābādī (d. 1412 CE) had filled his work with medicinal herbs and their benefits as if it were a medical dictionary. He also complained that he had mentioned many scholars who had nothing to do with language and literature. Aš-Šidyāq believed that the classical dictionaries covered a period of only three hundred years, from *Ǧāhiliyya* to Umayyad era, not taking into consideration the poetry after these eras. According to him classical language should not be confined to a certain period. Aš-Šidyāq maintained the linguists' habit of indicating whether a word was in classical Arabic or not.

Father ʾAnastās al-Karmalī (d. 1947 CE) was a great scholar of Arabic language, especially regarding dictionaries. His works were mostly essays or articles published in linguistic magazines in which he often commented on linguistic errors in which lexicographers fell.

Another of the Lebanese pioneers of lexicography, attentive to the problems of ancient Arabic dictionaries was Buṭrus al-Bustānī. He noted, with the spread of education, the exaggerated effort of Arabic language students in the study of classical dictionaries (Bustānī 1869: 2). He became known as *al-muʿallim* (the master) and is mainly remembered for his precious work *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*. This dictionary, which is reprinted up to our days, was the first in which verbal roots were arranged in a strictly alphabetical order and, therefore, starting from the first letter. Al-Bustānī's work was based on al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* to which was also inspired for the title. In 1870 he also published a reduced edition, for scholastic use, entitled *Qaṭr al-Muḥīṭ*. Al-Bustānī introduced many words concerning art and science and erased several colloquialisms and post-classical terms (*muwallad*) which, according to him, were not part of the original Arabic language. An important innovation of *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* was the introduction of a biblical etymology of terms. Introducing the Bible in his dictionary, he revolutionized some of the conventions of Arabic lexicography which before that moment was seen under a mainly Quranic perspective. Although he followed the conventional methodologies in his approach to lexicography, with this contribution he succeeded in constructing an alternative and rival narrative for the history of Arab civilization, supporting it with biblical origins. These changes went hand in hand with the contribution of al-Bustānī to the Christianization of the nineteenth-century Syro-Lebanese national identity. The ambition of *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* to become the dictionary of the standard lexicon used by all Arabic-speaking and Arabist readers had wider implications in the development of language during *Nahḍa*, especially in historically defining the role of the Syro-Lebanese Christian elites in the standardisation of Arabic Language.

All the modern lexicographers, in their works, criticized ancient dictionaries even if they drew from them.

The first of these works was *'Aḥkām Bāb al-'I'rāb 'an Luġat al-'A'rāb* of Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt.[4] It was a summary of *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, which he arranged according to the final consonant of the words, taking into consideration the system of rhymes. Farḥāt opted for concision against the redundancy of Fīrūzābādī's work which he criticized in his introduction. Although it was a summary, he added several things to *Qāmūs*, including the use of symbols. For example, ج (*Ǧīm*) stood for plural جمع (*Ǧam'*) and م (*Mīm*) for known words which didn't require any explanation معروف (*Ma'rūf*).

A good example among Lebanese Christian intellectuals in *Nahḍa* was Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī who, between 1889 and 1893, compiled his *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-'Arabiyya wa-l-Šawārid*, a dictionary for students divided into three volumes and containing an appendix inserted to correct the errors and fill the gaps of the classical dictionaries from which he had drawn most of the material. He also compiled an onomasiological dictionary, the *Naǧdat al-Yarā'*, organized precisely in thematic sections. The latter contained 144 pages and was intended to assist students in their schoolwork. It consisted of three parts in which he treated rhetoric, antonyms and proverbs. In the appendix there was a further dictionary that interpreted the words contained in it. He added the vowels to all the consonants of the words because it was a scholastic text.

2. Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī

Sa'īd Ibn 'Abd 'Allāh Ibn Miḫa'īl Ibn 'Ilyās Ibn Yūsuf al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī was a linguist and scholar who was part of the majority group of *Nahḍa* intellectuals who dedicated their work to the preservation of Arabic language. His main interests were grammar, lexicography and rhetoric, although he also made important contributions in other fields. His closest collaborators among the intellectuals of the time were Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905 CE) while, among later influential figures we can mention Šakīb 'Arsalān (d. 1947 CE) and Mārūn 'Abbūd (d. 1962 CE) who were his students. Šartūnī summarized the tradition of Arab criticism towards the great classics of the medieval period for a new generation of students.

[4] His birth name was Ǧabrīl Ibn Farḥāt. He was born in Aleppo on 20 November 1660 and studied Syriac first and later Arabic. He took religious vows at the age of twenty-three and, along with many other young people, he left his hometown to retire to the monasteries of Lebanon. In 1711 he went to Rome, was received by the Pope, returned to Lebanon and in 1721 went to Aleppo, at the request of the Melkite bishop, to correct the Arabic translation of St. John Chrysostom's works. In 1725 he was elected bishop of Aleppo and received the name Ǧirmānūs. He died on 9 July 1732.

Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī was born in 1849 in Šartūn, a small village in Mount Lebanon, and grew illiterate like many of his contemporaries. He had a religious education from his father and was maintained by his maternal uncle. Sources agree that he would have remained unknown if it had not been for an accident that marked the beginning of his literary career. It is said that at thirteen he threw a stone at a woman while she was climbing a tree in his garden. The woman fell and died due to the accident, so aš-Šartūnī, scared, fled to Aabey in 1862 to avoid an accusation and he never came back to his village. There the American missionaries admitted him to their seminary, an event that marked the beginning of his education. He studied for two years with them before moving to *Sūq al-Ġarb* school (1864-1865) near Beirut, founded by 'Ilyās aṣ-Ṣalībī, where he completed his education by learning geography, mathematics, basics of English and refining his own knowledge of Arabic. In this school he received a teacher training ('Aṭiya 2012: 426-430).

Aš-Šartūnī dedicated his life to school activities while teaching in the main schools and institutions of Cairo, Beirut and Damascus. His first job was at the Greek Catholic school for higher education in 'Ayn Ṭrāz in Mount Lebanon region, where he remained for five years before moving to Damascus until 1875. Here he gained the respect of the Jesuit priests who then sent him to Beirut, where he spent the following decades of his life teaching and pursuing intellectual activities (Dāġir 1956: 482). In this period as a teacher aš-Šartūnī wrote the grammar treatise *as-Sahm aṣ-Ṣā'ib fī Taḫṭi'at Ġunyat aṭ-Ṭālib* (The infallible arrow in judging *Ġunyat aṭ-Ṭālib*), a detailed critique of the simplified grammar of Arabic language *Ġunyat aṭ-Ṭālib wa Munyat ar-Rāġib* by 'Aḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq. When the Jesuit seminary was moved to Beirut in 1875, to the Jesuit College (which today is the Université Saint-Joseph), aš-Šartūnī was called to teach Arabic and work as proof-reader of Jesuit publications, and he did it for at least twenty-two years (Šayḫū 1926: 67). It was at this time that he reviewed and published several works by early Christian Arabs, such as the commentary he wrote on the abbreviated grammar *Kitāb Baḫṭ al-Maṭālib fī 'Ilm al-'Arabiyya* (1891) by Ğirmānūs Farḥāt, one of his most important works which was subject to criticisms of many intellectuals of the period.[5] There were several copies of this work, but they were all manuscripts until the *Maṭba'a al-Kāṯūlīkiyya* which, in fact, belonged to the Jesuits, asked Šartūnī to prepare a copy for printing. He finished his work of correcting errors and commenting on footnotes in May 1882 and in the introduction he stated that the owners of the publishing house were aware that copying it and then copying it again after more than a century and a half would have, somehow, distorted and eliminated some of the features of the

[5] It was first published in 1705 and then summarized by the author himself in 1707. It was the abbreviated version to be revised and published by Bustānī, Šidyāq and Šartūnī.

original work. In the manuscripts some parts had been lost and Jesuits asked Šartūnī to fix the gaps. The book was printed a fourth time in 1895 by the same publishing house and obtained the printing license by *Maǧlis Maʿārif Wilāyat Bayrūt* (Council of Knowledge of the Province of Beirut). This happened because in 1888 the Ottoman Empire divided the Levant into several provinces (*wilāyāt*) and the one of Beirut, for example, occupied the city itself. For each *wilāya*, it was founded a *Maǧlis Maʿārif* which had the role of granting licenses for printing books. After the license, this book was printed several times. *Baḥṯ al-Maṭālib* is divided into three books. The first of these concerned the conjugation of verbs and contained eight chapters. Each of these chapters contained different researches and, in each research, there were different purposes (*Maṭālib*) (Ziyāda 2000).

At the same time, he worked in Beirut in the *al-Madrasa al-Baṭrakīyya* school (Greek Catholic Patriarchal school) which attracted students from Syria and Egypt and among whose professors is especially noteworthy the intellectual Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī (Maqdisī 2000: 59). Aš-Šartūnī also taught at the *Madrasat al-Ḥikma*, the main Maronite school in Beirut, founded in 1874 by the bishop of Beirut, Yūsuf ad-Dibs. This institute included among its graduates many of the leading figures of literature and politics in modern Lebanon, including two influential writers, Šartūnī's students, Šakīb ʾArsalān (d. 1946 CE) and Mārūn ʿAbbūd (d. 1962 CE; Šarabāsī 1963).

The nineties of the nineteenth century were the most productive for aš-Šartūnī's career and it was, in fact, during this period that he compiled his famous dictionary *ʾAqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-ʿArabiyya wa-l-Šawārid* (1889-1893). In this work, he aimed to demonstrate the purity of Arabic language which he claimed it had been contaminated by the mass influx of colloquialisms and the growing influence of foreign languages. He collected all the deviations of language from the most ancient works, even if for a long time these were no longer mentioned in dictionaries. In fact, before his work, no one knew that these deviations were part of the origins of language since, if they found them or noticed them, they would have explained the meanings. Šartūnī grouped these deviations and in front of each word he inserted a س (*Sīn*), an abbreviation of the adjective *saʿīdiyya*. This term is a relation adjective specifically coined by the author to indicate an addition of his own hand to the dictionary materials and, in fact, it literally means "relative to Saʿīd" (the author's own name; ʿAṭiya 1912: 425). In the introduction of the third part he explains the importance, care and control in compiling it.

Like many of his contemporaries, he worked for several years as editor of a newspaper and contributed with articles in authoritative journals, mostly with linguistic topics. He was intelligent and diligent, and he spent most of his time reading. His eclectic interests were reflected in the fact that he was involved in the publication of several works of Maronite history.

In the first twenty years of his career Šartūnī was associated with Muḥammad ʻAbduh (d. 1905 CE), a jurist, philosopher, theologian and Egyptian *muftī*. The latter defended modern sciences and the idea of a reform of Arabic language and was his mentor and close friend for life. ʾAḥmad Šarabāsī in his article *Bayna Muḥammad ʻAbduh wa Saʻīd aš-Šartūnī* (1972), written in *al-ʾAdīb* journal, claimed to have preserved some of the letters that the two wrote to each other and which had never been published. According to Šarabāsī, *imām* Muḥammad ʻAbduh had liked Šartūnī before they met and even more after their meeting. Šakīb ʾArsalān, nicknamed *ʾAmīr al-Bayān* (prince of eloquence), stated that, after hearing about Šartūnī, Muḥammad ʻAbduh said that when he spoke, light would come from his mouth. Šarabāsī inserted in his article a letter dated 4 Muharram 1394 A. H., using it as proof that the two had not met yet at the time. Here Šartūnī told Muḥammad ʻAbduh about his progress in French and translation, and that he had translated three works of *ʻIlm al-Ḫaṭāba* (science of rhetoric), the three sermons by Fénelon, author of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (The Adventures of Telemachus). Furthermore, Šartūnī asked him to answer in French so that he could improve to the point of being able to write an entire work in this language.

Šarabāsī also included another letter, in which Šartūnī said he had printed an edition of the pre-modern lexicographical work by Saʻīd Ibn ʾAws ʾAbū Zayd al-ʾAnṣārī (d. nineteenth century), *al-Nawādir fī-l-Luġa*. Šartūnī hoped that someone in Egypt could subsidise him to continue printing it. In this letter he also spoke of *ʾAqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-ʻArabiyya wa-l-Šawārid* which he seemed to consider his masterpiece.

Saʻīd had two younger brothers, Rašīd (d. 1907 CE) and Tawfīq (d. 1962 CE) and had three daughters and a son. The brothers and two of his daughters, ʾAnīsa (d. 1906 CE) and ʻAfīfa (d. 1906 CE), also excelled in the world of literature (Sarkīs 1928: 259). His daughters, despite their premature death, were among the first groups of women writers in Arabic language of the nineteenth century. They contributed to several articles of literary and social nature in important period magazines, among which *al-Muqtaṭaf* was known (Kaḥāla 1977). The death of both his daughters in 1906 put a strain on Šartūnī's health, which deteriorated considerably. For this reason, he bought a house in a suburb of Beirut, called *Minṭaqat aš-Šayāḥ* (also known as Ṭayyūna), in which he retired to private life until his death.

He died on 18 August 1912 after a long life in health and after establishing himself among the prominent scholars of *Nahḍa* (ʻAṭiya 2012: 430). Although most of the sources agree on the years of birth and death mentioned here, two date variants are given for the first (1848 or 1847) and one for the second (1907).

His main academic interests were in the fields of grammar, lexicography and *Inšā'* (style, art of composition), through which he is generally believed to have had an important influence on a new generation of "stylists." He himself was eloquent in his work and he was famous for the abundance of notions he memorized and for the clarity in his works.

His legacy remains in the large body of works he has left on lexicography, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and more. The pedagogical goal of all his works is unequivocal and, in fact, he also wrote works of a practical nature, like his eight-volume unpublished work for students and teachers on morphology and syntax.

In *Nafaḥat al-Wardatayn*, which he published in 1909, and which contains the writings of his daughters, there are some of his articles and poems. Some are also found in his lost work *'Aši"at al-Ḥaqq*.

Some of his most famous works are: *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-ʿArabiyya wa-l-Šawārid*, a famous dictionary printed in three volumes, the *Kitāb Baḥṯ al-Maṭālib fī ʿIlm al-ʿArabiyya*, a grammar book, *Aš-Šihāb aṯ-Ṯāqib fī Ṣinā'at al-Kātib*, *As-Sahm aṣ-Ṣā'ib fī Taḫṭi'at Ġunyat aṭ-Ṭālib*, *Kitāb al-Ġuṣn ar-Raṭīb fī Fann al-Ḫaṭīb*, *Ḥadā'iq al-Manṭūr wa-l-Manẓūm*, *Naǧdat al-Yarā'*, *al-Mu'īn fī Ṣinā'at al-'Inšā'* and *Maṭāli' al-'Aḍwā' fī Manāhiǧ al-Kuttāb wa aš-Šu'arā'*.

He also translated several books, including *as-Safar al-'Aǧīb 'ilā Bilād aḏ-Ḏahab* and *ar-Riḥla as-Sūriyya fī 'Amrīkā al-Mutawassiṭa wa-l-Ǧanūbiyya*.

Many of his scientific, literary and linguistic articles were published in journals such as *al-Miṣbāḥ*, *al-Mašriq*, *Kawkab*, *al-Barriyya* and *al-Muqtaṭaf*. In 1901, for example, he published the article *al-'Abū-l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī* in the journal *al-Mašriq*.

After delivering a copy of his dictionary and several of his other works to Sultan 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd, he received the title of *Šayḫ 'Ilm*.[6]

In short, we can describe Šartūnī as author, expert on rhetoric, teacher, poet, father and friend ('Aṭiya 2012: 426).

As an author, Šartūnī reviewed everything he collected and commented on it through footnotes. In the first two parts of his dictionary *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-'Arabiyya wa-l-Šawārid*, in fact, we could say that he challenged the Buṭrus al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* correcting the errors found in the explanation of some terms. He did not, however, add much and we could say that he was more of an imitator than a curator (*Mudaqqiq*). But the advantages of his dictionary are in his third part, which Šartūnī called *Ḏayl* (appendix). Here he included the mistakes he had made himself in the first two

[6] *Šayḫ 'Ilm* was a title given to scientists by the Ottoman sultan. It corresponds to the Turkish Effendi (*'Afandī*).

parts of the work and he reported what was lost in the language (*Šawārid al-Luġa*). Thus, he achieved an important goal, useful for any student and scholar. None of his works was so precise in organization and content.

In general, when he sat in his library to read and write, he concentrated all his strength on the subject he was studying and what he acquired from the books of other authors was not enough for him. So, he cancelled, simplified and added his opinion always based on linguistics works.

If he had known another foreign language in addition to French, or a Semitic language other than Arabic, his works would probably have been more complete, but even having dealt with Arabic language without mixing it with other languages is to be considered an excellent enterprise.

Šartūnī had a very strong memory and memorized everything he read. This helped him to appreciate Arabic language and made him prepared enough to write it and speak it. This characteristic was very important so that sometimes, when controversies arose on literary subjects, for example on a rhetorical figure such as *Tašbīh* (similitude), he was chosen as a judge because he was able to immediately quote authentic works on the topic of the debate.

For *Inšā'* (art of composition) he followed two methods. One of them was clear and easy to understand and the other was complicated and rigorous. The first method was the one that occurred in his named works, such as *Aš-Šihāb aṭ-Ṭāqib fī Ṣinā'at al-Kātib* which contained interesting letters on different topics, all adorned with the simplicity of the contents in *Sağ'* (rhymed prose) and *Naṭr* (prose). In fact, the student found no difficulty in reproducing this method and the linguist could find nothing to criticize. The second method was represented, instead, by the language of the debate (*Munāẓara*) and by everything related to it. He was recurring in discussions with his coevals. The journal *al-Muqtaṭaf* had published part of his literary composition when the debate between him, 'Aḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq and other legends in the field of linguistics was lit. As the introduction to his dictionary demonstrates, in fact, great authors used this method to prove their linguistic abilities and to criticize and challenge each other, voluntarily or not.

According to Rašīd 'Aṭiya (2012: 428), Šartūnī did not excel in the field of teaching as he did in language, criticism and composition.

When he explained, he did it as if there was a group of linguistic experts in front of him and, therefore, he did not take into consideration that, instead, he was talking to a group of young people who knew nothing but what they learned from his lessons. His language was incomprehensible to students, while the most educated ones, who already had linguistic basis, could benefit from his lessons. His method was to give an opinion for each topic, not limiting himself to the examples given by books, but adding his own ones so that the student would get lost.

Šartūnī was linguist and orator. He was not a real poet but, in some situations, he composed some poetry. He respected the prosody, metric and rhymes of al-Ḫalīl and with this poetry he commented his own books, works and portraits of himself and his family (Mu'assasat Ğā'iza 'Abd al-'Azīz Sa'ūd al-Babṭīn li-l-'Ibdā' aš-Ša'rī 2002).

His few poems were harmonious and did not seem repetitive. An example is the two stanzas found below his portrait of 1889:

يُحاوِلُ المَرْءُ في الدُنيا البَقاءَ و ما تَفُوقُ قُدْرَتُهُ تَصْويرَ تِمْثالِ
و الرَسْمُ يَبقى زَمانًا بَعْدَ صاحِبِهِ دَليلَ عَجزٍ و هاكُم شاهِدَ الحالِ

('Aṭiya 1912: 429)

Yuḥāwwilu al-mar'u fī ad-duniyā al-baqā'a wa mā tafūtu qudratuhu taṣwīra timṯāli
wa ar-rasmu yabqā zamānan ba'da ṣāḥibihi dalīla 'ağzin wa hākum šāhida al-ḥāli

The human being in his life tries to last but his ability does not exceed the sculpture of a statue
And the image survives its owner as a sign of incapacity, and here is the proof.

Rašīd 'Aṭiya in his article *aš-Šayḫ Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī*, which was a sort of commemoration on the occasion of Šartūnī's death, written in 1912 in the journal *al-Muqtaṭaf*, stated that someone believed he did not care about others and that he was not faithful to the promises. He, on the other hand, knew him personally and found him trustworthy and self-confident, and claimed that when he made a promise, he respected it. He also said that Šartūnī responded to the enemy with forgiveness and patience and demonstrated this by writing a poem on the occasion 'Aḥmad Fāris aš-Šidyāq's death, despite the heated debates between them. It was said that he was noble of principles and attentive to friendship as he was to the situation of Arabic language. He and 'Aṭiya were friends for many years and the latter claimed that he often named his enemies to know his judgment, but Šartūnī never said anything bad about them.

3. Šartūnī's Role in the Critical Literature of *Nahḍa*

One of the most important debates between the two groups of reformers of Arabic language in the nineteenth century was the criticism of Arabic simplified grammar of aš-Šidyāq, called *Ġunyat aṭ-Ṭālib wa Munyat ar-Rāġib*, by aš-Šartūnī who wrote his *as-Sahm aṣ-Ṣā'ib fī Taḫṭi'at Ġunyat aṭ-Ṭālib*.

In this work he refuted every single statement by aš-Šidyāq, demolishing his pedagogical, theoretical and traditional aims. For example, he argued that it would take several years to master Arabic, while according aš-Šidyāq few days would be enough. This was possible only if someone, precisely aš-Šidyāq, had separated grammar from its well-established roots in traditional grammars and, therefore, violated its holiness. Šartūnī believed that opening the way to every external element (*daḫīl*) left the student hopeless of being able to learn the language.

Šartūnī placed Šidyāq's pedagogical goal under further examination with a series of rhetorical questions. For example, if Šidyāq's purpose was simplification (*tashīl*) of Arabic grammar for Arabs and non-Arabs, was the three-month time he set for learning the language restricted to non-Arabs or it included Arabs? If so, could Arabs have learned it in less than three months? Would it require a teacher? In that case, would all the teachers have been able to teach the language or was it an honour that belonged only to Šidyāq? Then, what would have happened after his death? (Šartūnī 1874: 6-8).

By analysing more precisely Šartūnī's logic behind *Sahm*, his reasons for disapproving aš-Šidyāq can be better understood. Šartūnī warned the unaware reader of the absurdities (*ḫalal*) and defects (*ḫaṭā'*) in *Ġunya*. Its main purpose was, therefore, to highlight the misconceptions (*'awhām*) and errors (*saqaṭāt*) present in Šidyāq's work because he was afraid that they might spread among students. Furthermore, he stated that his refusal was based on the authentic traditions and sayings (*'aqwāl*) of the Arabic language authorities (*'a'immāt al-'arabiyya*). His observations echo the rebuttal writings of the medieval period, in which it was normal to invoke errors or ambiguities of a previous work as a motivation to publish a corrigendum or write a "better" work. His statements tell us that his attitude was of concern for the preservation of linguistic standards. His reference to the authorities (*'imām*) of Arabic language is significant because he announced that his topics would be based on authorized texts and that he would submit (*taqlīd*) to their linguistic rules.

In this way Šartūnī not only put himself in a position of "vehicle" of the tradition, but he demonstrated to have somehow an authorization. Unlike Šidyāq, he offered a traditional (medieval) goal which was to preserve Arabic language in its traditional context. He did this by demonstrating that Šidyāq's work, with the aim of simplifying grammar, was contradictory to the sayings of imams.

Šartūnī's task in his language disputes was to prove the imperfect nature of Šidyāq's grammar by exploiting more significant topics and techniques. This recalls the critical literature of the medieval and pre-modern period.

There are two broad aspects of Šartūnī's technique that imitate those ones used in previous works and critical commentaries. The first is the fact that the writer presents the claims of his adversary and that, subsequently, he refutes it. For example, he began his disputes with *min saqaṭātihi*

qawluhu fī ṣafḥa... ('and among his mistakes there is what he said on the page...'). Then he continued the statement he intended to criticize by having it followed by *'aqūl* ('I say') or by *wa huwa ḫaṭā' bayyin* ('and this is a clear error') before presenting his argument. The second aspect concerns the use of the question and answer technique, for which the critic introduces a series of conditional sentences to torment the opponent. For example, after presenting the statements of aš-Šidyāq, Šartūnī speculated about the different possible meanings of his words. This practice, in fact, was also found in the critical works of *Nahḍa* in which the writer tormented his opponent with a series of rhetorical questions with answers.

Šartūnī in *Sahm* indicated seventy-six problems of Šidyāq's *Ġunya* but the most important were eight (Patel 2010: 515) and they concerned personal reasons or linguistic doctrine, Šidyāq's grammatical errors, his incorrect use of grammatical terminology and the inadequate definition of grammatical phenomena. These clarifications shed light on some of the underlying factors that prompted Šartūnī's criticism and his position as a grammarian. The section on grammatical errors illustrates both Šartūnī's abilities as a proof-reader and the level of control among *Nahḍa* scholars. One of the main factors underlying aš-Šartūnī's disputes is the violation of the apparent system of agreement between grammarians. According to him this agreement represented a validation tool and indicated that something had become certain from an epistemological point of view and, therefore, no further interpretation could be given. Therefore, grammar's role for aš-Šartūnī is not only to communicate or clarify, but also to preserve the rules that this agreement reflected in the first grammars and commentaries. The objections to the simplified definitions of grammatical phenomena reveal that his problem did not concern the abbreviated nature of *Ġunya* as much as Šidyāq's attempt to break with the pedagogical tradition.

Šartūnī's concept of "adequacy" is determined by the paradigm of grammatical works and commentaries of the medieval and premodern periods. In defining Šidyāq's position as "unorthodox," he confirmed his position as a conservative grammarian. In doing so, it was enough for him to prove that *Ġunya* broke away from the norm. The strength of his criticism lays, in fact, in the traditionalism of Arabic grammar which, in his opinion, derived from the testimony of the first estimated grammar books (*'Alfiyya* and *al-Kāfiya*) and it was preserved through a series of comments and glosses that essentially tried to adapt to the rules established by these authorities. In fact, aš-Šartūnī mentioned them in his work and not only to authenticate his arguments, but also to keep under control any material that swam against the tide.

Sahm is not just a collection of sayings and comments of the authorities and Šartūnī's credit lies in the way he put them together and used them in his arguments. He didn't just highlight Šidyāq's

inadequacy in describing grammatical phenomena, but he also explained how he violated the traditional grammatical vision.

Šartūnī's critique could be considered as an essential component in the tradition of normative grammars, commentaries and glosses, and if one of the aims of these works was to keep grammar and pedagogy alive in their traditional context, then aš-Šartūnī's work probably contributed to this effort in *Nahḍa*.

Šartūnī himself was not immune to criticism. In fact, 'Aḥmad Riḍā (d. 1953 CE) published in the journal *Maǧmaʿ Dimašq* – of which he was a member – a series of researches on Šartūnī's errors and he was even commissioned to compile his own dictionary. Riḍā compiled *Matn al-Luġa* and in its introduction he claimed he found more than four hundred errors out of three hundred pages and he published them in volumes 21 and 22 of the journal *al-Maǧmaʿ al-ʿIlmīyyi bi-Dimašq* (Naḥḥās 1997).

Disputes between the pioneers of *Nahḍa* represent the widest power struggle for which the desire to have the right to interpret the past created a highly competitive environment in which the scholar earned prestige as a "vehicle" for tradition.

Generally, aš-Šidyāq is considered one of the most important reformists of his era, and his work dedicated to the simplification of grammar is firmly rooted in the framework of efforts to make Arabic a viable tool for modern communication. In this field, the reformist group has made significant progress in introducing a simple and functional style that today is at the base of newspapers and modern literary Arabic. However, this progress is not reflected in the field of grammar, where conservatism has been and still is particularly strong. Probably Šartūnī's conservative attitude in criticising the first simplified grammar of *Nahḍa*, Šidyāq's *Ġunya*, was a contributory factor in weakening the demand for simplification pursued by reformists. If the function of grammarians was to preserve the grammar in its traditional framework and, therefore, to preserve the purity of language, then Šartūnī certainly gained a position of prestige among Arab grammarians.

4. Šartūnī and his interest in oratory[7]

The contact between the Arab world and the West in the nineteenth century gave rise to new perspectives among Arab intellectuals characterized, as we have already seen, by conservatism or progressivism. For someone West represented only dominion and control; for others, it guaranteed

[7] As a general introduction to the subject see Qutbuddin (2009).

an opportunity to break away from the past and to overcome decades of decay. For still others, it symbolized a challenge, and this created new attitudes towards traditional heritage.

The main *Nahḍa* reformists believed that, in order to progress, there was a need to preserve and revive classical Arabic and its culture as well as to assimilate the achievements reached by Western civilization. Many of them developed some interest in European languages and literatures and translated and adapted several Western works. They were particularly interested in Oratory.

A good example of a Nahḍa Christian intellectual interested in oratory was Saʿīd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī. In 1902, in the journal *al-Muqtaṭaf* he wrote: 'Regarding *ʿIlm al-Ḫaṭāba* (oratory), I don't know if, heretofore, some Arab has taken care of it.' In this article, entitled *al-Bayān al-ʿArabī wa-l-Bayān al-ʾAfranǧī*, Šartūnī compared Arabic and Western rhetoric, suggesting that first Arab scholars had neglected the study of this art.

His Christian background probably made him more tolerant of non-Islamic Western rhetoric and oratory, which is demonstrated in his fieldwork. He revisited the work of Ǧirmānūs Farḥāt on oratory and sermons, called *Faṣl al-Ḫiṭāb fī al-Waʿẓ* with the aim of renewing (*taǧdīd*) this art in *Nahḍa* and published it together with the translation from French to Arabic of three of Fénelon's sermons. In doing so, he put together the sermons of two great orators of the time, one eastern (Farḥāt) and one western (Fénelon). Later he translated from French to Arabic Cicero's *Pro Ligario,* a defence oration for the trial of the Roman knight Quintus Ligarius (c. 50 BC), accused of treason by Julius Caesar because he opposed him in a war in Africa. Šartūnī published it in the journal *al-Muqtaṭaf* with the title *Ḫuṭbat Šīšīrūn fī al-Muḥāmā(t) ʿan Līkāryūs*. He translated this discourse out of a desire to make it known to Arab speakers, particularly those who had neither knowledge of Latin nor of European languages into which Cicero's speeches had been translated, since none of them was available in Arabic. He also wrote a handbook on the art of the speaker, known as *Ġuṣn ar-Raṭīb fī Fann al-Ḫaṭīb*. It was a pioneering attempt to fill a void about the Arabic available works on oratory, assimilating Western rhetoric with Arab literary perception.

In this work Šartūnī followed the rhetorical theories contained in the works of Aristotle and Cicero but adapted the language and examples to the needs of an Arab audience. His was a pedagogical treaty intended to educate future speakers. In this, he emulated the didactic purposes of the Greek-Roman rhetorical tradition, which began with Aristotle and continued with Cicero and Quintilian.

Like Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Šartūnī's work presented a philosophical approach to the art of oratory and showed an identical concern for the interaction of rhetoric and logic, particularly in the field of invention (*ʾiḫtirāʾ*), in which aš-Šartūnī took care of describing the artistic means of persuasion.

Moreover, he gave primary importance to order and classification, always taking care of definitions and making every single word a topic of his discussions.

An interesting feature is the description of some recommended metalinguistic elements such as tone of voice, body language and the standing position of the speaker.

He tried to adapt virtually everything to Arab-Islamic culture and tradition similarly to what happened in western Arabic studies. Many of his examples came from Muslim and Christian authorities, including the Prophet Muḥammad, the *'imām* 'Abū Ḥanīfa and Jesus while others were taken from canonical Arabic works for style and eloquence, such as the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. These examples, taken from Arabic literary and religious traditions, served not only as illustrations of concepts and rules set by Aristotle and Cicero, but also to adapt imported ideas to the framework of Arab-Islamic cultural values and the needs of any Arab audience. The examples served to remind us that the imported concepts and rules were compatible with the Arab-Islamic tradition. This way of thinking reflected the reformist ideas and methodologies of *Nahḍa* figures.

Šartūnī's work is clearly a product of *Nahḍa* movement through the translation and adaptation of Western works and genres. Moreover, the fact of having had access to both autochthonous and non-native works was probably favoured by the spread of press in the Arab world, by the growing contact with Western thought and institutions and by the knowledge of foreign languages.

5. Epistolography as an example of eloquence

About his interest in rhetoric, besides producing a handbook for the art of the speaker, his first great work was *Aš-Šihāb aṭ-Ṯāqib fī Ṣinā'at al-Kātib*, a handbook on epistolography which included the theory and a large body of letter models on formal and informal topics written in a style designed to resemble the premodern epistolary genre (Gully 2012).

Another of his works, the *Kitāb al-Mu'īn fī Ṣinā'at al-'Inšā,'* is a four-volume handbook, designed for students and teachers, in which Šartūnī covered various aspects of style and composition through a series of chapters in which students were asked to identify superfluous sentences in a passage or to explain words or, for example, underlined sentences.

As already stated, his Christianity explained his interests towards non-Muslims and Western rhetoric and oratory. Šartūnī's theories on letter-writing, in fact, could derive from western *ars dictaminis* (Patel 2009: 39). This influence is clear from the beginning of the work (Patel 2009: 79). Šartūnī presented his judgment from the social position of a correspondent and from the one of the addressee in the same way as the first western epistolography handbooks, especially the French one, did. Stressing that this principle is also inherent in rhetoric, Šartūnī evoked the historical connection

between classical rhetoric and western epistolography and he did so even when he compared the linguistic requirements of both arts. In fact, they both require a short, harmonious and simple language, and their purpose is to expose what is in the mind. He therefore discussed brevity, harmony, clarity and simplicity.

Epistolography handbooks and style and eloquence treatises from the nineteenth century onwards contain general advice regarding brevity (*ʾīǧāz*) and the need to adapt the style to the addressee. This influence was also evident when Šartūnī classified the letter into six parts and assigned to each one of them a separate function, just as in Western treaties although, considering the Bolognese precepts of the thirteenth century, the parts should have been five (*salutatio*, *exordium*, *narratio*, *petitio*, *conclusio*). But he discarded narration and added signature (*al-ʾimḍāʾ*) and date (*at-tārīḫ*) to keep pace with parallel developments in nineteenth-century epistolary writing handbooks, as well as the needs and demands of *Nahḍa* society.

Aš-Šihāb presented several examples of greetings, signatures and addresses to satisfy the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies of the Ottoman era. At the base of these models there was a hierarchical social approach based on the relationship between the interlocutors: from superior to inferior, from inferior to superior or between equals.

The almost exclusive attention of Šartūnī's handbook, as in many Western handbooks, was to provide models for copying rather than suggestions for rhetorical invention. His collection of greetings, signatures, addresses and letters, capable of satisfying any possible situation, made epistolography an imitation enterprise. Considering the whole together with the strong influence of social and personal hierarchical relations on any topic, classical rhetorical tradition of invention and argumentation was devalued. Therefore, if Šartūnī considered epistolography a substitute for oral communication, then his view assumed that also oral communication (rhetoric) was an imitative process.

As in French handbooks of the nineteenth century, his letters served to cover a practical purpose, and this clearly reflected the degree of reliance in written forms in the absence of oral communication. It is therefore clear that there is a similarity between the two traditions. However, considering that Šartūnī wrote for an Arab audience, he must have referred to the first Arab epistolography treaties. This is reflected in its use of Arabic terminology that is clearly borrowed from early Arab works such as *Ṣubḥ al-ʾAʿšā fī Ṣināʿat al- ʾInšāʾ* of ʾAḥmad al-Qalqašandī (d. 1418 CE).[8] In

[8] ʾAbū-l-ʿAbbās Šihāb ad-Dīn al-Qalqašandī took his last name from a small town near Cairo, in the Qalyub district, where his family had settled. He died in 1418. He wrote about the almost legendary history and the genealogy of the pre-Islamic Arab

this sense, one could say that Šartūnī assimilated the practices concerning old and new western epistolary genres through Arabic, which allowed him to produce an updated version of the western *ars dictaminis*, adapted to the needs of Arabic-speaking Christians of that period.

The fact that he provided all these models to the Christians who stood next to the secular Ottoman hierarchies, showed his belonging to those *Nahḍa* intellectuals who promoted the idea of a role for Christians within the framework of Ottoman legitimacy, believing that this was among their best opportunities to reach a condition in which Christians and Muslims appeared as equals. Moreover, the strong attention of Šartūnī's handbook to Christians was clearly reflected in his letter models, especially in those dealing with congratulations, New Year's greetings and other festivities that included a predominantly Arab-Christian audience. This points to a change of audience, considering that the literature handbooks available, rooted in Islamic tradition, were mainly aimed at needs and customs of Muslim population. Thus, Šartūnī referred to western *ars dictaminis* which was already rooted in Christian tradition because it offered a ready model and a justification for its approach that was perfect for the prevailing political and socio-cultural climate.

6. Poetry: tradition and rebirth

Nahḍa has stimulated new perceptions of the traditional literary heritage and has pushed towards an adaptation to new realities and conditions. The increasing contact with Western literature has been one of the greatest challenges for Arab writers. As prose has undergone substantial changes with the emergence of new literary and journalistic styles, Arab writers have perceived a sort of threat to their poetry, realizing that it would need renewal and new prosperity too. Arab poetry is deeply rooted in the history of Arab-Islamic culture and to reject it in favour of new foreign literary models would have meant a detachment from centuries of literary tradition. Thus, Arab poets and critics in *Nahḍa*, or the neo-classicists, referred to a livelier era of Arab-Islamic civilization for inspiration. It was the Abbasid period (tenth century) with works of al-Mutanabbī, al-Buḥturī and others. The main goal of neoclassical poets was to adhere to the classical form of *Qaṣīda* (for its meter, rhyme and theme), but also to modernize and expand its content in order to bring poetry closer to real life.

Aš-Šartūnī was among those Christian intellectuals who were interested in classical poetry and, as we already know, in critical literature. This interest is reflected in the large number of handbooks

tribes as well as a handbook on the art of graceful composition, intended for use by candidates for administrative positions in Egypt. The latter contained interesting details on the history, geography and civilization of that country and of Syrian provinces.

and collections that he wrote and published. His thesis on poetry, published as part of his broader pedagogical work on style and eloquence, the *Kitāb Maṭāli' al-'Aḍwā' fī Manāhiğ al-Kuttāb wa-l-Šu'arā'*, deals with various aspects of poetic art in a pedagogical form. He also published a commentary on Ğirmānūs Farḥāt's collection of poems known as *Dīwān Ğirmānūs Farḥāt*, which Šartūnī revised and published for Jesuit missionaries who had requested his assistance because of Farḥāt's omissions. He also contributed with several articles on poetic criticism in school magazines. For example, on *al-Muqtaṭaf* he wrote an article entitled *al-Mufāḍala Bayna aš-Šu'arā'*.

Kitāb Maṭāli' al-'Aḍwā' fī Manāhiğ al-Kuttāb wa-l-Šu'arā', which represents his theory of poetry, is a work on style and eloquence and shows the ideology of neoclassical poets. Šartūnī used the question and answer technique and, in the introduction, stated that he wrote this manual as a reaction to the growth of negative influence of foreign languages in Arabic and with the desire to clarify and simplify the basics of eloquence and good style. The various categories he dealt with testify the literary priorities of *Nahḍa*. Šartūnī's definition of the poet as a spokesman and the comparison between poetry and prose reflects the continuous presence of tradition in his work and it indicates a neoclassical thought. His consideration of the themes is in line with those neoclassical poets of *Nahḍa* who continued to operate in the framework of traditional themes (*'abwāb*).

This Lebanese intellectual considered himself a compiler who had promoted both the renewal and the canonical traditions of poetry and writing. Although he did not have much to add to the themes already discussed in the past, his organization of these traditions and texts in pedagogical form was an innovation in the field of classical and medieval works.

With his commitment to maintain the already existing canon, Šartūnī invested himself with a certain authority and legitimacy for his work, carrying out a pedagogical function and synthesising again the tradition of the Arab criticism typical of the medieval period which was addressed to a new generation of students. He also achieved an ideological purpose by generating an image of unity, identity and continuity between past and present. His work contributed to the neoclassical renaissance of canonical poetic forms of the golden age, making it an integral part of a neoclassical community of poets, writers and critics who shared methodology and literary, pedagogical and ideological interests. Thanks to him, we understand that Arab neoclassical compilation represented much more than a literary genre linked to tradition. It served as a method to revive that Arab literary heritage that preceded the centuries of foreign domination.

7. *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-'Arabiyya wa-l-Šawārid*

As already mentioned, Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī was among those intellectuals who during the *Nahḍa* undertook a reform of Arabic language and he was part of the conservative group, whose goal was to preserve purity of language.

The most important and well-known of his works is *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-'Arabiyya wa-l-Šawārid*, a simplified dictionary compiled between 1889 and 1893, in which he collected terms from the attested sources of Arabic language and neglected everything he believed not to be Arabic, omitting it from the dictionary. Šartūnī divided his work into chapters following the alphabetical order so the first chapter is related to the letter *hamza*, the second to *bā'*, the third to *tā'*, and so on.

In the introduction (*muqaddimat al-kitāb*) (Šartūnī 1992: 9-25) he stated that he referred to the works of Arabic language authorities such as Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1311 CE), author of *Lisān al-'Arab*, al-Ğawharī (d. 1009 ca. CE), author of *Ṣiḥāḥ*, al-Fayyūmī (d. 1368 ca. CE), author of *Miṣbāḥ*, ar-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1108 CE) author of *Mufradāt*, and others. Šartūnī also presented his work explaining its organization and the choices he made.

> ألَّفتُ كتاباً آخذاً من تلك المصنفات بالباب، و كافلاً بإذناء القصيّ لأنفُس الطلّاب. و قد وضعت فيه كلّ مادة في صدر السطر مُكتنفةً بنجمتين. و كذلك فعلت بكل فرع من فروعها و ضمنتهُ هلالين. فجاءَ بفضل الله اقرب المعاجم منالاً، و أسهلها مجالاً، فسمّيتهُ "أقرب الموارد في فُصَح العربيَّة و الشوارد". و قد قسمتهُ الى قسمتين :
>
> الأوَّل: في مفردات اللغة الصرفة.
>
> الثاني في المصطلحات العاميَّة و الكَلِم المولَّد و الأعلام، و سينجلي عليك ان شاء الله بيانهُ.

> I composed a book taking from the works mentioned above and providing students the approach to what was previously incomprehensible. I inserted a term at the beginning of each line enclosing it between two asterisks. I similarly put its derivatives in brackets and, thank God, the most accessible and simple of the dictionaries came out. I called it *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-'Arabiyya wa-l-Šawārid* and I split it into two parts.

Šartūnī structured the pages of his dictionary by subdividing them into three columns and above each of them he placed a word. The word above the right column corresponds to the first term within that column. The words above the central and the left column, on the other hand, are those with which these columns end. He highlighted the headwords which needed an explanation by enclosing them between two asterisks and then he inserted in brackets the various grammatical forms derived

from them. It is a clear and useful organization, probably influenced by Šartūnī's knowledge of foreign dictionaries.

All this work had been proposed by Jesuits who, at that time, were looking for a dictionary that gathered pure language. They needed a work without vulgar terms and asked Šartūnī to help them with their educational goals by compiling a dictionary that met their demands.

The most important features and peculiarities of this work can be summarized in seven aims that the author has set for himself and which he listed in his introduction. In these aims, the author proposed to expose the rules and the system of organization of the dictionary itself, to correct the previous dictionaries in some definitions, such as those related to plants and animals, and to identify printing and copying errors. He also indicated and explained several figures of speech to the reader. Some of these goals have been concretely realized through the compilation of the dictionary. For example, the author believed that the right method to define terms denoting plants and animals was to juxtapose the colloquial variants of all the Arab countries to classical Arabic terms. In the dictionary, in fact, he indicates both the classical Arabic term and the Lebanese variant, the one he knew. The realization of this same goal, however, created a contrast with the primary intent of the work to produce a dictionary that was, unlike *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, completely free from colloquialisms and that would preserve the pure language.

One of Šartūnī's exploits was to insert, in 1894, an appendix (*ḏayl*) at the end of his work to correct the errors of the various classical dictionaries and of *'Aqrab al-Mawārid* itself.

In his introduction to the appendix (*muqqaddimat aḏ-ḏayl*) (Šartūnī 1992: 26-32) he explains the reasons that led him to add a section to his work. He especially believes that to ensure that a dictionary is complete, it would always be necessary to attach an appendix with the correction of compilation and printing errors. This, according to the author, would even help to reduce the mistakes made in classical Arabic language. Some of the classical dictionaries had a *ḏayl*, like *Tāǧ al-ʿArūs*, but they did not contain an integral correction of the errors within the work. Anyway, whenever Šartūnī corrected any mistakes, he also mentioned the attested source from which he drew inspiration to do so.

Besides the one of correction, another purpose of the *ḏayl* was to eliminate the gaps in the dictionary with a process called *takmila* (completion). For example, he sometimes quoted a verb without its *maṣdar* or a noun without its plurals. Moreover, he did not specify that some terms were *muʿarrab* (calque)[9] and, therefore, he added this last detail where it was missing. He also fixed some

[9] Literally "Arabised (word)."

vocalizations because, for example, in some cases he had defined a word *muḥarraka*, therefore with first and second radicals vocalized in *fatḥa*, while they had to be in *fatḥa* and then *sukūn*.

In each one of his corrections, Šartūnī pointed out the errors of *'Aqrab al-Mawārid* caused by the gaps of another dictionary. When he blamed no one, the faults were his. He especially accused *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* of having inserted colloquial Arabic terms, sometimes omitting their real origin and assuming they were in *Fuṣḥā*. He justified himself by saying that he compiled his dictionary in a hurry because the work requested by Jesuits was urgent. This led him to draw a lot of material from *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*.

8. Final Remarks

Lebanon in the nineteenth century represented a field of great innovation within a general framework that saw Arab countries involved in a sort of Enlightenment. But while in other countries, as in Egypt, this renaissance has mostly involved the economic and social field, in the Syro-Lebanese region local Christian communities had already started a linguistic and cultural renaissance. Writers and intellectuals took care of regenerating language to make it able to react to the needs of modern society by expressing new tools and new ideas. This involved a profound revision of dictionaries.

In a climate of criticism towards classical texts, Lebanese intellectuals have exhaustively represented the spirit of *Nahḍa* between novelty and conservation, original and conventional, *'Iqtibās* and *'Iḥyā'*, through disputes between two groups, the reformist and the conservative ones. To the latter belonged Sa'īd al-Ḫūrī aš-Šartūnī, author with multiple interests and strengths that guaranteed him excellent achievements in the field of classical Arabic language. In fact, teaching in several schools in the region and his work as a proof-reader with Jesuits led the author to a great critical sense and an excellent level of Arabic, and this made him able to compile a dictionary, the *'Aqrab al-Mawārid fī Fuṣaḥ al-'Arabiyya wa-l-Šawārid*. This work, through the revision of the dictionaries from which most of the material had been drawn, the need to preserve pure language and the introduction of several innovations, represents the symbol of these two opposing realities, the progressive and the traditionalist one, of the linguistic reform implemented by Lebanese lexicographers in the nineteenth century.

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Les enjeux de la traduction arabe des antithèses dans la presse française

Adnan Smadi et Shereen Kakish

Any translator has the mission to translate a text or interpret a speech while retaining the meaning and while remaining as faithful as possible to the source text or speech. The goal of the translator is to transfer the text from the source language to the target language so that the meaning and style of writing remain the same. However, because of the differences between languages, it is often difficult to preserve an exact translation of the source text. The translator is therefore confronted with issues in his translation work, especially when it comes to figurative meanings. This article discusses some of these issues in journalistic texts. We propose in this study to examine the translation of the antithesis in some French newspapers and its translation into Arabic, thus shedding light on the way in which the translators manage their work and the different types of translation that they may be confronted with.

1. Introduction

Nous ne pouvons pas étudier l'Histoire sans examiner la presse écrite, qui se conçoit comme une science auxiliaire de l'histoire. En effet, les journaux constituent une source essentielle pour les historiens, qui ne peuvent reconstituer valablement le passé sans recourir au témoignage des journaux. Selon le site *Internaute,*[1] les premiers périodiques, qui étaient surtout mensuels, sont apparus dès le XVème siècle dans le but de répondre à la soif de connaissance des lecteurs de l'époque. Le premier périodique imprimé au monde, un journal de quatre pages intitulé *Relation*, a été lancé à Strasbourg en 1605 par Jean Carlous. En France, le premier grand périodique fut *La Gasette.*[2] Nous pouvons imaginer que les premières publications de l'histoire de la presse écrite furent non seulement les nouvelles manuscrites, mais aussi de minces brochures, des libelles, des placards, c'est-à-dire des sortes d'affiches. Il faut attendre la révolution industrielle pour que la presse écrite se développe. La presse est devenue alors une véritable industrie. Or, même si on assiste actuellement à un recul de la presse écrite, cela reste toujours un moyen sûr et fiable des informations portant sur l'actualité.

[1] http://www.linternaute.com/histoire/categorie/58/a/1/1/histoire_de_la_presse.shtml. Site consulté le 5 février 2019.

[2] *Ibid.*

Dans son article **«** La presse en ligne : vers un nouveau média ? », Khaled Zouari note que le développement de la presse du papier vers l'électronique remonte à la fin des années 90: « Il s'agissait en effet des journaux imprimés préexistants et mis en ligne. Ils ont été créés souvent à l'initiative des éditeurs des grands journaux à parution régulière (quotidiens, hebdomadaires, mensuels) et de langues différentes (arabes, français, anglais, etc.) (Zouari, 2007: 83). Il ajoute que la diffusion électronique des titres de presse s'est faite différemment d'un pays à un autre: « Mais à partir de 1998, la majorité des entreprises de presse se sont mobilisées pour la création de leurs sites web» (87).

Par ailleurs, que cela soit de la presse écrite ou électroniquie, cela exposent toujours pour les traducteurs des difficultés d'interprétation surtout quand il s'agit des figures de styles lesquelles sont des éléments constitutifs de l'argumentation éristique. Notre étude va se limiter à examiner une seule figure de style : celle de l'antithèse laquelle consiste à rapprocher dans une phrase ou un paragraphe deux mots qui ont des sens opposés. Notre intérêt pour cette figure vient du fait qu'elle permet de mettre en avant une vision scindée du sens du texte. L'antithèse permet, du coup, de souligner des conflits et des paradoxes problématisant le travail de la traduction. Cette figure met également l'accent sur un dilemma d'où la difficulté de la traduction. Cela dit, l'antithèse est une figure ambivalente puisqu'elle s'agit d'une association à distance permettant de jouer sur les contrastes et met en valeur deux idées contradictoires. Cette figure est généralement formée de mots qui appartiennent à la même catégorie grammaticale (nom, verbe, etc.), mais dont la fonction grammaticale est rarement semblable (sujet, complément, etc.). *Le Dictionnaire de la linguistique* note que dans l'antithèse « naît de l'opposition de sens entre deux mots, deux syntagmes, deux propositions ; son effet est d'autant plus fort qu'elle s'appuie sur une plus grande symétrie d'éléments davantage antonymique » (Mounin 2004 : 31). Alors que, d'après Pourchot, l'antithèse se fonde sur une opposition d'idées : « Dans un même groupe syntaxique (phrase, paragraphe, strophe), deux termes disjoints s'opposent par leur sens. La construction de la phrase peut reprendre un modèle pour mettre en valeur ce contraste » (Pourchot 2010: 65). Il s'agit donc du binarisme et de l'opposition, ainsi que de leur double possibilité, tel que c'est définit par Fontanier: « L'antithèse oppose deux objets l'un à l'autre, en les considérant sous un rapport commun, ou un objet à lui-même, en le considérant sous deux rapports contraires » (Fontanier 2009: 379). L'idée de parallélisme est inclue aussi dans la définition de Fontanier: « cette figure exige que les tournures se correspondent en opposant les idées » (Fontanier 2009: 381).

Dans le texte littéraire l'antithèse est un procédé d'expression qui s'écarte de l'usage ordinaire de la langue vers un usage rhétorique. Dans *Ruy Blas*, Hugo nous décrit un passage intéressant dont l'antithèse donne beaucoup à réfléchir en si peu de mots :

> Elle déplie la lettre résolument et lit.
> Madame, sous vos pieds, dans l'ombre, un homme est là
> Qui vous aime, perdu dans la nuit qui le voile ;
> Qui souffre, ver de terre amoureux d'une étoile ;
> Qui pour vous donnera son âme, s'il le faut ;
> Et qui se meurt en bas quand vous billez en haut
> Elle pose la lettre sur la table (Hugo 1997 : 838, II, 2)

Appréhender et analyser l'antithèse dans cette pièce est un élément primordial pour pouvoir comprendre le contexte. En effet, toute la pièce d'Hugo repose sur un changement d'identité de Don Salluste. Ce dernier fait passer à la fin Don César pour Matalobos qui se faisait lui même passer pour Zafari. Les personnages sont représentés avec leur double. On relève dans ce sens plusieurs antithèses comme celle de la reine (l'ange) et Don Salluste (le démon), entre maître et esclave. Ils sont parfois antithétiques à l'intérieur d'eux-mêmes comme Ruy Blas qui vient du peuple mais a une âme de noble. On relève aussi des antithèses entre les couleurs, les lumières et la mise en scène de la pièce. C'est la figure de l'antithèse dans cette pièce qui a permi de voir les contrastes et le déchirement des personnages ainsi que leurs querelles intérieures.

Les exemples et les passages littéraires témoignent de beaucoup d'antithèses : ***Être*** *ou* ***ne pas être*** (Shakespeare) ; *À vaincre sans péril, on triomphe sans gloire* (Corneille) ; *Oh ! si gai, que j'ai peur d'éclater en sanglots* (Nelligan) ; *C'est toujours le combat du jour et de la nuit* (Hugo) ; *Je n'ai jamais vu un enfant sans penser qu'il deviendrait vieillard, ni un berceau sans songer à une tombe* (Flaubert) ; etc. L'antithèse est présente aussi dans quelques titres d'ouvrages littéraires et philosophiques tel que *Le rouge et le noir* de Stendhal, *Presque rien sur presque tout* d'Ormesson et *L'être et le néant* de Sartre.

Du point de vue littéraire, stylistique et rhétorique, l'antithèse représente également selon Duprier un moyen de mettre en relief une idée principale : « en présentant une idée inverse que l'on écarte ou que l'on nie » (Duprier 2003 : 102). Cela crée de surcroît d'après Fontanier un effet de surprise. Cette figure met, en effet, en lumière une qualité : « Son rythme particulier lorsqu'elle est associée à un parallélisme ou un chiasme donne plus de force à l'expression de vérités générales » (Fontainier, 2009 : 14). En utilisant l'antithèse, les poètes cherchent par exemple à « échapper aux répétitions dans le déroulement des vers, à tout ce qui prévisible et imprévisible » (Berthet 2012 : 52).

Ces poètes et romanciers cherchent dans leurs poèmes à éveiller l'attention du lecteur, à le surprendre.

C'est vrai que le texte journalistique et celui littéraire se différencient l'un de l'autre et se distinguent chacun par des caractéristiques particulières. Du coup, le texte journalistique doit être clair et simple, sans aucune sorte d'ambigüité. Il s'agit donc d'un texte objectif, sérieux, fiable, exact, réel, précis et compréhensible. Le discours journalistique est caractérisé également par le recours au style direct, façonné par l'utilisation fréquente des citations. Le journaliste doit y employer alors du vocabulaire précis qui doit être limpide et transparent pour son lectorat ce qui le distingue d'un texte littéraire. Or, cela n'empêche aussi de trouver des caractéristiques littéraires dans les textes de la presse. En effet, tout comme la littérature, la presse joue un rôle important dans notre vie quotidienne. Les journalistes y recourent souvent aux figures de style, surtout dans les titres, pour augmenter l'effet d'attirer l'attention des lecteurs. Les figures de style sont utilisées assez souvent dans des titres et le textes d'articles de la presse française car elles produisent chez les lecteurs des effets stylistiques et affectifs apparaissant sous forme des jeux du langage. Notre étude se focalise sur l'antithèse car cette figure constitute un enjeu de traduction problématique surtout quand nous parlons de la traduction du français vers l'arabe. Le problème de traduction de l'antithèse du français vers l'arabe dans un discours journalistique vient du fait que les deux langues ont chacune son système syntaxique, lexicologique et grammatical différent.

Notre corpus se constitue d'exemples tirés de quatre journaux français: *le Point Politique, le Figaro, le Monde et le Monde Diplomatique* où les antithèses sont très fréquentes dans les titres ainsi que dans le corps des articles traités. Nous nous sommes basés, sur la théorie de la traduction interprétative ou du sens (théorie de l'ESIT) élaborée par Danica Seleskovitch et rejointe par Lederer à partir de leurs expériences d'interprètes de conférence. Nous trouvons que cette théorie a plus de succès dans notre cas puisqu'il s'y agit d'assurer l'opération traductive passant par trois étapes : la compréhension, la déverbalisation, et la réexpression en s'appuyant sur le principe « interpréter pour traduire ». Ainsi, c'est une procédure de reconnaissance et de traitement de l'antithèse en langue source, en vue d'une réexpression correcte de son sens et de son contenu émotif en langue d'arrivée. Notre démarche consiste d'abord à lire et à observer les traits inhérents de l'antithèse en discours français. Puis nous procédons à considérer les traits afférents lexicalisés dépendant de l'usage en arabe. Ceci nous a permis de rester attentifs au degré de transparence de la motivation de l'antithèse mise en contexte. Donc, la traduction de chaque antithèse dans les extraits mis à l'étude nécessite de se reporter à l'article tout entier, afin de délimiter le macro-contexte implicite, soit politique ou culturel, etc.

Enfin, de façon à actualiser tel ou tel trait, il nous faut examiner le contexte, tant linguistique que cognitif du discours. Ici, nous essayons de préciser d'emblée que les propositions de traduction que nous allons apporter passeront par des phases fondamentales : ce sont des étapes de compréhension et d'exploration. Il s'agit d'abord donc de mettre en évidence un processus cognitif que le traducteur doit effectuer potentiellement afin de passer du texte source au texte cible. Le but visé dans ce processus est d'adopter aussi une démarche préconisée par Durieux pour traiter une séquence figée ou un cas de figure de style comme le nôtre, l'antithèse, à des fins traductologiques : « La stratégie mise en œuvre va consister à tenter de décrire la source, à faire émerger la cible d'une analyse du contexte, et enfin à établir des liens logiques entre la source et la cible » (Durieux 2003: 193). Puis on passe à la phase de recomposition et de réexpression ; cela dit, la phase de la traduction.

Nous précisons ici que la traduction vers l'arabe est faite par nous-même. Cela dit, la conclusion de notre étude est de nature expérimentale. Ainsi, et selon les objectifs de cet article, a été fait le choix du périodique *Le Monde Diplomatique*, journal publié en langue française et traduit en arabe. Mais malheureusement, nous n'avons pas trouvé, dans ce journal, de traductions publieées qui couvrent les textes collectés. C'est pourquoi nous sommes parti du *Monde Diplomatique*. Puis, nous avons opté pour des textes complémentaires extraits des journaux *Le Monde, Le Point Politique et Le Figaro* . Ce qui a demandé de notre part une traduction personnelle de ces énoncés en arabe, puisqu'il n'existe pas d'éditions en langue arabe de ces titres de presse choisis. Ce travail nous a ainsi permis, en tant que chercheurs-traducteurs, de marier la théorie avec la pratique. La traduction et l'analyse nous permettront de voir également comment, par le biais de la pratique, sont traitées ces antithèses, ainsi que le rôle que joue le contexte dans leur traduction.

2. Le corpus

2.1. 1er exemple : *Le Point Politique* : Emmanuel Macron assure qu'il est "Ministre jour et nuit"

AFP. Publié le 12/04/2016 à 15:27 | AFP :

> Emmanuel Macron, qui vient de lancer son mouvement politique En Marche ! Reste *"ministre jour et nuit"*, a-t-il assuré mardi lors d'un déplacement en Meurthe-et-Moselle, après des remarques de certains députés socialistes sur sa disponibilité. "Je fais jour et nuit ma fonction de ministre comme je l'ai toujours fait", a déclaré M. Macron, interrogé sur sa capacité à concilier son poste à Bercy avec la présidence de son mouvement politique, avant de lister ses déplacements des derniers jours, en Algérie ou à Strasbourg.

Cet extrait fait état dans le domaine de la politique intérieure française en 2016. Emmanuel Macron essaie de défendre son mouvement politique et ses déplacements quotidiens en utilisant des termes opposés : jour, l'antonyme de lumière, le temps du travail ; et nuit ; l'antonyme de ténèbres, de l'obscurité, mais aussi du temps de repos. La réunion de ces deux termes opposés aboutie à une signification assurant une continuité du travail, une stabilité et un effort ininterrompu : « Je fais *jour et nuit* ma fonction de ministre comme je l'ai toujours fait" et je « Reste ; ministre jour et nuit", a-t-il assuré mardi lors d'un déplacement en Meurthe-et-Moselle ».

Nous pouvons remarquer d'emblée que l'antithèse « jour et nuit » a joué ici un rôle essentiel dans le but de donner un sens de continuité et de stabilité. C'est exprimé d'ailleurs avec le moins de mots possibles cherchant à produire des effets de réel et de force tel que le note Macluhan dans *Pour comprendre les médias, le prolongement technologique de l'homme* : « un langage dont la fonction référentielle est dominante » (Macluhan, 1977: 26). En outre, recourir au style nominal de l'antithèse « jour et nuit », peut être justifié, par une raison principale : « les langues doivent répondre aux besoins de leurs usages » (Zerez, 2001 : 295). Autrement dit, le choix de la structure syntaxique de l'antithèse dépend nécessairement de l'effet que le journaliste entend créer chez le destinataire. Cet effet, comme l'a dit Mouriquand, est un choix visant à faire appel non pas seulement à l'intelligence du lecteur mais aussi à sa sensibilité tel que l'explique Mouriquand dans *L'écriture journalistique* :

> L'auteur ne se contente pas de dire quelque chose, il le dit d'une certaine manière qui est le style ou l'art de représenter ce quelque chose. L'effet visé ne fait pas appel uniquement à l'intelligence du destinataire, mais aussi à sa sensibilité (Mouriquand 2015 : 2).

Ainsi, dans ce titre, nous distinguons, d'une part le contenu cognitif ou informatif, purement référentiel et, d'autre part, le contenu émotif ou l'effet crée par l'usage d'une telle antithèse. L'antithèse *jour et nuit* se définit dans ce contexte par *sans arrêt* : « Je fais jour et nuit ma fonction de ministre ». En amont, les indices se multiplient qui confèrent à l'antithèse en question les valeurs de travailler d'arrache-pied ; « tout le temps, constamment, continuellement, en permanence, invariablement, immuablement, sans interruption, non-stop, sans cesse, sans pose », au profit d'une nouvelle structure politique assuré par Macron. Nous relevons également dans le texte des verbes appartenant au champ sémantique du couple *jour et nuit* : « faire, assurer, lancer, marcher, concilier, lister, structurer, continuer, travailler, déplacer, se consacrer, exister ». Ce qui suppose en parallèle des actions ayant occasionné ces différentes fonctions en tant que Ministre dynamique. Tous ces verbes signalent une situation d'une politique menée sérieusement et des épreuves de force et de raison.

Si nous passons maintenant à la phase de recomposition et de réexpression de la théorie de traduction, nous pouvons constater que l'image transmise par l'antithèse « jour et nuit » ne pose pas problème de compréhension, nous semble-t-il, pour un lecteur arabophone, comme d'ailleurs pour un lecteur francophone. Sans doute, ayant bien compris le contenu cognitif et émotif, nous pouvons donner tout de suite des propositions de traduction telles que :

1-يؤكد وزير الاقتصاد الفرنسي إيمانويل ماكرون على أنه وزيرا ليلا نهارا

(ici on garde les deux termes de l'antithèse jour et nuit)

2 -يؤكد وزير الاقتصاد الفرنسي إيمانويل ماكرون على أنه يعمل كوزير بشكل متواصل.

(cette traduction introduit d'emblée la signification de l'antithèse *constamment* sans mentionner les deux termes *jour* et *nuit* en arabe).

La première traduction est littérale et elle est conforme à l'usage et au génie de la langue arabe. En langue arabe, nous avons ainsi recours à une image similaire de celle de la langue française. En effet, cette proposition est très usuelle bien que peu familière. La traduction reproduit le même sens que l'originel en français. La deuxième proposition de la traduction dans laquelle on donne tout de suite la signification de l'antithèse sans la mentionner en tant que telle est plus courante dans la langue arabe. C'est au traducteur de choisir entre une énonciation qui transpose mot à mot l'énoncé français en arabe ou de faire une traduction interprétative de l'antithèse. Et c'est là où réside une de difficultés de la traduction de l'antithèse du français vers l'arabe.

2.2. 2^{éme} exemple : *Le Figaro* : Visualisez si vous êtes riche, aisé, «moyen», «populaire» ou pauvre Par Caroline Piquet. Service Infographie .Mis à jour le 17/04/2014 à 09:56 Publié le 16/04/2014 à INFOGRAPHIE.

> L'Observatoire des inégalités a défini de nouveaux seuils pour définir les catégories des Français. Vérifiez à quelle classe sociale vous appartenez. Qui est pauvre en France ? A partir de quel montant de revenu appartient-on à la classe moyenne ? Où se situe la limite des riches ? Telles sont les questions auxquelles l'Observatoire des inégalités a tenté de répondre en analysant des données de l'Insee publiées en 2011. Son objectif était de délimiter des frontières de niveaux de vie entre les ménages pour faire apparaître cinq couches sociales différentes : les riches, les classes aisées, moyennes, populaires et les pauvres.

Dans l'article intitulé « Visualisez si vous êtes riche, aisé, « moyen », « populaire » ou pauvre », Caroline Piquet décrit la situation dans la société française, dont les inégalités sont prises comme critères pour définir la catégorisation sociale des Français (classes sociales). La journaliste au Service Infographie a présenté un bref rappel historique des renversements de situations selon les couches sociales en France, telles qu'elles apparaissent dans la catégorisation du Credoc en actualisant les données. Elle fait un survol par le biais de chiffres qui « correspondent aux déclarations d'impôts auxquelles l'institut des statistiques a retiré les impôts directs payés et les prestations reçues ». Les statistiques montrent que des riches « sont toujours plus riches, et des pauvres encore plus... pauvres ». « Le fossé riches-pauvres, risque majeur », « La hausse des impôts a réduit les écarts entre riches et pauvres en 2012 , Près de la moitié des richesses mondiales est détenue par 1% de la population » .

Pour mieux exprimer la gravité de la situation et l'écart entre les catégories sociales, la journaliste recourt à une série des antithèses, surtout dans le titre de son article : « riche, aisé, « moyen », « populaire » ou pauvre. L'antithèse dans le titre enlève toute objectivité à la journaliste laquelle, par le biais de ces antithèses, prend une position claire par rapport à ce qui se passe dans la société française. Elle montre une certaine vision antipathique dans son titre. Le lecteur pourrait aussi en tirer une anticipation d'opinion sous-entendue à cause de la présence de l'antithèse dans ce titre. Dans *L'écriture journalistique* Mouriquand souligne que l'emploi de l'antithèse dans le texte journalistique implique que le journaliste a manifesté implicitement un certain intérêt, une certaine opinion et que : « le choix du sujet n'est guère gratuit. Une position se trouvent à l'autre extrême et manquant d'objectivité est de laisser passer sous silence un événement de taille » (Mouriquand, 2015 : 72). L'antithèse dans ce cas a une fonction de qualifier les événements et les personnes.

En outre, dans l'esprit du lecteur, « riche » déclenche, inconsciemment sans doute, l'évocation de la possibilité contraire, à savoir « pauvre » et « aisée » pourrait déclencher « populaire ». Ces qualifiants antonymiques permettent au journaliste de faire parler son lecteur, en lui donnant matière à conversation comme le note Gaillard dans *Technique du journalisme*. Une telle technique : « a pour effet de créer une ambiance de communication, de dialogue, d'échange discursif, entre le journaliste et le lecteur » (Gaillard, 1985 : 91). Cette technique suppose néanmoins : « un certain nombre de paramètres, de règles de jeu : la présence d'un savoir partagé ; le rappel des connaissances antérieures qui peut créer une impression de communication, les données chiffrées, déjà établie, entre le journaliste et le lecteur » (Zerez 2001 : 295). L'antithèse utilisée dans le titre prépare déjà le lecteur, en effet, au sujet de la justice sociale et à une tonalité critique à l'égard de l'inégalité sociale.

La traduction arabe de ce titre peut être fidèle au sens littéral des antithèses du titre tel que cette proposition de traduction :

تخيل بأنك غني, مرتاح أو "متوسط الطبقة", "شعبي", أو فقير.

Cependant, cette phrase ne fait pas appel à la sensibilité des lecteurs et pourrait se reformuler autrement. Puisque le corps de l'article, surtout au premier paragraphe se constitue à partir des questions que pose la journaliste pour analyser le contexte de l'inégalité sociale, la traduction pourrait se tourner en une question tout en gardant les termes opposés :

هل أنت غني, مرتاح أو "متوسط الطبقة", "شعبي", أو فقير؟

Cette traduction ne respecte pas la traduction littérale mais traduit mieux le questionnement et l'enquête qu'entame la journaliste dans son texte. Cela dit, cette proposition de traduction respecte mieux le sens et le message du titre. Donc, laquelle choisir? Cela reste un enjeu pour le traducteur; il vaut mieux rester fidèle aux mots exacts ou au sens pértinent de la phrase en langue source?

Cet exemple se raopproche de l'antithèse dans un reportage paru dans *Le Monde Diplomatique* en 1989 portant sur l'inegalité et la misère en Amérique:

2.3. 3ème exemple : Le Monde Diplomatique . *Washington, misère et racisme dans la citadelle du pouvoir*

> Ce n'est pas seulement entre les nations et les peuples que s'élargit le fossé séparant *pauvres et riches.* Dans chaque pays, surtout au sein des grandes agglomérations, deux mondes se font face, *étrangers et hostiles,* et pourtant si proches. Washington, où siègent les plus hautes instances politiques et militaires des Etats-Unis, abrite une majorité de Noirs. Chez eux, comme dans l'ensemble de cette communauté partout dans le pays, le reaganisme a fait des ravages. En témoignent avec éclat une enquête toute récente du National Research Council (1), mais aussi cette description que donne Florence Beaugé *d'une capitale triomphante rongée par le cancer de l'inégalité et du racisme.* Son reportage est le premier d'une série qui se poursuivra dans d'autres métropoles du monde.
>
> PAR FLORENCE BEAUGE 1989
>
> APERÇU
>
> **E**LLE ressemble à tout, cette ville, sauf à l'idée que l'on se fait de la capitale des Etats-Unis. Peu d'autres, sans doute, sont aussi peu représentatives du pays qu'elles prétendent symboliser. C'est la *capitale noire* d'une *nation blanche*. Dotée d'un statut bâtard, qui fait d'elle un peu plus qu'une ville, mais beaucoup moins qu'un Etat (le district de Columbia),

> Washington est peuplée à presque 70% de Noirs, ce qui change tout de suite les données du problème et transforme (peut-être même déforme) à l'équation « riches/pauvres » en équation « Blancs/Noirs », qu'on le veuille ou non.

Le reportage parle de Washington, une ville antithétique. Une ville opposant noir au blanc, riche au pauvre, toléré et non toléré. Une ville de triomphe, mais aussi d'inégalité et de racisme. Une ville riche, mais misérable aussi. Si on essaie de traduire la phrase : « C'est la *capitale noire* d'une *nation blanche* », et l'antithèse de la phrase fait surgir une difficulté de transposition. Une première proposition de traduction pourrait être :

انها العاصمة السوداء لشعب أبيض.

Cette traduction respecte le mot-à-mot de la phrase francaise mais pourrait parraître étrange et un peu incomprehensible pour un lecteur arabe. La phrase respecte cet ordre syntaxique: Article+Nom+Article+Adjectif+Préposition+Complément de nom+Adjectif. Une structure difficile à illustrer à cause de la présence de l'article défini avant le nom. Ceci pourrait voluoir dire en arabe que c'est une capitale noire parmi d'autres noires qu'appartient à un peuple Blanc. C'est pourquoi, pour rendre la traduction de la phrase plus exacte, le traducteur pourrait reformulaire sa transposition ainsi :

انها عاصمة سوداء لشعب أبيض.

Dans cette traduction, nous avons éliminé l'article defini arabe *'al* du terme capital. Ici la structure de la phrase traduite est ainsi: Nom+Adjectif+Préposition+Complément de nom+Adjectif. Ainsi le sens veut dire ici que la capitale noire appartient à une nation Blanche. La capitale noire est dirigée par des Blancs. Nous notons aussi que les deux propositions précédentes sont dites en arabe standard. En outre, la présence de la couleur noire trouve son écho dans certains contextes arabes authentiques comme en témoigent les exemples suivants :

- مجموعة "العاصمة السوداء" تصدر فيديو كليب بتطوان : le groupe « la capitale noire » publie un clip vidéo à Tétouan »[3]
- المحطة الأولى في السودان هي الخرطوم (العاصمة السوداء): la première escale au Soudan est Khartoum (la capitale noire)[4]

[3] L'article a été publié dans la Presse Tétouane le 30 janvier 2013 : https://presstetouan.com/news6300.html

- عرض الفيلم السنغالي "الفتاة السوداء" في شومان بالعاصمة عمان: Le film sénégalais « la fille noire » a été projeté à Shoman à Amman – Jordanie ».[5]

-العشرية السوداء" خلال قتلوا الذين الرهبان هم من " : qui sont les moines tués lors de la « décimale noire ».[6]

-مسرحية «ثورة دون كيشوت»... كوميديا سوداء : pièce de théâtre « Don Quichotte Révolution », comédie noire.[7]

- كنوز الجزائر القديمة ومكتبات الأقدام السوداء على أرصفة العاصمة : les anciens Trésors et bibliothèques de l'Algérie sur des pieds noirs aux trottoirs de la capitale.[8]

- أطول برج في "القارة السمراء : la haute tour du « Continent Noire ».[9]

- رواية الدائرة السوداء لحمدي عبدالرحيم: roman de cercle noir de Hamdi Abd Alrahemm.[10]

2.4. 4ème exemple : Le Monde : "Chaque Français *aime ses vieux, mais la France n'aime pas ses vieux"* Le Monde.fr | 15.02.2010 à 16h35 |*Par Chat modéré par Anne Chemin et Laure Belot.* Pascal Champvert, président de l'Association des directeurs au service des personnes âgées, le lundi 15 février 2010.

> *Franck : La France est-elle plutôt maison de retraite ou prise en charge à domicile ?*
>
> *Pascal Champvert :* Depuis une cinquantaine d'années, la France dit qu'elle favorise le domicile. Il y a cinquante ans, il y avait essentiellement en établissements des gens qui avaient des revenus faibles. Et à l'époque, la volonté que les gens soient à domicile était une véritable avancée. Depuis, on a créé le minimum de vieillesse et augmenté le niveau des retraites. Et les établissements auraient donc pu disparaître. Mais entre-temps, avec l'allongement de l'âge de la vie, sont apparues de façon beaucoup plus importante des personnes âgées fragilisées, handicapées.

Le président de l'Association des directeurs au service des personnes âgées, Pascal Champyert, fait une déclaration dans un entretien à l'égard de la situation délicate des personnes âgées fragilisées, handicapées vivant en Franc. L'antithèse « aime ses vieux, mais la France n'aime pas ses vieux »

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[4] Dar El Khalij. Professeur Naiimah Hasan (2018, Young Adult Fiction) : https://books.google.jo/books/about/%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%AC%D9%88%D9%84%D8%A9_%D9%85%D9%86_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA_%D8%A3%D8%AF.html?id=BgJaDwAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y

[5] La Magazine Sayatiy : https://www.sayidaty.net/node/864186

[6] France 24 : https://www.france24.com/ar/20181208

[7] Le Journal International Arabe : https://aawsat.com/home/article/1424606

[8] La porte du lever du soleil « Al-sourouk » : https://www.echoroukonline.com

[9] Le Site : les Marchés Arabes : https://www.alarabiya.net/ar/aswaq/realestate/2019/02/26/

[10] Roman Al Daera Al Sawda, de Hamdi abdalrahemm : https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/33836016

surgit au titre principal et se répète trois fois au corps du texte de l'entretien. En effet, cette antithèse peut paraître facile pour un traducteur expert. Le jugement et l'opinion du journaliste est évident dans la phrase grâce à l'antithèse antonymique : aimer et ne pas aimer. La phrase pourrait donc se traduire ainsi :

يحب كل فرنسي كباره, و لكن فرنسا لا تحب كبارها.

Laquelle signifie que chaque Français aime ses personnes âgées, alors que la France n'aime pas son peuple quand on devient âgé. Dans cette traduction l'antonymie et la négation est gardée telle que c'est dans la version française.

Or, si on rentre dans les détails du corps du texte, on trouve que ce texte fait état de la prise de fonction du président de l'Association au service des personnes âgées. Il s'agit d'une situation de crise qui met Champyret dans l'obligation de critiquer les mesures prises par l'État aux questions relatives à la protection sociale : « l'allongement de l'âge de la vie, les établissements auraient pu disparaître, l'augmentation des personnes âgées fragilisées, handicapées et aussi des personnes isolées, plus des difficultés physiques ou psychiques, mais peu de prises de décision, la création du cinquième risque ». Ainsi, le journaliste fait une distinction et un écart entre l'amour des Français envers ses vieux et l'absence de l'amour de l'État envers ses vieux. Pour les Français, ils ont « la main légère », alors que l'État a « la main lourde » et même « plus lourde ». Le traducteur, ayant pris connaissance de la situation d'énonciation et des indices fournies par le contexte verbal du corps du texte, sera en mesure de proposer une équivalence arabe de la phrase française qui sera plus pertinente et plus fidèle au sens tiré de la phrase. C'est pourquoi, on pourrait proposer une autre traduction arabe pour ce titre :

يحب الفرنسي كباره بالسن **بعكس** فرنسا التي لا تحبهم.

Dans cette traduction on a ajouté un mot qui explique et qui renforce l'idée de la négation dans la deuxième partie de la phrase: contrairement. Comme si on dit : «Chaque Français aime ses vieux , contrairement à la France qui ne les aiment pas». Cet ajout oriente mieux le lecteur vers le vouloir-dire du message du texte. Toutefois, c'est au traducteur de choisir laquelle de propositions sera la plus pertinente. Donc ajouter un terme à la phrase traduite, en enlever ou rester fidèle à chaque terme introduit dans la phrase française ? Cela pourrait aussi rendre encore difficile la traduction vers l'arabe d'un texte journalistique français.

2.5. 5ème exemple : Le Monde : Prix Nobel : Juan Manuel Santos, *seigneur de guerre et homme de paix.* Le président colombien a reçu le prix Nobel de la paix, récompensant ses efforts en faveur du processus de paix avec les FARC. LE MONDE | 07.10.2016 à 13h32 • Mis à jour le 14.10.2016 à 04h40 |Par Paulo A. Paranagua

> Juan Manuel Santos, à qui le prix Nobel de la paix a été attribué vendredi 7 octobre, est un patricien de la politique, né dans une des grandes familles traditionnelles de Bogota, liée au quotidien El Tiempo. Un de ses ancêtres, Eduardo Santos Montejo, avait déjà été président de la Colombie – entre 1938 et 1942. Il fallait bien qu'un de ses héritiers reprenne le fil de l'histoire. Un cousin de Juan Manuel, Francisco Santos Calderon, vice-président d'Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010), avait bien déjà essayé, mais ce brave « Pacho » Santos n'avait même pas réussi à remporter la mairie de Bogota.

L'antithèse dans le titre de ce texte est introduite dans le titre par la conjonction de coordination « et » qui coordonne et unit des propositions indépendantes affirmatives. Cet extrait propose un reportage (témoignage) qui rend compte du Prix Nobel octroyé à Juan Manuel Santos. Ce dernier est un « seigneur de guerre et homme de paix ». Selon le journaliste Parnagua, ce brave personnalité politique joua un rôle primordial dans « l'incarnation de l'offensive militaire meurtrière contre la guérilla, qui allait décapiter les Forces armées révolutionnaires de Colombie (FARC, extrême gauche) et les amener à envisager, enfin sérieusement, des négociations de paix ». Ainsi, la contribution de Juan Manuel Santos en tant que seigneur de guerre a été mise davantage par rapport au côté humain de son caractère.

D'ailleurs, dès le titre et tout au long de l'article des indices s'intensifiant confirment l'image d'abord guerrière de cet homme politicien : «guerre », «ce brave », «les armes de la guerre », « incarnation de l'offensive militaire », « contre la guérilla », «révolutionnaires » «décapiter les Forces armées», «le portefeuille de la défense, «conflit armé », », « otages », « vaincu », «crimes », « la force de frappe». Alors que la paix et l 'humanisme vienmnent en deuxième rang : « la paix», « négociations », «le champion », « éducation de qualité», «entamer un dialogue », « Négociations secrètes », «processus de paix », « paix des braves », « un accord global», « principale promesse». Donc, pour ce titre : « Prix Nobel : Juan Manuel Santos, seigneur de guerre et homme de paix », la première version de traduction proposée en arabe pourrait être :

جائزة نوبل: خوان مانويل سانتوس, سيد الحرب ورجل السلام.

Ce qui veut dire « Le président Colombien, le seigneur de la guerre et l'homme de paix, gagne le prix Nobel ». Nous pouvons remarquer ici que la traduction de l'antithèse française a rempli

convenablement les exigences du message à transmettre en langue arabe. Le problème qu'impose cette phrase, toutefois, vient du fait que: le *Prix Nobel* doit être succédé par des termes qui se rapportent à la paix. Alors que ce n'est pas le cas dans ce titre. *Le seigneur de la guerre* précède *la paix* et rend la phrase moins véridique et moins logique. Pourquoi donne-t-on le Prix Nobel à un seigneur de guerre ? C'est pourquoi une deuxième proposition de la traduction pourrait donner plus de véracité au sens et au message de la phrase. La traduction pourrait être alors ainsi :

جائزة نوبل: خوان مانويل سانتوس, سيد الحرب **و لكن** رجل السلام.

Dans cette version, le traducteur ajoute le terme *mais* après *le seigneur de guerre* et tout avant *l'homme de paix* : Prix Nobel : Juan Manuel Santos**,** seigneur de guerre mais homme de paix. Le terme *mais* indique pour le lecteur arabe que ce qui vient après *mais* est une opposition, c'est vrai que le prix est donné à un homme de guerre, toutefois, c'est un homme différent, il est aussi un homme de paix ; c'est pourquoi il mérite ce prix.

3. Conclusion

Tout comme le journaliste dont la mission lui impose de rester objectif et de transmettre un message informatif objectif, le traducteur doit rester aussi fidèle et objectif dans son travail de traduction. Pourtant la subjectivité que le journaliste pourrait exprimer de temps en temps dans son texte présente des enjeux de traduction pour le traducteur. Ce dernier doit traduire non pas seulement les termes linguistiques mais aussi la vision et la subjectivité observée dans le texte en question. Dans ce cas, la querelle entre la traduction libre et la traduction littérale remet en question la fidélité en traduction. Il est vrai que la première réflexion sur ce que doit être une traduction fidèle est de préconiser le mot-à-mot pour la traduction des textes. Or, quand il s'agit des oppositions et de differenciation, une vision et une opinion se crée tout en comportant un sentiment, une émotion et tout en créant un effet chez le lecteur. Ici, on doit donner la primauté à l'esprit et non à la lettre. C'est le sens qu'il faut rendre dans la traduction et non les mots.

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Bhakti, dharma e *vairāgya* nell'agiografia di Pīpā[1]

Pinuccia Caracchi

Pīpā was the *rājā* of Gagraun in Rājashān in XV century. According to his hagiography, he went to Banāras, following a divine inspiration, and became disciple of Rāmānanda. He left his kingdom together with his youngest wife, the beautiful Sītā, for living the poor and ascetic life of a *sādhu*. His *sādhanā* consisted mainly in humble service of *bhakta*-s, *sādhu*-s and poor. Although the figure of Pīpā does not have a great relevance in the history of Indian religions, nor in Hindī literature as a *sant*-poet, his very adventurous life inspired the hagiographers, so that his legend is one of the more extended and widespread of North Indian hagiography. This article focuses mainly on *Bhaktamāl* and its two main commentaries. The critical analysis of Pīpā and Sītā's hagiography reveals how in "*bhakti* religion" the concepts of *dharma* and *vairāgya* were reformulated and entirely subordinated to *bhakti*. Moreover, the doctrine of the identity of *bhakta* and Bhagavān is a fundamental key for understanding how, in *bhakti* movements and, consequently, in hagiography, *bhakta-sevā* becomes the meeting point of *bhakti*, *dharma* and *vairāgya*, as in the story of Pīpā and Sītā Sahcarī.

1. Fonti agiografiche su Pīpā

La storia di Pīpā – *rājā*, *sant* e *vairāgī*, vissuto nel XV secolo[2] – occupa un posto del tutto particolare nell'agiografia del *bhakti-kāl,*[3] sia per la singolarità del suo personaggio e delle vicende che lo vedono

[1] Nella traslitterazione dei termini hindī sono stati seguiti gli stessi criteri che vengono normalmente adottati per il sanscrito, omettendo però la *a* breve quando essa rimane muta. La traslitterazione completa, comprensiva di *a* breve muta, è stata invece adottata per parole in braj-bhāṣā, o comunque in forme di hindī non khaṛī bolī, quando sono riportate come citazioni di testi. Si è scelto di mantenere nella loro forma sanscrita anche i termini "tecnici" più comuni, come *saṃsāra* e *avatāra*, nonché i nomi propri di personaggi mitici come Rāma e Arjuna. Alcune parole potranno comparire nella forma sanscrita o in quella hindī, a seconda dei contesti.

Alcune precisazioni terminologiche: 1) Le parole "Medioevo" e "medievale" sono qui usate nel senso precisato in Caracchi (2017: 11-12), cioè con rifermento al cosiddetto "Medioevo indiano", che, convenzionalmente, ha inizio con la fondazione del Sultanato di Delhi (1206 d.C.). 2) La parola "asceta" (e i termini correlati) sarà qui utilizzata nel senso più generico possibile e, grosso modo, equivalente al termine hindī *sādhu* (nel significato in cui è più comunemente usato, cioè per indicare gli asceti di ogni ordine e tipo, e non in quello letterale di "buono"). L'impiego di un termine generico si è reso necessario per non incorrere nelle possibilità di equivoco su cui cfr. nota 47 *infra*.

Infine, un grazie di cuore per la sua revisione a Gianni Pellegrini, con il quale ho discusso vari temi di questo articolo.

protagonista, da solo o insieme alla sua sposa, Sītā, sia per la considerevole estensione dei testi che la raccontano. L'importanza della figura di Pīpā nell'agiografia non è certo dovuta alla posizione che occupa nella letteratura o nella storia delle religioni. Come poeta, Pīpā sembra averci lasciato poco più di una ventina di canti o, per essere più precisi, soltanto poco più di una ventina sono i canti che ci sono pervenuti col suo nome, almeno stando alle conoscenze attuali.[4] Per quanto riguarda la sua eredità spirituale e religiosa, a parte il fatto che a lui fa capo uno dei 36 *dvārā*, in cui si suddivide l'ordine dei Rāmānandī Vairāgī (Bevilacqua 2018: 79-80 e Caracchi 2017: 206-210), a quanto mi risulta egli è tuttora venerato in alcuni luoghi del Rājasthān, ma si tratta di culti locali e assai circoscritti.[5]

Sia dal punto di vista letterario, sia da quello religioso, la figura di Pīpā sembra dunque essere piuttosto modesta. In India come fuori dall'India, la notorietà di Pīpā è dovuta soprattutto alla sua connessione con Rāmānanda, il grande personaggio che la tradizione gli attribuisce come Maestro

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[2] La datazione di Pīpā – il cui nome di nascita sembra esser stato Pratāp Siṃh – è molto incerta, come del resto quella degli altri personaggi che, secondo la tradizione, furono suoi condiscepoli e come quella di Rāmānanda stesso, che, sempre secondo la tradizione, fu il loro guru (Caracchi 2017: 65-71). Per alcune ipotesi sulla datazione di Pīpā, ipotesi che fissano la sua nascita in un arco temporale che va dagli ultimi decenni del Trecento ai primi del Quattrocento, cfr. Caracchi (1989: 17).

[3] *Bhakti-kāl* è l'"etichetta" usata da Rāmcandra Śukla (1972: 43), nella sua pionieristica e magistrale storia della letteratura hindī per indicare la letteratura della *bhakti* in lingua hindī. Śukla fissa il *bhakti-kāl* tra il 1375 e il 1700 *Vikram saṃvat*, cioè tra il 1318 e il 1643 d.C. Si tratta di una categoria che, a mio avviso, si può ancora ritenere valida, considerando che la semplice indicazione di "letteratura della *bhakti*" dovrebbe includere anche quelle in sanscrito e nelle altre lingue indiane, ma si tratta di letterature che, per datazione, tematiche e altre caratteristiche possono differire, anche assai notevolmente, da quella della lingua hindī che, già da sola, presenta un panorama molto variegato. La condizione per il suo impiego è però quella di considerarla una categoria cronologicamente aperta, svincolata dal *terminus ad quem* (comunque troppo restrittivo) fissato da Śukla, dato che ancora oggi si producono espressioni letterarie che gli appartengono a pieno titolo e che consentono di affermare che il *bhakti-kāl* non si è mai concluso.

[4] Una raccolta di 23 canti di Pīpā si trova in Callewaert (2000: 289-301), alcuni inediti, trovati in manoscritti del Rājasthān, altri tratti dalle *Sarvāṅgī* di Gopāldās e di Rajab e uno presente nell'*Ādi-granth*. B. Śrīvāstav (1957: 181) parla di un libro, divenuto introvabile, dal titolo *Pīpā jī kī bānī,* contenente una raccolta di canti edita da Sītārāmśaraṇ Bhagavānprasād "Rūpkalā". Dato che, secondo Pinch (2003: 160), Sītārāmśaraṇ Bhagavānprasād "Rūpkalā" visse tra il 1840 e il 1932 (di lui si parlerà più oltre), la sua pubblicazione potrebbe risalire alla seconda metà dell'Ottocento o all'inizio del Novecento. Del libro dà notizia anche P. Caturvedī (1972: 238). Due canti di Pīpā sono accessibili anche in traduzione inglese. Uno di essi è quello presente nell'*Ādi-granth* tra i canti dei *bhagat* del *Rāga Dhanāsarī* (Sahgal 1987-88: vol. II, 931), corrispondente al numero 7 tra quelli editi da Callewaert. Oltre, ovviamente, a essere presente nelle varie traduzioni del *Granth* in inglese, questo *pad* è stato tradotto anche da Charlotte Vaudeville (1997: 353) e la sua traduzione è riportata da Callewaert in calce al *pad* 7. L'altro *pad* corrisponde al numero 12 dell'edizione di Callewaert ed è stato tradotto da Lorenzen (1996: 166), il quale si è basato per la sua traduzione sul testo contenuto nella *Sarvāṅgī* di Rajab. Il testo sembra presentare varianti di un certo rilievo rispetto a quello edito da Callewaert (per esempio manca interamente il secondo verso). Del resto diverse varianti in altre versioni del *pad* sono segnalate da Lorenzen stesso (1996: 277, n. 29).

[5] Testimonianze del culto di Pīpā si trovano anche in rete. Per un paio di esempi si vedano i siti seguenti: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aUg8MPazxm8 e https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kjDM3s6dwxA (ultimo accesso 8.8.2019).

(Caracchi 2017: 46-47), ma a differenza dei suoi due condiscepoli *sant* più celebri – Kabīr e Raidās, i cui discepoli si organizzarono in *pant* che contano tuttora milioni di fedeli – Pīpā non sembra aver lasciato un grande seguito in termini di discepoli e di seguaci. Con Pīpā siamo di fronte al caso anomalo di una figura la cui storia ha decisamente soverchiato, per importanza, quella del personaggio stesso. Lo prova il fatto che nelle opere agiografiche del *bhakti-kāl*, che illustrano le vite di diversi *sant* e *bhakta*, la storia di Pīpā ha solitamente un'estensione di gran lunga superiore a quella di personaggi ben più rilevanti, come i già citati Kabīr e Raidās. La prima agiografia di Pīpā sembra essere la *Pīpā Parcaī* (PP) scritta dal *rāmānandī* Anantadās intorno alla fine del 1500 insieme con altre sette *Parcaī*, tutte edite da Winand M. Callewaert (2000), che ne ha anche curato la traduzione.[6] Fra le *Parcaī* di Anantadās quella di Pīpā ha un'estensione di 756 distici, a fronte dei 207 distici della *Parcaī* di Kabīr e dei 230 di quella di Raidās; come osserva Callewaert (2000: 2), la sua estensione è superiore a quella della *Bhagavad-gītā.*

Una sproporzione analoga si ritrova nei commentari della *Bhaktamāl* di Nābhādās, un'opera di datazione incerta, ma probabilmente quasi coeva o di poco posteriore alle *Parcaī* di Anantadās, collocabile tra la fine del XVI e l'inizio del XVII secolo[7]. Si tratta di un'operetta di modeste dimensioni (appena 214 strofe), che ha però una rilevanza fondamentale nell'agiografia del *bhakti-kāl*, sia per la vastità della tradizione commentaria che a essa fa capo, sia per la quantità di opere in seguito composte sul suo modello, anche al di fuori di quello che oggi si identifica come *hindī saṃsār.*[8] I suoi due commentari più celebri e, anche oggi, di gran lunga i più diffusi sono la *Bhaktirasbodhinī* (BRB) di Priyādās del 1712, in versi, e il *Bhaktisudhāsvad tilak* (BSST) di Sītārāmśaraṇ Bhagavānprasād "Rūpkalā"

[6] In realtà nell'opera di Callewaert mancano le traduzioni di due *Parcaī*: quella di Kabīr, perché già tradotta da Lorenzen – che l'ha anche edita (sulla base di differenti manoscritti) e analizzata (1991) – e quella, piuttosto modesta, dedicata a Sev Suman. Conosciamo la datazione della *Parcaī* di Nāmdev, il 1588, perché è indicata nel primo verso. Su questa base si può presumere che anche le altre *Parcaī* risalgano alla medesima epoca.

[7] Secondo R.S. McGregor (1984: 108-109), la sua redazione avrebbe avuto inizio un po' prima della fine del XVI secolo, ma sarebbe stata completata all'inizio del XVII. Secondo B. Śrīvāstav (1957: 192), l'epoca di composizione della *Bhaktamāl* andrebbe situata tra il 1583 e il 1623. Pinch (1996: 53) la situa all'inizio del XVII secolo. J.P. Hare (2007: 185 e 195, n. 2), avvallando la datazione proposta da Narendra Jha, sostiene che la *Bhaktamāl* risalirebbe al primo quarto del XVII secolo. Tra Nābhādās e Anantadās esisteva una precisa "parentela" spirituale: Anantadās, infatti, era discepolo di Vinodīdās, un condiscepolo di Nābhādās. Il guru di Vinodīdās e di Nābhādās era Agradās, una figura molto importante nella storia dei Rāmānandī, perché a lui vien fatto risalire il Rasik-sampradāya, che costituisce tuttora una delle branche più importanti del Rāmānanda-sampradāya. Al Rasik-sampradāya dei Rāmānandī appartennero anche i nostri due autori. Sul tema cfr. Caracchi (2017: 188-196).

[8] Secondo K. C. Śarmā, citato da Callewaert (1994: 87, n. 2), ben 85 sarebbero le *Bhaktamāl* composte fra il 1600 e il 1950, a cui si aggiungono 21 commentari e traduzioni (non meglio identificate), 5 *Bhaktamāl* in prosa e 26 opere del genere in lingue diverse dalla hindī.

(che per brevità chiameremo semplicemente Rūpkalā), scritto in prosa qua e là frammista a versi e pubblicato per la prima volta nel 1903 a Kāśī e, successivamente, a Lakhnaū nel 1914[9]. Il BSST, che ingloba in sé anche la BRB di Priyādās (sullo stile dei commentari dei *sūtra*), non è soltanto il commentario più esteso, ma forse è anche il più completo, essendo il frutto di uno straordinario lavoro di esegesi, di raccolta e di esposizione della tradizione agiografica precedente che fa capo alla *Bhaktamāl*. Nel suo autore, infatti, figlio e nipote di commentatori della *Bhaktamāl*, un appassionato interesse di studioso si univa a quello del devoto *rāmānandī* (Pinch 1996: 55-75 e 2003: 159-196). È quindi particolarmente significativo il fatto che tra le storie di oltre duecento *bhakta* presenti nel BSST quella di gran lunga più estesa sia la storia di Pīpā (492-521), perché si può presumere che vi si rifletta il grande interesse che effettivamente essa aveva continuato a suscitare nel corso del tempo. Nel BSST ben 30 pagine sono dedicate a Pīpā (492-521), a fronte delle 22 dedicate a Narsī Mehtā (673-695), 21 a Jayadev (l'autore del *Gītāgovinda*) e a Nāmdev (rispettivamente 343-364 e 322-343), 18 a Tulsīdās (756-774), 15 a Rāmānanda (281-296) e 14 a Kabīr (479-492). Le 30 pagine del BSST commentano, oltre al *chappay* di Nābhādās (61), i ben 24 *kavitta* della BRB di Priyādās (182-305), il quale, a titolo di esempio, ne dedica solo 17 a Nāmdev (127-143), 14 a Kabīr (268-281) e 11 a Tulsīdās (508-518).

Dopo quella di Nābhādās, forse la *Bhaktamāl* più importante è quella del *dādūpanthī* Rāghavdās, la cui composizione risale al 1660.[10] Insieme col commento in versi di Caturdās, del 1800, è un voluminoso lavoro che riguarda circa 730 *sant* e *bhakta*, di cui 445 "storici". Fra i 175 personaggi presenti nel solo testo di Rāghavdās – se si escludono le figure di alcuni *dādūpanthī*, come Sundardās e Rajjab, ai quali comprensibilmente l'autore dedica maggior attenzione appartenendo alla sua famiglia spirituale – quello a cui è dedicato il maggior numero di strofe è Kabīr (6 strofe da 125 a 130), a cui fanno seguito Pīpā e Kṛṣṇadās Payahāri con 4 strofe ciascuno (rispettivamente da 133 a 136 e da 150 a 153).[11] Rispetto a Pīpā, ben diversa è però la rilevanza della figura di Kṛṣṇadās Payahāri, che fu capostipite della *tapasī śākhā* e che lasciò una profonda impronta nel Rāmānanda sampradāya, fondando la *gaddī* di Galtā e lasciando una discendenza spirituale nella quale si annoverano personaggi illustri come Kīldās e Agradās (Caracchi 2017: 181-188). Se poi rivolgiamo l'attenzione alla

[9] L'edizione di Tejkumār di Lakhnaū, più volte riedita e tuttora la più diffusa, è quella che sarà qui utilizzata. Per approfondimenti sulla *Bhaktamāl* di Nābhādās e sui commentari di Priyādās e Rūpkalā si veda Hare 2001.

[10] In Caracchi 2017: 53 avevo riportato come probabile la datazione del 1713, sostenuta da Callewaert (2000: 28), ma mi erano sfuggite le solide le prove astronomiche addotte da Monika Horstmann (2000: 515, n. 9) a favore del 1660.

[11] Le quattro strofe di Rāghavdās su Pīpā e il relativo commento di Caturdās sono stati tradotti da Callewaert in 2000: 277-288.

ṭīkā di Caturdās, la storia di Pīpā risulta essere ancora una volta la più estesa: le strofe che lo riguardano sono ben 22 (125-163), cioè quasi il doppio di quelle riguardanti Kabīr (103-115) e il doppio di quelle riguardanti Tulsīdās (177-187).

Infine – esulando dallo *hindī saṃsār*, ma restando ancora, in qualche modo, nell'ambito della tradizione della *Bhaktamāl* – non si può trascurare un'importante opera agiografica maraṭhī, il *Bhaktavijaya* di Mahīpati (1762), il cui *focus* principale è sui *sant* del Mahārāṣṭra di tradizione *vārkarī*. Nel *Bhaktavijaya* lo spazio dedicato a Pīpā (cap. XXVI, 1-105) non è fra i più ampi, ma, tanto per fare un esempio indicativo, la sua storia risulta più estesa di quella del celebre poeta Sūrdās (cap. XXIII, 1-80), la cui figura, nel secolo precedente, ispirò le storie delle *Caurāsī vaiṣṇvan kī vārtā* e dei loro commenti (Hawley 1984: 3-14).

2. La storia di Pīpā e Sītā

Non è qui il caso di dilungarsi in un racconto dettagliato della storia di Pīpā; ci si limiterà a un breve riassunto degli episodi più noti che consenta la comprensione di quanto segue a chi non la conosce. Il riassunto è basato sui commentari della *Bhaktamāl* di Priyādās (la BRB) *e* di Rūpkalā (il BSST), la cui traduzione non ha qui trovato spazio, ma che farà presto seguito. Per una conoscenza più completa della storia di Pīpā si rimanda alla traduzione di Callewaert della PP (2000: 142-226) e della *Bhaktamāl* di Raghavdās (2000: 277-288), nonché alla libera traduzione di Lorenzen di una parafrasi hindī del commento di Caturdās alla *Bhaktamāl* di Rāghavdās (1995: 193-206).

Pīpā, *rājā* di Gagraun[12], riceve dalla Devī, alla quale è devoto, l'indicazione di recarsi a Banāras e di diventare discepolo di Rāmānanda. Questi in un primo tempo rifiuta di riceverlo e lo mette alla prova ingiungendogli prima di distribuire tutte le ricchezze che ha con sé, poi di gettarsi nel pozzo. Solo quando Pīpā sta per precipitarvisi, è accolto e iniziato da Rāmānanda, ma per ordine del Guru deve poi tornare nel suo regno, dove si dedica al servizio di *bhakta* e *sant*. Solo dopo un anno, quando Rāmānanda, accompagnato da quaranta discepoli, si reca a fargli visita, Pīpā ottiene da lui il permesso di abbracciare la vita monastica. Le sue dodici regine vorrebbero seguirlo, ma soltanto Sītā, la più giovane, accetta di spogliarsi dei gioielli e delle ricche vesti per indossare unicamente l'umile straccio dei *sādhu*. Pīpā si rifiuterebbe di portarla con sé, anche dopo averla sottoposta all'ulteriore terribile prova di mostrarsi nuda di fronte a tutti, se Rāmānanda stesso non ingiungesse a Pīpā di prendere Sītā con sé. Pīpā e Sītā si uniscono a Rāmānanda e alla sua compagnia in pellegrinaggio verso Dvārkā,

[12] Gāgraun si trova nel distretto di Jhālāvaṛ a sud-est del Rājasthān. Il suo maestoso forte nel 2013 è stato dichiarato patrimonio dell'umanità dall'UNESCO.

ma qui le loro strade si dividono: Pīpā e Sītā, spinti dal desiderio di avere il *darśan* di Kṛṣṇa, entrano nel mare e, nelle sue profondità, rimangono per sette giorni ospiti di Kṛṣṇa e Rukmiṇī nella loro reggia sommersa[13], sperimentando una beatitudine divina. Vanno poi incontro a una serie di disavventure: il rapimento di Sītā da parte di un gruppo di *paṭhān*, con la sua successiva liberazione per intervento di Hari in persona, e poi l'incontro con un feroce leone, che di fronte alla coppia diventa mansueto e si lascia convertire da Pīpā, ascoltando il suo insegnamento.[14]

Fra gli episodi successivi, uno dei più celebri è quello che li vede ospiti di due poverissimi *bhakta*, Cīdhar e la sua sposa: questa vende la sua ampia gonna (*lahaṁgā*) per comprare il cibo necessario per onorare gli ospiti. Sītā scopre il nobile gesto della donna, perché durante il pranzo cerca di restarsene sola e nuda in cucina; le dona allora metà della sua *sāṛī* e decide poi di mettere in vendita la sola cosa che ancora possiede, cioè il suo corpo, per aiutare i due devoti. Pīpā stesso accompagna Sītā al mercato dove prende posto nel luogo riservato alle prostitute, ma i molti che accorrono attirati dalla sua bellezza non osano poi neppure sfiorarla e mettono ai suoi piedi grandi quantità di cibo e di denaro, che saranno subito impiegate per il servizio dei *sādhu*.

Non è questa l'unica occasione in cui Sītā offre il suo corpo per servire i devoti. Un giorno, in assenza di Pīpā, l'umile capanna in cui vive la coppia a Ṭoṛā è visitata da un gruppo di *sant*, ma Sītā non ha nulla per onorarli. Accetta allora l'aiuto di un mercante lascivo che ha messo gli occhi su di lei, promettendogli di recarsi da lui la notte. Tornato Pīpā, è lui stesso ad accompagnarla a casa del mercante, portandola sulle spalle affinché non si imbratti di fango sotto la pioggia scrosciante. Inutile dire che il mercante non solo rinuncia a soddisfare le sue voglie, ma si converte e diventa discepolo di Pīpā.[15] Questi sono soltanto i due più celebri episodi fra quelli che hanno Sītā come protagonista;

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[13] Secondo il mito, l'originaria città di Dvārkā (scr. Dvārakā) fu fondata da Kṛṣṇa come dimora per gli Yādava, accerchiati senza possibilità di scampo dal poderoso esercito capeggiato da Jārasandha e miracolosamente messi in salvo da Kṛṣṇa. La distruzione di Dvārakā fu causata dalle lotte intestine degli Yādava, in seguito alle quali la città sprofondò nel mare dopo la scomparsa di Kṛṣṇa dalla terra. Sulla fondazione di Dvārakā cfr., per esempio, *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* X, 50, 49-56; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* V, 23, 9-15 e *Agni-purāṇa* XII, 30; sulla sua distruzione cfr. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* XI, 7, 3 e XI, 31, 23-24; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* V, 38, 9-10.

[14] Come vedremo, in alcune versioni dell'episodio compare una tigre in luogo di un leone (cfr. nota 19 *infra*). L'episodio non può non richiamare alla mente quello di San Francesco e del lupo di Gubbio e ha degli equivalenti in tante altre storie relative a incontri fra santi e animali selvaggi di cui abbondano le agiografie sotto tutti i cieli. In proposito è da segnalare la seguente osservazione di Hawley: «Once fear and false notions of society are dispelled, the very beasts are brought within the purview of human concerns. Once the passions have been domesticated, put to the service of saintly community, there is no reason to project their devouring presence onto the animal realm» (Hawley 1987: 66). Sugli animali selvaggi nell'agiografia si veda anche Smith 2000: 155-156. Sullo speciale sodalizio tra asceti e animali cfr. Olivelle 2008: 91-100.

[15] Un episodio molto simile a questo si trova anche nella vita di Kabīr, ma, secondo Lorenzen, compare soltanto nel *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* (1843: 189-191) e nel *Bhaktavijaya* di Mahīpati (XI, 15-98) e non è riportato in nessuna fonte *kabīrpanthī*; l'episodio sarebbe perciò stato tratto dalla storia di Pīpā e Sītā (Lorenzen 1991: 49-50 e 2006: 110). Anche Smith (2000: 18) sostiene che

anche in alcuni altri Sītā è oggetto degli appetiti di persone lussuriose alle quali non viene opposta resistenza né da parte sua, né da parte di Pīpā, con l'esito scontato della loro conversione, senza che nulla di male sia fatto a Sītā.

Alcuni episodi riguardano il rapporto guru-discepolo tra Pīpā e il *rājā* Sūryasen Mal, che, convertito da Pīpā, si mette al "servizio dei *sant* e di tutte le creature viventi" *(sant tathā jīvajantu kī sevā karne lagā,* BSST p. 507), scatenando le ire dei suoi parenti che inutilmente tramano poi contro Pīpā. In più occasioni Pīpā opera per la correzione e l'edificazione del *rājā* con segni straordinari: per esempio rivelandogli i suoi pensieri distratti mentre esteriormente è impegnato in una *pūjā*, assumendo l'aspetto di un leone e poi di un neonato, o ancora soddisfacendo il desiderio del *rājā* di avere il suo *darśan* pur essendo molto lontano da lui.

Tra le *siddhi* di Pīpā ci sono dunque chiaroveggenza e bilocazione, a cui egli fa ricorso in più occasioni, come quella in cui spegne un fuoco divampato in un tempio di Dvārkā mentre a Ṭoṛā sta guidando una veglia di *kīrtan* a cui partecipa anche Sūryasen Mal; il *rājā*, che lo vede alzarsi in piedi e fregarsi le mani stranamente imbrattate di fuliggine, gliene chiede ragione e manda poi messi a Dvārkā, i quali appureranno la veridicità della sua strabiliante spiegazione.[16] In un'altra occasione, assume ben cinque corpi differenti per compiacere altrettanti devoti che abitano in cinque villaggi lontani fra loro. Il potere di bilocazione, anzi di "multilocazione", è proprio anche di Sītā, la quale appare via via in ogni casa di un villaggio a un falso *sādhu* che la sta cercando per portarsela via.

Altri episodi vedono Pīpā convertire ladri, ricchi mercanti e belle fanciulle con fatti prodigiosi. Tra i suoi miracoli si annoverano la resurrezione di un morto, a beneficio della conversione sua e della sua sposa, nonché la salvezza della popolazione di Ṭoṛā e di tutto il regno di Sūryasen Mal da una tremenda carestia, grazie a una misteriosa e inesauribile miniera di cibo, acqua e vestiti, dalla quale Pīpā attinge per distribuire lautamente a tutti.

Mahīpati non avrebbe fatto altro che adattare l'episodio alla vita di Kabīr, traendolo dalla tradizione della *Bhaktamāl*, che, per sua stessa ammissione (I, 38), egli ben conosceva. Per la precisione Mahīpati potrebbe averlo tratto dalla BRB (298-299), la cui composizione precedette di circa 50 anni quella del *Bhaktavijaya*. Ma l'autore del *Dabistān,* scritto probabilmente intorno alla metà del XVII secolo, da dove ha tratto la storia? Potrebbe aver preso ispirazione dalla PP (cap. XX), la cui composizione precede di oltre mezzo secolo quella del *Dabistān*, ma è molto più probabile che egli l'abbia udita da una distratta fonte orale, che ha confuso il personaggio di Pīpā (non presente nel *Dabistān*) con quello di Kabīr. Di certo non si tratta di un caso unico: in molte vite di *sant* e di *bhakta* si trovano episodi simili o, persino, quasi identici, perché i narratori non si preoccupavano della fedeltà ai "dettagli" storici. Come osserva Smith (2000: 18), la funzione dell'agiografia non è quella di dare un resoconto esatto della vita dei santi, ma di insegnare ai *bhakta* come devono vivere imitandone l'esempio.

[16] Lorenzen (1995: 184) rileva la somiglianza tra questo episodio e quello della vita di Kabīr nel quale, mentre Kabīr si trova alla presenza del *rājā* di Banāras, versa acqua fredda sui piedi di un *paṇḍā* a Puri (sull'episodio cfr. Lorenzen 1991: 30). L'episodio si trova nella *Kabīr Parcaī* di Anantadās in IV.14 - V.15 (trad. in Lorenzen 1991: 102-104, testo 152-161 e in Callewaert 2000: 68-71).

Nonostante il diffondersi della loro fama di santità, Pīpā e Sītā continuano sempre a vivere umilmente in assoluta povertà, dipendendo per la loro sopravvivenza dai benefattori e utilizzando le ricchezze che spesso, e per i canali più diversi, giungono nelle loro mani per sfamare gli affamati, per organizzare grandi distribuzioni di cibo (*bhaṇḍārā*) e per il servizio di *bhakta* e di *sant*.

> Non appena Pīpā ricevette quel denaro cominciò a dar da mangiare a *sādhu*, devoti, ospiti e affamati. A quelli che venivano da lui dava pasti completi e ogni giorno invitava molti *sant* e dava dei *bhaṇḍārā*. Tre giorni trascorsero in questo trambusto e tutto il denaro svanì nel dar da mangiare e da bere. (BSST, p. 506) [17]

In più occasioni, per sfuggire alla loro fama, cambiano dimora e si ritirano in luoghi solitari, ma anche lì finiscono per essere raggiunti da qualche devoto (BSST, p. 516).

Così, solennemente, si conclude la storia di Pīpā nel BSST (p. 521, che parafrasa BRB 305):

> Le gesta di Śrī Pīpājī sono innumerevoli, grandi ed estese, tanto che pur narrandone solo alcune in forma succinta, *sādhu* e *bhakta* possono trovare motivi di riflessione.
>
> Colui che una volta ascolti o canti la gloriosa storia di Pīpā non la dimentica più e desidera poterla cantare sempre.[18]

Di tutto questo ben poco si trova nella *Bhaktamāl* di Nābhādās che, nel suo stile stringato e scarno, si limita a enunciare due o tre episodi per ogni personaggio (a ognuno dei quali, con poche eccezioni, dedica un solo *chappay*). L'intento di Nābhādās è infatti più celebrativo che narrativo, evidentemente confidando nel fatto che le gesta a cui allude siano ben note al suo pubblico: è quindi sufficiente richiamarle alla mente per risvegliarne e conservarne la memoria.

Così recita il *chappay* 61 su Pīpā:

> La gloria di Pīpā, che diede il suo insegnamento [persino] a una tigre, profumò il mondo.[19]

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[17] *Śrīpīpājī us dhan ko pāke sādhu bhāgavat atithi aur bhūkhoṁ ko khilāne lage, jo ātā thā usko pūrā bhojan dete the, aur prati din bahut saṃtoṁ ko bulā ke bhaṃḍārā dete the, tīn din isī dhūmdhām se vyatīt hue, sab dhan khilā pilā uṛā diyā.* Ove non diversamente specificato, tutte le traduzioni sono di chi scrive.

[18] *Śrīpīpājī ke carit anek baṛe aur vistṛt haiṁ, jo kuch saṃkṣep se kahe gaye usīse sādhu aur bhakta jan vicār leṁge.*

Jo ek ber Śrīpīpājī ke suyaś suntā gātā hai, usko phir kabhī bhūltā nahiṁ, uskā jī cāhtā hai ki "sadā āpke yaś gāyā hī karūṁ".

[19] Rūpkalā, chiosando questo verso della *Bhaktamāl* (*pīpā pratāpa jaga bāsanā nāhara kauṁ upadeśa diyo*), così lo interpreta: «La gloria di Śrī Pīpājī è nota nel mondo, il profumo della sua gloria si sta diffondendo nell'universo, un *vāsnā nāhar* accolse il suo insegnamento» (*Śrīpīpājī kā pratāp jagat meṁ vidit hai, āpke suyaś kī vāsnā saṃsār meṁ phail rahī hai, ek vāsnā-nāhar ne āpkā upadeś grahan kiyā,* in BSST, p. 492). In una nota a piè di pagina, egli spiega l'espressione *bāsanā nāhara* come indicante una

> Dapprima egli fu devoto di Bhavānī e a lei andò per chiedere la liberazione.
> La Śakti rivolse a lui veraci parole e gli disse di prendere saldamente rifugio in Hari.
> Egli ottenne [rifugio] ai piedi di Rāmānanda e divenne il culmine di una *bhakti* eccelsa.
> [Divenne dotato] di innumerevoli e incomparabili virtù, aiutando i *sant* col prendersene cura.[20]
> Squisito fu il suo metodo di servire cibo, rendendo fausto (*maṅgal*) il mondo intero.
> La gloria di Pīpā, che diede il suo insegnamento [persino] a una tigre, profumò il mondo.[21]

Dunque per Nābhādās gli elementi più significativi[22] della vita di Pīpā sono: 1) il suo prender rifugio in Rāmānanda su esortazione della Devī; 2) il suo servizio ai *sant*; 3) il servire cibo a tutti (*sakala viśva*) come parte della sua *sādhanā* (questo almeno mi sembra essere il senso dell'espressione *parasī praṇālī*, lett. "il sistema di servire [il cibo]"); 4) nel *ṭek*, l'insegnamento da lui impartito a una tigre.

Anche lo stile della BRB è spesso piuttosto stringato, ma, come già s'è accennato, a differenza di Nābhādās, Priyādās dedica a ogni personaggio uno spazio molto variabile, presumibilmente determinato dal materiale narrativo a sua disposizione, da fattori di simpatia personale o di affinità religiosa. La sua libertà nei confronti del testo che sta commentando è tale che alcuni personaggi di

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tigre (*vyāghra*) in grado di sentire da lontano l'odore di un uomo o di altre prede. Tuttavia nella sua interpretazione egli evidentemente lega il termine *bāsanā* anche alla prima parte del verso, quando traduce «il "profumo" della sua gloria (*āpke suyaś kī vāsnā*)». Si noti che lo stesso Rūpkalā non parla di una tigre, ma di un leone quando, più oltre (BSST, p. 501), commenta BRB 290 dove Priyādās indica la fiera convertita da Pīpā col termine *siṃha*. Bisogna forse dedurre che Rūpkalā non si sia accorto della contraddizione tra il testo di Nābhādās e quello di Priyādās o, più probabilmente, che si sia semplicemente limitato a glossarli fedelmente entrambi. Nel racconto di quest'episodio Anantadās usa il termine *bāgha*, "tigre" (PP XIV, 6-17) e anche Mahīpati (*Bhaktavijaya* (XXVI, 74-102) parla di una tigre, almeno così risulta dalla traduzione inglese di Abbot e Godbole. Un fatto assai curioso è che Mahīpati sostiene che la tigre rinacque come Narsī Mehtā (*Bhaktavijaya* (XXVI, 101-102): in altre parole il celebre santo gujarātī avrebbe avuto Pīpā come guru nella vita precedente. In merito a tigre/leone, si potrebbe pensare a una confusione lessicale, considerando, per esempio, che la parola hindī *śer*, di derivazione persiana, può indicarli entrambi, ma i termini usati nei nostri testi – *simha*, *vyāghra* e *bāgha* – sono inequivocabili.

[20] Lett. "tenendo[seli] al collo", "accollando[seli]" (*rākhata grīvāṁ*).

[21] *pīpā pratāpa jaga bāsanā nāhara kauṁ upadeśa diyo // prathama bhavānī bhakta mukti māṁgana kauṁ dhāyo / satya kahyo tihiṁ śakti, sudṛḍha hariśaraṇa batāyo // śrīrāmānaṁda pada pāi, bhayo atibhakti kī sīvāṁ /guṇa asaṃkhya nirmola santa dhari rākhata grīvāṁ // parasi praṇālī sarasa bhaī, sakala biśva maṃgala kiyo / pīpā pratāpa jaga bāsanā nāhara kauṁ upadeśa diyo.*

[22] Sarebbe errato supporre che Nābhādās conoscesse solo i fatti di cui parla: si tenga presente che non solo a Pīpā, ma anche a ogni altro personaggio (con pochissime eccezioni) Nābhādās dedica un solo *chappay*. Inoltre Nābhādās apparteneva allo stesso ambiente *rāmānandī* di Anantadās, (cfr. nota 7 *supra*), l'autore della PP, ambiente nel quale la storia di Pīpā doveva essere di dominio comune.

cui tratta Nābhādās non sono neppure presi in considerazione.[23] Risulta quindi ancor più significativo che Priyādās rivolga a Pīpā un'attenzione di gran lunga superiore a quella rivolta agli altri *bhakta*. Tuttavia, per riuscire a contenere tutta la storia di Pīpā nei ben 24 *kavitta* a lui dedicati, "comprime" gli ultimi 21 episodi in soli due *kavitta* (304 e 305, quindi in 8 versi!), limitandosi ad alludervi con poche parole, secondo lo stile tipico di Nābhādās: inutile dire che queste due strofe, utili per richiamare alla mente gli episodi a chi già li conosce, risulterebbero totalmente incomprensibili per il lettore profano, senza il commento di Rūpkalā. Gli episodi precedenti sono una ventina: i primi 5 *kavitta* (282-287) raccontano la storia di Pīpā fino alla definitiva partenza da Gagraun insieme con Sītā e, fra quelli successivi, ben 3 sono dedicati all'episodio di Cīdhar e della prostituzione di Sītā al mercato. Il BSST di Rūpkalā si limita ad ampliare – in più casi rendendo anche comprensibile – la BRB di Priyādās, senza aggiungere episodi nuovi.

Anche la *Bhaktamāl* di Rāghavdās ha un intento celebrativo che, se non è così soverchiante come quello di Nābhādās, finisce per ridurre al minimo la narrazione.[24] Nelle 4 strofe dedicate a Pīpā (133-136) il racconto si arresta con Sītā che indossa lo straccio dei *sādhu* e che va a chiedere l'elemosina insieme col marito e conclude dichiarando che persone innumerevoli si salvarono grazie alla compagnia di Pīpā. Invece nel commento di Caturdās (così come in BRB e BSST) si trovano pressoché gli stessi episodi presenti nella PP di Anantadās, il che consente di dedurre che la storia di Pīpā era già compiuta prima del 1600, quando forse circa un secolo doveva essere trascorso dalla scomparsa di Pīpā.

Tra la PP e i due commenti della *Bhaktamāl* di Nābhādās, si riscontrano però delle differenze tali – non per gli episodi narrati, che sono quasi gli stessi, ma per le numerose varianti nella loro narrazione – da far pensare che possano essere espressione di differenti tradizioni narrative, o per lo meno, che ne possano aver raccolto il materiale.[25] In generale si rileva che la narrazione nella PP è più estesa e particolareggiata (con alcune eccezioni)[26]; è inoltre costellata di lunghi dialoghi e di insegnamenti spirituali (*upadeś*) sulla *bhakti* e su temi correlati. Questa prima agiografia di Pīpā

[23] Per esempio, Priyādās trascura del tutto il personaggio di Rāmānanda, pur essendo uno dei pochi a cui Nābhādās dedica due *chappay* (Caracchi 2017: 35-38).

[24] Rāghavdās, per esempio, non parla delle prove alle quali Rāmānanda sottopose Pīpā prima di conferirgli la *dīkṣā*, ma si sofferma sui suoi illustri natali.

[25] Si veda, per esempio, la parte iniziale che sarà messa a confronto qui di seguito.

[26] Una di queste eccezioni è l'episodio di Cīdhar (PP XV, 10-22), che in Rūpkalā è assai più esteso e ricco di dettagli (BSST, pp. 502-504).

sembra essere anche la più estesa e certamente lo è rispetto alle altre fonti che sono state qui prese in considerazione.

Riproponiamo ora la questione iniziale: a che cosa si deve lo straordinario sviluppo della storia di Pīpā a fronte della sua modesta statura di poeta e del suo modesto ruolo nella storia delle religioni indiane? Una delle ragioni si può forse ricercare nella regalità di Pīpā. Si può immaginare quante volte attraverso i secoli la storia della *dīkṣā* di questo *rājā* sia stata portata a esempio di sublime distacco da parte di guru e di *kathāvācak* durante i *satsaṅg*! In realtà negli *Itihāsa* e nei *Purāṇa* abbondano gli esempi di *rājā* che lasciano il regno per ritirarsi nelle foreste e per condurre vita eremitica, dopo aver abdicato in favore del figlio maggiore. Il carattere eccezionale della rinuncia di Pīpā è dovuto al fatto che egli rinuncia al regno in giovane età e senza lasciare un erede in grado di salire al trono (per lo meno, non se ne fa menzione nelle fonti qui prese in esame). Ma, a ben guardare, da quando Pīpā abbraccia la vita del *sādhu* la sua regalità non ha più alcuna parte nella storia, infatti accetta il patrocinio di Sūryasen Mal, pur essendo stato un *rājā* egli stesso. Un fattore che può esser stato determinante e che deve aver colpito non poco la fantasia popolare è la presenza della sposa. Sītā è protagonista di alcuni degli episodi più lunghi e più celebri e il suo personaggio riveste nella storia un ruolo tale da far dire a Callewaert (2000: 3): «I cannot get rid of the feeling that this woman, the youngest queen of Pīpā called Sītā is perhaps the more important personality of the story». Tuttavia Sītā compare solo a un certo punto della storia e, fra la quarantina di episodi della PP e dei nostri due commentari della *Bhaktamāl*, non più di una decina sono quelli che la vedono protagonista o nei quali ha un qualche ruolo accanto a Pīpā. Anche la presenza di questo straordinario personaggio femminile non sembra dunque sufficiente a spiegare lo sviluppo di quella che può essere considerata una vera e propria saga, nonostante il fatto che la vita di Pīpā non sia neppure presentata per intero, perché nulla ci vien detto della sua nascita, della sua infanzia, della sua morte, a differenza di quanto comunemente accade per gli altri personaggi di rilievo.

E come in ogni saga o ballata popolare che abbia avuto grande diffusione orale prima e dopo la sua redazione scritta (Callewaert 1994: 90-91 e 2000: 1-2), ogni versione presenta variazioni più o meno grandi. Esempi si possono trovare già nell'*incipit* della storia. Nella PP (12) Anantadās specifica che Pīpā si era dedicato al culto della Devī per dodici anni, particolare presente nella *Bhaktamāl* di Rāghavdās (133.1), ma assente nella BRB e nel BSST. Priyādās (BRB 282) e Rūpkalā (BSST, p. 493-494) parlano della visita a Gagraun di alcuni *sādhu* che furono beneficati dalla munificenza di Pīpā, avendo ricevuto da lui abbondanza di cibo, e che pregarono il Signore per lui. Questo segnò l'inizio della conversione di Pīpā che, in seguito a un sogno terrificante, implorò la Devī affinché gli indicasse la via per ottenere la liberazione. Non c'è traccia di questi *sādhu* nella PP, che invece si diffonde sul dialogo

fra Pīpā e la Devī (I, 12 - III, 4). Un altro esempio è l'episodio del rapimento di Sītā da parte dei *paṭhān*, che abbiamo riassunto nella versione di Priyādās e Rūpkalā (BRB 289 e BSST, p. 600): come si ricorderà, Hari in persona, invocato da Sītā, interviene a sgominare i suoi rapitori, liberarla e restituirla a Pīpā. Molto più complesso è l'episodio nella PP, dove colui che rapisce Sītā è un ufficiale *paṭhān*, ricco e potente, che s'invaghisce di lei e tenta di conquistarla con l'offerta di ricchi doni e con la prospettiva di una vita agiata. Quando Sītā tremante fissa la mente nel Signore, ecco apparire un gigante che tramortisce il *paṭhān*, il quale, soccorso dal suo seguito, implora il perdono di Sītā e di Pīpā (PP XII, 14 – XIII, 23).[27]

A quanto mi risulta, gli studiosi che si sono occupati di studiare criticamente la storia di Pīpā sono Lorenzen (1995) e Hawley (1987), oltre a Callewaert (2000) che, come sappiamo, ha edito e tradotto la PP, e a Smith che, nel suo lavoro comparativo sull'agiografia nell'India settentrionale (2000), prende più volte in considerazione anche quella di Pīpā.

Lorenzen ha analizzato l'agiografia di Pīpā nell'ambito di uno studio comparativo sulla vita di sette *sant nirguṇī* – oltre a Pīpā, Dādū Dayāl, Haridās Nirañjanī, Kabīr, Nānak e Raidās – con l'intento di delinearne i tratti comuni, nella convinzione che nella "*bhakti* religion" le parole e le vite dei *sant* abbiano sostituito l'autorità śāstrica e brahmanica e che le storie dei *sant* abbiano un'importanza, anche storica, per i significati di cui sono portatrici, indipendentemente dal fatto che esse ci dicano «what actually happened» (Lorenzen 1995: 181-182). Come dichiara Lorenzen, il suo intento è quello di delinearne il "general pattern", non di analizzarne le specificità (1995: 183). Indubbiamente dei tredici elementi significativi che egli individua nelle sette storie analizzate (schema di 1995: 186-187), otto sono presenti anche nell'agiografia di Pīpā: la casta, la vocazione, l'incontro col guru in seguito a un'ispirazione divina (visione o voce celeste), il matrimonio, l'incontro con postulanti, l'incontro con animali selvaggi, brahmani o *baniyā*, l'incontro con re. Tuttavia, pur tenendo in considerazione questi elementi comuni, non si può far a meno di osservare come la storia di Pīpā presenti anche delle forti peculiarità rispetto alle altre, a partire dall'elevata posizione sociale del suo protagonista[28] e dal suo strano *ménage* matrimoniale, senza contare il fatto che, fra i 13 elementi dello schema di Lorenzen sono del tutto assenti i primi e gli ultimi, cioè quelli relativi alla nascita, alle vite precedenti, alla

[27] Può essere interessante notare come in Caturdās (commento alla *Bhaktamāl* di Rāghavdās, v. 132.4) il *paṭhān* diventa genericamente un *turk*, termine ancora oggi popolarmente usato per indicare i musulmani senza alcun preciso riferimento etnico. In Caturdās il racconto di quest'episodio è del resto molto stringato e si limita a un solo verso: *māraga cālata turka milyau ika khosi laī tiya rāṃma chuṛāye*. Probabilmente proprio questa stringatezza ha consentito a Nārāyandās, il moderno commentatore di Caturdās parafrasato da Lorenzen (v. *supra*), di introdurre un particolare inedito: quello di far uccidere il *paṭhān* dal divino soccorritore di Sītā (Lorenzen 1995: 194).

[28] Fra i *sant* considerati da Lorenzen, oltre a Pīpā, solo Nānak, essendo un *khatrī*, non era di bassa estrazione sociale.

nomina del successore e alla morte, come se solo la parte più avventurosa della vita di Pīpā abbia attratto l'interesse degli agiografi e, prima ancora, quella dei cantastorie e dei *kathāvācak*, le cui narrazioni agli agiografi possono aver fornito materiale narrativo (Callewaert 1994, 90-91 e 2000, 1-2). In particolare gli illustri natali di Pīpā fanno sì che la sua agiografia non veicoli quei significati sociali che Lorenzen ha individuato nelle storie degli altri *sant*, a partire da quella di Kabīr, a cui ha anche dedicato uno studio precedente (1991), se non per un generico annullarsi di tutte le differenze castali nella dimensione della *bhakti*. Anantadās fa dire a Rāmānanda queste parole in riferimento a Pīpā: «Egli ha abbandonato casta, famiglia, onore; tutti per lui sono uguali, un mendicante e un *rājā*» (*jāti pāṃti kula chaḍī lājā sabai barābari raṃka ru rājā,* in PP VII, 16). Rimane il fatto che quando il *rājā* Sūryasen Mal si prostra davanti a Pīpā ha davanti a sé uno che fino a poco tempo prima era suo pari e che, solo per scelta, è diventato simile a uno dei tanti *sādhu* poveri e cenciosi che si incontrano per le strade del suo regno. A parte Sūryasen Mal e qualche brahmano – fra i quali il suo guru – tutti i personaggi con i quali a Pīpā capita di interagire sono inferiori a lui per condizione sociale. Egli si trova quindi in una situazione che, almeno da questo punto di vista, è diametralmente opposta a quella dei *sant* e dei *bhakta* di bassa estrazione sociale. Dunque, assumendo il punto di vista di Lorenzen che le vite dei santi siano da studiare principalmente come «manifestations of socio-religious ideology» (1991: 6), nel caso di Pīpā i significati da ricercare nella sua agiografia sembrano essere più di tipo religioso che sociologico.

3. *Bhakti-dharma* e/o *bhakti-vairāgya*

È questa la prospettiva adottata da Hawley in un saggio dall'eloquente titolo "Morality Beyond Morality" (1987). L'assunto di partenza è che non sia la *Manusmṛti* a fornire al popolo i modelli etici e comportamentali, ma piuttosto le vite di *sant* e *bhakta*, oltre naturalmente alle grandi *kathā* contenute nel *Mahābhārata*, nel *Rāmāyaṇa* e nei *Purāṇa*, a partire dalla storia di Rāma e Sītā. Ma mentre queste *kathā* illustrano come le regole del *dharma* s'incarnino in esempi di vita concreti, sovente eroici ed estremi, le storie delle vite di *sant* e *bhakta* le mettono in discussione. Non seguono infatti gli schemi ordinari del *varṇāśrama-dharma*, ma schemi del tutto peculiari propri di un diverso tipo di *dharma*, cioè di quello che Hawley chiama il *bhakti-dharma*, la cui etica si focalizza sull'amore (1987: 52-53). Per illustrarlo, propone le vite di tre *bhakta* come campioni di tre diverse virtù: Mīrābaī di *abhaya*, Narsī Mehtā di *dāna* e Pīpā di *sevā*. La fonte su cui Hawley dichiara di basarsi è la *Bhaktamāl*, con speciale riferimento al commentario di Priyādās, rilevando come la santità che vi è descritta non intenda sbarazzarsi di ogni *dharma*, ma «it describes a more fundamental morality» (1987: 53). Le tre virtù di cui sopra hanno tutte un posto ben preciso nella visione tradizionale della vita e ciascuna di esse ha

un legame privilegiato con uno dei *varṇa* o con uno *status* sociale, ma queste, come tutte le altre virtù, risultano stravolte se declinate secondo il *bhakti-dharma.* In particolare, per quanto riguarda Pīpā, egli eccelle in una virtù, *sevā*, che, secondo la comune visione dharmica, dovrebbe essere tipica dei servitori, non certo di un *rājā*, così come l'*abhaya* di Mīrā appare inusitato in una donna, essendo propria dei guerrieri *kṣatriya* e degli asceti (1987: 67).[29] Perciò la vita secondo la *bhakti* avrebbe «threatening consequences for ordinary morality» (1987: 66): un'affermazione che sembra trovare esemplificazioni fin troppo evidenti in più di un episodio dell'agiografia di Pīpā e Sītā. Tuttavia, secondo Hawley, la dialettica tra *bhakti* e *dharma* è ben lungi dal risolversi in questa minaccia o in questa sfida, perché «in *bhakti*, *dharma* is not ultimately abandoned but transformed» (1987: 68). Da un lato la *bhakti* «accomplishes the ends of *dharma* by its own means» (1987: 69), dall'altro il *dharma* per essere autentico, deve essere il riflesso della *bhakti*, non già il suo scopo. Nelle vite dei *bhakta* non è l'osservanza puntigliosa del *dharma* a produrre un risultato dharmico; inoltre quasi mai nella *Bhaktamāl* una vita secondo la *bhakti* «needs to be justified in the eyes of conventional *dharma*» (1987: 71).

A questa analisi, che in buona misura condivido, mi preme aggiungere alcune osservazioni. È indubbio che dalla *Bhaktamāl* e da altre opere agiografiche del genere, emerge molto chiaramente l'idea che la *bhakti* conferisce al devoto una libertà tale che il suo comportamento non ha bisogno di aderire formalmente alle regole del *dharma*, anche se finisce per realizzarne il fine più alto.[30] Ma sarebbe un errore considerare questa visione come una novità scaturita da quello straordinario laboratorio che furono i movimenti popolari della *bhakti*, secondo la tendenza piuttosto diffusa tra gli studiosi della *bhakti* medievale a non tenere in dovuto conto tutto ciò che l'ha preceduta e preparata. Se nuove possono essere state forme e modalità di espressione, i fondamenti dottrinali vanno ricercati ben più lontano. Prendendo a prestito un'espressione di Hiltebeitel, *bhakti* e *dharma* sono già nelle ossa e nei tendini del *Mahābhārata* e del *Rāmāyaṇa* (2010: 140-141), ai quali si aggiunge naturalmente la tradizione purāṇica, che tanta parte ha avuto nel forgiare quella sensibilità che fu terreno fertile per la fioritura della *bhakti* medievale. Per indagare il rapporto tra *dharma* e *bhakti* in relazione ai temi che qui ci interessano, un testo dal quale non si può prescindere è la *Bhagavad-gītā*,

[29] Hawley non tiene conto del fatto che Mīrā, oltre a essere una donna, era anche una principessa *rājpūt* e che, nella particolare etica *rājpūt*, il coraggio, come tutte le virtù guerriere, sono valori essenziali anche per una donna, come dimostra l'esistenza fra i Rājpūt di diverse eroine guerriere. Si pensi inoltre a pratiche terribili come quelle di *satī* e *jauhar*, che costituivano una prospettiva non tanto remota per ogni donna *rājpūt*, specie se principessa.

[30] Quest'affermazione naturalmente "funziona" solo rimanendo nella logica del *bhakti-dharma*, cioè di un *dharma* "riveduto e corretto" dal punto di vista della *bhakti*. Diversa sarebbe la prospettiva dal punto di vista del *varṇāśrama dharma*, il cui scopo è il mantenimento dell'ordine sociale.

nella quale questi due elementi cardine della pratica hindū sono perfettamente armonizzati e, almeno dal punto di vista della subordinazione del primo al secondo, sembrano essere in linea col *bhakti dharma* descritto da Hawley: tutte le azioni devono essere conformi al *dharma*, ma non si esauriscono nella dimensione del *dharma*, dato che il loro frutto (*phala*) va devotamente offerto al Signore in sacrificio spirituale. Oltre a *dharma* e *bhakti* compaiono qui altri due elementi, strettamente imparentati fra loro – rinuncia/distacco (*saṃnyāsa/vairāgya*) e sacrificio (*yajña*) – che sono interpretati in una dimensione totalmente spirituale, ma che non di meno devono caratterizzare molto concretamente l'umano agire: insieme con *dharma* e *bhakti* formano i quattro pilastri della *sādhanā* tracciata dalla *Bhagavad-gītā*. Limitandoci per ora a *dharma* e *bhakti*, l'equilibrio fra i due sembra alterarsi in favore della *bhakti* in *Bhagavad-gītā* XVIII, 66, cioè in quello che è noto (specie nella tradizione Śrīvaiṣṇava) come il *carama śloka*, la strofa "ultima", anche nel senso che contiene l'insegnamento finale e più alto della *Bhagavad-gītā*. Come interpretare le parole di Kṛṣṇa che esorta Arjuna a prendere rifugio in Lui solo «dopo aver abbandonato tutti i *dharma*» (*sarvadharmān parityajya māmekaṃ śaraṇaṃ vraja*), con la sicura promessa di liberarlo da ogni male (*ahaṃ tvā sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi mā śucaḥ*)? È plausibile che dopo essersi tanto adoprato per convincere Arjuna della necessità di agire in modo conforme al *dharma* – necessità che ribadisce anche in un passo di poco precedente (XVIII, 45-48) – ora lo esorti a mettere da parte tutti i *dharma*? In base al ben noto principio per cui il miglior commento di un testo è il testo stesso, una simile lettura non regge. Forse proprio per evitare lo scoglio dell'incongruenza testuale, *dharmān* è spesso restrittivamente interpretato come riferito alle sole pratiche religiose e rituali, nonostante che la presenza dell'aggettivo *sarva* possa suggerire una lettura onnicomprensiva.[31] Ma pur attribuendo a *sarvadharmān* il significato più immediato di "tutte le norme dell'agire" (così traduce Piano in 2017: 269), l'incongruenza può essere evitata, se si legge il testo alla luce degli *śloka* precedenti che contengono altri e ripetuti inviti di Kṛṣṇa a prender rifugio in Lui: le norme dell'agire vanno lasciate da parte, nel senso che non è nella loro osservanza che si può confidare per la propria salvezza. Confidando in tale osservanza – in altre parole nel proprio retto agire – proprio quell'io che è di ostacolo al raggiungimento del *mokṣa* rischia di gonfiarsi e di rafforzarsi sempre più, mentre nella

[31] Così interpreta Dasgupta (1975: 530): «Kṛṣṇa as God asks Arjuna to give up all ceremonials and religious courses and to cling to God as the only protector». Si tratta indubbiamente di un passo assai controverso. Basti pensare che uno studioso autorevole come P.V. Kane ne fornisce ben tre diverse interpretazioni. In un primo momento sostiene che *sarvadharmān* può essere riferito o ai doveri del *varṇāśrama dharma* o inteso come «actions enjoined by the Veda and smṛtis» (1977: 961, n. 1557). Più oltre, però, ne dà un'ulteriore interpretazione come «paths which are deemed to lead to man's goal [...], such as mokṣadharma, yajñadharma, rājadharma, ahiṁsādharma» (1977: 1597).

prospettiva della *bhakti* il *mokṣa* non può che venire dall'abbandono totale di sé nel Signore supremo (*mām ekam*).[32] Inoltre, colui che aderisce al Signore con tutto se stesso non è legato dall'osservanza delle regole del *dharma*, quindi può "lasciarle da parte" (*parityajya*), perché ogni sua azione ne diventa spontaneamente l'espressione, essendo egli in perfetta sintonia con l'Intimo Reggitore (*antaryāmin*) da cui il *dharma* dipende, così come tutto ciò che esiste. Come l'agire divino, anche il suo agire sarà solo per *lokasaṃgraha*, cioè per il bene del mondo (*Bhagavad-gītā* III, 20 e 25) e il gioco divino sarà anche il gioco che egli gioca: ecco dunque la grande libertà del *bhakta* che opera naturalmente per il *dharma* senza essere tenuto a osservarne le norme, perché la libertà di Dio è la sua libertà, grazie alla sua sintonia con Lui.[33] Tale sintonia sarà tanto maggiore quanto più egli si sarà disfatto delle pastoie dell'io, fino a raggiungere la piena identità col Signore.

Questa libertà del *bhakta* è precisamente quella che caratterizza l'operato di Pīpā e Sītā e di molti altri personaggi dell'agiografia che, come loro, agiscono per il *dharma*, ma secondo la logica della *bhakti*.

Anche la dottrina dell'identità di *bhakta* e Bhagavān – solennemente proclamata nel *dohā* con cui inizia la *Bhaktamāl* di Nabhādās[34] – affonda le sue radici nella *Bhagavad-gītā* e in altri testi del genere e successivamente si sviluppa e si rafforza, colorandosi di sfumature diverse nella vasta letteratura della *bhakti*.[35] Essa fornisce un'indispensabile chiave di lettura per la comprensione della storia di

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[32] Di abbandono dell'io parla Śaṅkara nell'esegesi di *sarvadharmān parityajya* che si trova nel suo *Gītā-bhāṣya* (1988: 288-296). Egli interpreta le parole di Kṛṣṇa come un invito a disidentificarsi dal soggetto-agente, da quell'io che compie le azioni e fruisce del loro risultato, conformi che siano al *dharma* o all'*adharma*. Tale disidentificazione avviene grazie alla presa di rifugio in Īśvara che si ha col sorgere della conoscenza della propria identità con Lui come unica Realtà, identica con l'*Ātman*. Pur in una prospettiva di fondo ovviamente ben diversa, anche per Rāmānuja (1923: 690) ciò che deve essere abbandonato, oltre all'attaccamento per i frutti dell'azione, è l'idea di essere l'agente o il protagonista (*kartṛttva*) nel compimento di tutti i *dharma*, che per Rāmānuja sono *karmayoga, jñānayoga* e *bhaktiyoga*; occorre quindi prendere rifugio nel Signore con la consapevolezza che il Signore è il solo agente e il solo mezzo per arrivare al Signore stesso (*mam ekam eva kartāram ārādhyaṃ prāpyam upāyam*). Sorge spontanea la riflessione che per Rāmānuja persino nella pratica del *bhaktiyoga* si può correre il rischio di cercare se stessi anziché il fine naturale della *bhakti*, cioè il Signore supremo. Per entrambi questi Maestri, dunque, *sarvadharmān parityajya* va interpretato come un invito ad abbandonare l'io per rifugiarsi totalmente nel Signore. Come scrive Rigopoulos, con l'offerta di sé a Dio, «ogni protagonismo cessa, perché anche l'abbandono di sé in Lui è percepito come dono gratuito della sua grazia e comporta la consapevolezza della propria assoluta nullità (*akiṃcanya*)» (2005: 206).

[33] Va nella stessa direzione la celebre frase di S. Agostino: *Dilige et quod vis fac*.

[34] *bhakta bhakti bhagavanta guru catura nāma vapu eka / inake pada baṃdana kiye nāśahiṃ vighna aneka,* «Il devoto, la devozione, il Glorioso Signore e il guru sono quattro in un corpo solo. Le lodi ai loro piedi distruggono innumerevoli ostacoli».

[35] L'esaltazione del *bhakta* è un tema ricorrente nel *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, dove Kṛṣṇa arriva a dire: «Io dipendo dai *bhakta* come se non fossi autonomo» (*ahaṃ bhaktaparādhīno hy asvatantra iva*, in IX, 4, 63) e li considera come se stesso (*ātmaimeva*, XI, 26, 34). Si tratta di una visione diffusa, con diverse sottolineature, in tutta la tradizione purāṇica, anche di stampo śivaita. Per esempio, in *Īśvaragītā* IV.13 si legge: «Invero quello stolto che biasima costui [il devoto], biasima Devadeva [Śiva]. Invero chi gli renda onore con amore devoto, costui è sempre a me [Śiva] che rende onore» (trad. di Piantelli in 2010: 1282). Presso i

Pīpā, ma anche per quella dell'agiografia medievale in genere. Semplificando molto, si può dire che fin dalle *Upaniṣad* il panorama filosofico-religioso sia dominato dalla visione dell'identità di tutti gli esseri con l'Essere supremo, visione che è poi variamente declinata a seconda dell'orientamento dottrinale delle singole scuole, ma i movimenti della *bhakti* ne fanno un'elaborazione tutt'affatto particolare, soprattutto per quanto concerne le sue applicazioni pratiche, in altre parole per le conseguenze nella sfera della *sādhanā.* La conseguenza che qui più ci interessa è l'importanza che assumono i *bhakta* in quanto persone[36], per cui venerarli e servirli equivale a tutti gli effetti a venerare e servire Dio: i *bhakta* diventano così una via privilegiata per arrivare a Lui.[37] Si tratta di qualche cosa di più rispetto al generico servizio reso a Dio come presente in tutti gli esseri, che pure è un aspetto importante della *bhakti-sādhanā*[38]. Già nel *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* la venerazione dei *bhakta* è equiparata a quella resa a Dio nella statua sacra.[39] Nella dottrina dei nove tipi di *bhakti* (*navadhā bhakti*), rivelata da Rāma a Śabarī nell'*Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* e nel *Rāmcaritmānas*, rispettivamente l'ottavo tipo consiste nel venerare i *bhakta* più di Rāma e il settimo nel considerare i *sant* più di Rāma[40] (*bhakta*, *sant* e *sādhu* sono termini per lo più interscambiabili nel *Rāmcaritmānas* e non di rado anche nella letteratura devozionale in genere).

Vīraśaiva i *bhakta* sono considerati *thīrta* viventi e si dice che servire i *bhakta* è come servire Śiva (Ripepi 2010: 372-375). Naturalmente l'importanza del *bhakta* è poi centrale in tutte le scuole e i movimenti della *bhakti* medievale, nelle cui letterature questi temi sono ricorrenti.

[36] Solo alla luce del grande interesse di cui sono fatti oggetto la persona del *bhakta*, le sue gesta, la sua esperienza e il suo cammino spirituale si può capire lo sviluppo che ebbe l'agiografia medievale, ancor più considerevole se si tiene conto del disinteresse per le storie individuali (e per i fatti storici in genere) nell'Induismo vedico e "śāstrico" (Lorenzen 1995: 16-17). Con le parole di Horstmann (2002: 153), lo scopo comune di Nābhādās e di Antantadās – e, potremo aggiungere, degli agiografi della *bhakti* in generale – era quello di «extol God in in his devotees», scopo che è anche una vera e propria via di salvezza, «a way of *bhakti*» (Tulpule 1994: 166).

[37] Cfr. Nābhādās, *Bhaktamāl* 210: *jau hari prāpti kī āsa hai, tau harijana-guna gāya.* «Colui che nutre la speranza di raggiungere Hari, canti le lodi dei suoi devoti».

[38] I suoi fondamenti vanno ricercati soprattutto nel *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* dove si trovano numerosi passi come III, 29, 27, in cui il *bhakta* è esortato ad adorare il Signore presente in tutti gli esseri come il loro *ātman* (*sarvabhūteṣu bhūtātmān*), attraverso il dono, il rispetto, l'amicizia e con sguardo equanime (*anena cakṣuṣā*). Conformemente, Anantādās vede tutti i *bhakta* del Kali-yuga come accomunati dalla pratica di *sevā* intesa come servizio a Dio in tutti gli esseri. Cfr. PP XXXV, 20: *saba jīvani kī kinī sevā ghaṭa ghaṭa pūjyo ātamā devā.* «[I *bhakta*] servirono tutte le creature adorando in ogni essere il divino *ātman*». Per approfondimenti su *sevā* nella *bhakti* cfr. Caracchi (2008).

[39] Per esempio in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* XI, 11, 34, Kṛṣṇa enumera una serie di azioni e di comportamenti che sono espressione di *bhakti*, la prima delle quali è *malliṅga madbhaktadarśanasparśārcana*, dove *liṅga* è sinonimo di *mūrti* o di *pratimā*.

[40] Cfr. *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* III.10.26 (*madbhakteṣvadhikā pūjā*) e *Rāmcaritmānas* III, 36, 2b (*moteṁ santa adhika kari lekhā*). Della dottrina dei nove tipi di *bhakti*, che ha la sua formulazione più celebre in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* VII, 5, 23, esistono differenti versioni con varianti anche considerevoli. Per approfondimenti sulla *navadhā bhakti* cfr. Rigopoulos 2005: 191-211 e Caracchi 2008: 18-25.

Gli episodi dell'agiografia di Pīpā e Sītā in cui essi mostrano di eccellere in *sevā* solo in questa luce acquistano pieno significato: non si tratta di un generico, per quanto eroico, esercizio di *sevā* che in qualche caso può apparire esagerato o paradossale. Per esempio, quando Sītā decide di prostituirsi per sfamare i due poveri *bhakta*, Cīdhar e la sua sposa, di cui lei e Pīpā erano ospiti, sta seguendo l'insegnamento delle Scritture sul servizio dei *bhakta*. Per farlo non si ferma davanti a nulla e il motivo per cui è pronta a mettere in vendita l'unica cosa che ha, cioè il suo corpo, è che Colui che ha fame nei suoi *bhakta* è il Signore stesso. Si noti che, manifestando la sua intenzione a Pīpā, Sītā usa un termine forte e inequivocabile, affermando di dover compiere il suo *dharma*.[41] Come sappiamo, sarà poi il Signore che provvederà a proteggerla, consentendole al tempo stesso di raggiungere il suo scopo. Lo stesso avviene nell'episodio del mercante lascivo che procura a Sītā il necessario per sfamare gli ospiti *sādhu*. Ogni volta che Pīpā e Sītā, nel corso delle loro avventure e disavventure, vengono in possesso di denaro e di beni materiali, immediatamente li utilizzano per *bhakta-sevā*, *sevā* che di solito si concretizza nell'offerta di cibo, anche sotto forma di grandi *bhaṇḍārā* (es. BSST pp. 506-507), con tutto ciò che questo implica in termini di *satsaṅg* e di quello che Horstmann chiama "the flow of grace materialized in food" (2000: 527).

Hawley coglie nel segno considerando *sevā* come la virtù che più caratterizza il personaggio di Pīpā, ma la tesi del suo stravolgimento in quanto praticata da un *rājā* che, come tale, dovrebbe invece esser servito non appare così convincente alla luce di due considerazioni. Anzitutto il servizio di Pīpā, essendo soprattutto *bhakta-sevā*, è equiparabile in tutto e per tutto al servizio a Bhagavān, in altre parole è culto, è *pūjā* a tutti gli effetti. In quanto tale, non può certo essere considerato un'attività impropria neppure per un *rājā*.[42] Si può obiettare che questa considerazione è valida solo in un'ottica "di fede", cioè dopo aver fatta propria la dimensione del *bhakti-dharma*. Ma c'è una seconda considerazione: già nelle antiche *kathā* si parla di *rājā* che accolgono *ṛṣi* e *muni* lavando loro i piedi e servendo loro cibo. Sono antiche usanze anche le grandi elargizioni di cibo da parte di sovrani e di

[41] Cfr. BRB 293: «Farò il lavoro di una prostituta: ora proprio questo è il mio *dharma*» (*karaiṁ besyā karma, aba dharma hai hamāro yahī)* e BSST p. 504: «Ora il mio *dharma* è proprio questo: che io venda la mia bellezza e che doni cibo e altre cose a questi coniugi» (*merā ab yahī dharma hai ki apnī saundaryatā ko becūṁ, aur in dampati ko annādi dūṁ*). Il gesto di Sītā si può meglio comprendere alla luce dell'osservazione di Horstmann che Priyādās intendeva insegnare ai suoi lettori che «feeding tha sadhus is a value overriding all other moral obligations» (2000: 549). L'intento di Priyādās rifletteva certamente una convinzione largamente diffusa negli ambienti *bhakta*.

[42] Come vedremo, Anantadās descrive il servizio di Pīpā durante l'anno che egli trascorre a Gagraun dopo la *dīkṣā* precisamente nei termini di una *pūjā* con i suoi diversi *upacāra*. Su *sevā* e *pūjā*, due termini spesso interscambiabili, cfr. Caracchi (2008: 20-24).

persone facoltose[43], anzi tali elargizioni rientrano normalmente nei doveri di un pio *rājā*, sono la sua *sevā.* Proprio con l'episodio dell'elargizione di cibo a un gruppo di *sādhu* itineranti da parte di Pīpā hanno inizio la BRB (282) e il BSST (pp. 493-494). Quindi Pīpā continua, anche dopo la *dīkṣā*, a fare ciò che già prima faceva, ma indubbiamente con alcune differenze. Se come *rājā* per distribuire cibo attingeva al suo tesoro reale, come *sādhu* distribuisce quello che ha ricevuto, ridiventando subito "nullatenente". Pure le modalità sono cambiate, perché dopo la conversione, anche durante l'anno di permanenza nel suo regno, prepara e distribuisce personalmente cibo a *sādhu*, *bhakta* e questuanti vari.

Non è questa una differenza di poco conto: Rāmānanda può aver utilizzato questa *sevā* "diretta", implicante un coinvolgimento e un lavoro personali, come *sādhanā* per trasformare il suo discepolo da fiero *rājpūt* in asceta, sviluppando in lui quella virtù dell'umiltà che nella vita ascetica è un mezzo indispensabile di trasformazione interiore. Quando a Banāras Rāmānanda rimanda Pīpā nel suo regno a Gagraun con la consegna del servizio, non senza averlo sottoposto a dure prove prima di accettarlo come discepolo, non è tanto o non è soltanto perché vuole insegnargli che «to love God is not to leave the world but to transform it», e certamente non è perché Pīpā accetti «the importance of the householdership», come interpreta Hawley (1987: 71). Se così fosse, non si capirebbe perché Rāmānanda accordi poi a Pīpā il permesso di abbracciare la vita ascetica appena un anno dopo. Un'attenta lettura dei testi suggerisce invece che l'intento di Rāmānanda possa esser stato quello di mettere Pīpā alla prova nella dimensione della sua quotidianità, ma solo per prepararlo a *vairāgya*[44] attraverso *sevā.*

Così recita la BRB (284):

> [Rāmānanda] lo fece suo discepolo, ebbe misericordia di lui, mise la *bhakti* di Hari nel suo cuore e gli disse: «Ora torna a casa e servi i *sādhu.*
>
> Trascorso un anno, quando avrai conosciuto il piacere di servire e avrai provato la gioia dei *sant*, verrò e tu mi accoglierai nella tua casa».[45]

[43] Quest'usanza si consolida poi nell'istituzione del *sadāvrat* che, a sua volta, acquista grande importanza almeno a partire dal X secolo ed è tuttora una notevole fonte di sostentamento per *sādhu* e bisognosi. Sul tema cfr. Horstmann 2000: 539 e nota 69.

[44] Lo confermano le parole che Anantadās fa dire a Rāmānanda quando rimanda a casa Pīpā: *aisai rahiye lipai na chīpā*, «Rimanici in modo tale che le impurità [della *māyā*] non ti contaminino» (PP V, 15).

[45] *kiye śiṣya kṛpā karī, dharī hari bhakti hṛdai, kahī "aba jāvau gṛha, sevā sādhu kījiyai / bitaye barasa, jaba sarasa ṭahala jāni, saṃta sukha māni, āvaiṁ gharamadhi līyiyai" //*

Il temine qui reso con "servire (*ṭahala*) ha anche il significato di "prendersi cura", di "occuparsi fattivamente" di qualcuno. Esso acquista pieno significato alla luce della PP (VI, 1-6), che si dilunga nel descrivere come Pīpā servisse i *bhakta*, una descrizione che potrebbe esser quella di una *pūjā*: Pīpā li accoglieva con *pradakṣiṇā* e prostrazione, li faceva accomodare, lavava loro i piedi, faceva loro l'*ārati*, li profumava e li adornava, serviva loro il cibo che egli stesso aveva cucinato, procurava loro letti confortevoli e massaggiava i loro piedi... Il *kavitta* di Priyādās sopraccitato in traduzione, pur molto stringato rispetto alla descrizione della PP, precisa anche che il servizio che Rāmānanda si aspetta da Pīpā è *sarasa*, gioioso, piacevole, "dotato di sapore"[46]: si tratta cioè di un servizio che deve essere assaporato come piacevole e gioioso da chi lo compie e che deve essere percepito come tale da chi ne è beneficiario. Anche lo stare in compagnia dei *sant* deve arrivare ad avere per Pīpā la spontaneità della gioia (*sukha*). Tutto questo non può che implicare una profonda trasformazione interiore: solo una volta avvenuta Pīpā sarà pronto per la vita ascetica.[47] Allora non avrà più senso parlare di osservanza del *dharma* perché tutto avverrà nella dimensione spontanea (*sahaja*) della libertà divina.

In realtà, secondo la mia lettura, la storia di Pīpā molto più che di *dharma* ci parla di *vairāgya*[48], ma un *vairāgya* che, vissuto nella dimensione della *bhakti*, esula dagli schemi noti per percorrere vie nuove: più che di *bhakti-dharma* occorre qui parlare di *bhakti-vairāgya*. Per questo *bhakti-vairāgya* vale

[46] Interpretando *rasa* come "sapore", nell'espressione *sarasa* si può leggere anche una precisa allusione al cibo, tanto più che il servizio di Pīpā consisteva principalmente nel servire cibo. Si veda anche il *chappay* di Nābhādās sopra riportato: «Squisito fu il suo metodo di servire [cibo] (*parasi praṇālī sarasa bhaī*)».

[47] Sarà forse necessario ricordare che nella visione hindū la scelta della vita ascetica non è mai concepita come la rinuncia a un bene ritenuto tale (la vita "nel mondo", con tutto quello che comporta) per un bene considerato più grande, come accade, per esempio, per la scelta della vita consacrata nel Cristianesimo. La scelta della vita ascetica deve corrispondere a un avvenuto distacco interiore alla luce del quale i beni terreni non sono più considerati tali e hanno perso ogni attrattiva. Utilizzando il termine *saṃnyāsa* per indicare, in generale, la rinuncia al mondo per la vita ascetica e *vairāgya* per il distacco interiore, si può dire che *vairāgya* sia la condizione *sine qua non* per il *saṃnyāsa* (Olivelle 2008: 177-178). Talvolta *saṃnyāsa* e *vairāgya* possono essere usati come sinonimi; per esempio in *Bhagavad-gītā* VI, 1-2, dove i termini *saṃnyāsa / saṃnyāsin* si riferiscono chiaramente al distacco interiore e a chi l'ha raggiunto, pur se continua a vivere "nel mondo" e sono quindi, di fatto, sinonimi di *vairāgya / vairāgin* nel significato sopra specificato. Naturalmente Saṃnyāsin e Vairāgin (hindī Saṃnyasī e Vairāgī/Bairāgī) fanno riferimento a due realtà ben distinte quando sono i nomi propri dei due ordini ascetici facenti capo, rispettivamente a Śaṅkara e a Rāmānanda (ma il vero "fondatore" dei Vairāgin fu probabilmente Anantānanda, suo successore e condiscepolo di Pīpā; cfr. Caracchi 2017: 180). I termini Saṃnyāsin e Vairāgin riflettono l'orientamento spirituale dei due Ordini: come vedremo, anche la vita ascetica di Pīpā rispecchia un *vairāgya* che non si traduce in una radicale rinuncia al mondo come potrebbe essere quella richiesta a un *saṃnyāsin* (Bevilacqua 2018: 6).

[48] Per questo motivo, non concordo con Hawley quando sostiene che Pīpā e Sītā «are both householders and renunciants, never one without the other» (Hawley 1987: 64). Credo piuttosto che siano molto più "renunciants" (con le dovute precisazioni esposte nella nota precedente) che "householders", se non addirittura "renunciants" facilmente scambiabili per "householders."

l'osservazione già fatta per *bhakti-dharma*: il rapporto che intercorre fra i due elementi del composto è di netta subordinazione del secondo rispetto al primo. Nella prospettiva dei nostri agiografi (e non solo) il distacco dal mondo ha senso solo in funzione dell'amore di Dio: *vairāgya* da un lato prepara il terreno alla *bhakti*, dall'altro ne è la naturale, inevitabile conseguenza. In ogni caso, *vairāgya* è un guscio vuoto se non è accompagnato e ispirato dalla *bhakti* che ne rappresenta il senso e il fine.[49] La *bhakti*, in verità, diventa la misura di tutte le cose: qualunque pratica ha senso solo se ispirata dalla *bhakti* e a essa finalizzata[50]. Nell'ascetismo hindū questo corrisponde a un cambiamento profondo che avviene in tutti i *sampradāya* della *bhakti* medievale, nella quale «turning away from the world and worldly affairs is seen as just one aspect of a person's total surrender to God» (Olivelle 2008: 59). Proprio perché il focus non è più solo sul distacco, l'ascetismo trova nuove e inconsuete forme d'espressione irriducibili ai modelli dell'ascetismo precedente: ne è prova la vita ascetica di Pīpā che presenta evidenti anomalie rispetto ai canoni del passato, come ora vedremo meglio.

A differenza di Kabīr, Raidās, Senā e Dhannā, i suoi condiscepoli *sant*[51] che, per quel che ne sappiamo, anche dopo la *dīkṣā* continuarono a condurre vita di *gṛhastha*, vivendo del proprio lavoro, Pīpā può essere considerato un *vairāgī sādhu* a tutti gli effetti. Infatti, quando lascia il suo regno, comincia a vivere di ciò che gli viene donato, mangiando solo se e quando riceve offerte (BSST, p. 505 e PP XVI, 3) e ridistribuendo subito ciò che non occorre per l'immediata sopravvivenza, come un vero asceta mendicante (Olivelle 2008: 93). La sua adesione all'ordine monastico di Rāmānanda è testimoniata anche dalla sua iconografia tradizionale, che lo ritrae come un *vairāgī*, e soprattutto dal fatto che, come s'è detto, a lui fa capo uno dei 36 *rāmānandī dvārā*. D'altra parte nella sua agiografia non c'è traccia di una comunità monastica che sia stata da lui fondata; inoltre di nessuno dei molti personaggi diventati suoi discepoli si dice che sia rimasto con lui per beneficiare della sua guida e per seguirlo nella vita ascetica. Si può ipotizzare che la fondazione di una vera e propria *gaddī*, che giustificherebbe l'esistenza dello *dvārā* col suo nome[52], sia una di quelle gesta di Pīpā «innumerevoli,

[49] Nei canti dei *sant* il rapporto tra *bhakti* e *vairāgya* trova riscontro in quello tra *surati* e *nirati*, nel cui "gioco" è sempre *surati* a prevalere (Caracchi 2017: 258-259).

[50] È questo ciò che Nābhādās ci dice dell'insegnamento di Kabīr: «Cantò come *adharma* tutto ciò che è contrario alla *bhakti*. / Dimostrò come yoga, *yajña*, *vrata* e *dāna* siano vili senza devozione» (*bhakti bimukha jo dharma so adharama kari gāyo / joga jagya brata dāna bhajana binu tuccha dikhāyo*, in *Bhaktamāl*, *chappay* 60).

[51] Pīpā viene solitamente annoverato fra i *sant* per la sua opera poetica (su cui cfr. nota 4 *supra*), quindi con riferimento al significato "tecnico" della parola *sant*, che in letteratura è convenzionalmente utilizzata per indicare i poeti *nirguṇī*, come Nāmdev, Kabīr, Dādū (Caracchi 2017: 17-18).

[52] Naturalmente Pīpā non può esser considerato "fondatore" in senso proprio di uno *dvārā*, perché la loro istituzione è ben posteriore a Pīpā. L'esistenza di uno *dvārā* col suo nome farebbe comunque supporre che da Pīpā abbia avuto inizio un

grandi ed estese (*anek baṛe aur vistṛt*)», di cui Rūpkalā parla in chiusura del BSST su Pīpā (p. 521), che non sono state narrate dagli agiografi – Rūpkalā compreso – perché più ordinarie rispetto alle mirabolanti imprese che attrassero la loro attenzione. Sta di fatto che, in base ai racconti agiografici, Pīpā sembra non aver avuto altra stabile compagnia se non quella di Sītā, sia durante le sue molte peregrinazioni, sia negli umili abitacoli in cui prese dimora.

Dunque siamo in presenza di uno strano *sādhu* che – fatto inconsueto – continua a essere accompagnato dalla sua bellissima sposa e che sembra condurre vita di coppia, anche se, come vedremo attraverso l'analisi dei testi, la situazione è ben più complessa di ciò che appare. Tanto per cominciare, si ricorderà che Pīpā accetta di avere Sītā come compagna solo in obbedienza al Guru e non senza aver cercato in ogni modo di liberarsene. Nella BRB (287), in risposta alle proteste di Pīpā, Rāmānanda pretende da lui l'impegno solenne di prendere Sītā con sé, lo fa giurare (*sauṃha ko divāya*). Nella PP (VIII, 13-14) Pīpā fa presente a Rāmānanda che per un *sādhu* avere una donna con sé è contrario ai *Veda* e al comune sentire e arriva a dirgli che, quando si saprà che lui è suo discepolo, questo attirerà il biasimo della gente anche sul suo Maestro, tanto che Rāmānanda se ne vergognerà (*tumahī lāja marauge pāchai*). Secondo Callewaert (2000: 12), «Rāmānanda advises Pīpā to take her [Sītā] with him, as the sacrifice of giving up his kingdom is sufficient. Celibacy may be too much for him». Le parole di Rāmānanda a cui Callewaert si riferisce sono le seguenti: *gāgaraṃni kau chāḍau rājū yātaiṁ hoi tihārau*[53] *kājū*, «Hai lasciato il regno di Gagraun e con questo il tuo compito è assolto» (PP, VII. 12), il che starebbe a significare seguendo Callewaert: «non c'è bisogno che tu ti separi anche da Sītā». Per prima cosa si noterà che nel testo di Anantadās non c'è nulla che lasci intendere che per Pīpā lasciare il regno sia stato un "sacrificio": non avrebbe senso, dato che già un anno prima Pīpā aveva dichiarato a Rāmānanda, che gli aveva appena ingiunto di tornarsene a casa, di non avere più una propria casa dal momento in cui era diventato suo discepolo (*kahāṃ griha merau hūṃ tau bhayau tihārau cerau,* in PP V, 14). È dunque chiaro che Pīpā, già all'epoca della sua *dīkṣā*, era deciso ad abbandonare tutto[54], perciò si può ben immaginare che in quel momento per lui un sacrificio (nel senso in cui Callewaert usa questo termine) sia stato tornarsene nel suo regno e che ora un sacrificio sarebbe stato continuare a regnare, non certo rinunciare al regno.

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lignaggio spirituale (*parampará*), facente parte della grande famiglia dei Rāmānandī, che, al momento dell'istituzione degli *dvārā*, sia confluita nel Pīpā dvārā. Sugli *dvārā* dei Rāmānandī e la loro fondazione cfr. Bevilacqua 2018: 79-80 e Caracchi 2017: 206-210.

[53] Callewaert qui inserisce le varianti testuali *tumhārau* e *tumārau*.

[54] In realtà nella PP (I, 19-20) Pīpā era già pronto a lasciare tutto anche quando aveva pregato la Devī di concedergli la *mukti*, essendo giunto a disprezzare tutti i piaceri di *māyā* grazie alla conoscenza acquisita nelle vite precedenti. Anche nella BRB Pīpā manifesta alla Devī il suo disinteresse per tutti i piaceri (*aba na suhāya kachū*, BRB 282).

A mio avviso, molto discutibile è anche l'interpretazione delle parole di Rāmānanda come un'implicita esenzione dall'obbligo del celibato. Se davvero questo fosse il loro significato, esse non potrebbero che essere un'ulteriore provocazione da parte del Guru per mettere alla prova la determinazione del discepolo di seguire fino in fondo la vita monastica. In effetti, i racconti agiografici ci consegnano una ben diversa immagine della strana vita di coppia che Pīpā e Sīta conducevano. Nella *Bhaktamāl* di Rāghavdās (136) si legge che Sītā *madana kau māryau māṃna*, cioè che Sīta aveva ucciso Madana (Kāma) nella sua mente, come dire che nella sua vita, e dunque anche nella sua relazione con Pīpā, Kāma non aveva posto. Del resto una lettura non superficiale delle storie di Pīpā e di Sītā comunica l'impressione che i protagonisti non siano due sposi, ma due condiscepoli, *guru bhāī* e *guru bahan*. Quando le spose di Pīpā vorrebbero seguirlo nella nuova vita e Pīpā chiede loro di spogliarsi di tutto e di indossare solo la *kamlī* dei *sādhu*, cioè solo il povero panno che costituisce il loro unico abbigliamento, Sītā è l'unica che supera la prova, ma un'altra ben peggiore l'attende, quella di togliersi anche la *kamlī* (BRB 286-287 e BSST pp. 596-597). Anche se il pubblico di quello spettacolo inusitato era costituito da *sant* e *sādhu* il cui dominio su Kāma doveva essere al di sopra di ogni sospetto, quale marito avrebbe mai potuto sottoporre la moglie a una simile prova, soprattutto provenendo da un ambiente culturale come quello *rājpūt* in cui le principesse osservavano un rigido *pardā*? Nella logica comune, un fatto del genere non avrebbe potuto che comportare la perdita dell'onore che, com'è ben noto, era per un *rājpūt* un valore irrinunciabile. Perciò con la sua richiesta Pīpā, oltre a dimostrare il completo superamento di ogni logica mondana, dimostra di non vedere più Sītā con gli occhi di un marito.[55]

Nel seguito della storia, è indubbio che agli occhi di vari personaggi attratti dalla bellezza di Sītā e vogliosi di possederla, Pīpā continui ad avere su di lei l'*adhikāra* di marito. Trattandosi però di un marito-*sādhu*, noto per la sua santità e per il suo *vairāgya* (la situazione è davvero assai ambigua!), alcuni personaggi direttamente a lui hanno l'ardire di rivolgersi per averla. La reazione di Pīpā non è precisamente quella che ci si aspetterebbe da un marito. Un esempio fra tutti: quattro finti *sādhu* chiedono a Pīpā di concedere loro la sua donna. La sua risposta è lapidaria: *jāhu lijīyai*, «Andate e prendetevela» (BRB 303). Ma i quattro lascivi individui si trovano di fronte a una tigre – suscitata dai

[55] Nella PP (VIII, 8) è Rāmānanda a sottoporre Sītā a questa prova, ma lo fa sotto gli occhi di Pīpā. La prova può avere in qualche modo anche un valore iniziatico: nella comunità dei *sādhu* non ci sono uomini e donne e Sītā, per potervi essere accolta, deve dimostrare di aver superato queste distinzioni, abbandonando anche il naturale senso del pudore, senza più considerare i *sādhu* come uomini, ma come *guru bhāī*, compagni nella vita spirituale.

loro stessi malvagi pensieri, come precisa Rūpkalā (BSST p. 513) – con l'immancabile esito del loro pentimento e della loro conversione.[56]

Pīpā non fa mai nulla per proteggere Sītā nelle molte situazioni di pericolo in cui viene a trovarsi, come del resto non fa nulla per proteggere se stesso e i suoi averi (quando momentaneamente ci sono). Questo compito è sempre lasciato con totale e fiducioso abbandono al Signore, che immancabilmente interviene per proteggere la strana coppia, perché «chiunque rimane fedele a Hari mai si perde» (*je hari sau sacau rahai tau kabahūṁ hāri na hoi*, in PP XIII, 23) e «Rāma protegge sempre coloro che si affidano a Hari e rimangono distaccati» (*hari kau saupi rahai je nyārā tinkā rāma sadā raṣvārā*, in PP XXIV, 3). [57]

4. Sītā Sahcarī

Quanto a Sītā, i nostri testi la esaltano come sposa devota e fedele tutta dedita al marito. Per esempio nella PP c'è un lungo dialogo tra Pīpā e Sītā dal quale la figura di Sītā sembra emergere come quella di una perfetta *pativratā*; nelle parole di Sītā c'è un'affermazione degna di attenzione: «Se [il marito] è uno *yogī*, uno *yati*, un asceta (*tapī*), un *saṃnyāsī*, ella [la moglie], come sua *dāsī*, deve rivestire quegli stessi panni» (PP XXIV, 23). Per Sītā non si è trattato di rivestire i panni del marito solo esteriormente: se anche inizialmente può aver scelto la vita ascetica solo per essere accanto a lui e per continuare a servirlo come *pativratā*, questa scelta ha poi finito per trasformarla davvero in una perfetta asceta.[58] Lo prova il suo comportamento con Pīpā, più simile a quello di una *guru bahan* che di una moglie. Sītā, pur soffrendo tutte le pene e i disagi di un durissimo stile di vita, continua a compatire le sofferenze altrui (PP XXIV, 9), per sfamare *bhakta* e *sādhu* è persino pronta a vendere il

[56] Smith (2000: 186) mette questo episodio in relazione con un episodio della vita di Mīrābāī, in cui un *sādhu* lascivo cerca di convincerla di aver ricevuto da Kṛṣṇa stesso l'ordine di farle godere i piaceri del sesso. Mīrā non si oppone, ma prepara il letto davanti al consesso dei *sant*, poi lo invita a procedere in libertà. Naturalmente il *sādhu* cade ai suoi piedi pentito (BRB 478, BSST 720-721). Come Pīpā e Sītā, Mīrā non si oppone al male in modo diretto, ma lascia che la sua enormità si sveli agli occhi del peccatore, mettendolo di fronte a se stesso e producendo così un effetto di conversione.

[57] A questo proposito sono significative le parole di Kṛṣṇa quando rimanda Pīpā e Sītā fuori dal mare dopo il loro soggiorno nella Dvarkā sommersa: «Se non vi rimandassi [fuori], nel mondo rimarrebbe l'onta che un devoto del Signore è annegato. Perciò è opportuno che voi disperdiate le tenebre di quest'onta» (*yadi tumko na bhejūṁ to lok meṁ yah kalaṅk hogā ki Bhagvat kā bhakta ḍūb gayā. So tumheṁ is kalaṃkrūp aṃdhakār ko meṭnā ucit hai.* BSST p. 499).

[58] In realtà, la *sādhanā* della *pativratā* non è così diversa da una *sādhanā* ascetica, anzi, si configura precisamente come tale al momento in cui comporta una rinuncia all'io attraverso la completa dedizione al marito. Non è un caso che il femminile di *sādhu, sādhvī*, in ambito hindū sia usato nel significato generico di "donna virtuosa e fedele", quindi come sinonimo di *pativratā*, mentre le *sādhu* donne sono chiamate semplicemente col termine maschile *sādhu* oppure con appellativi come *sādhu mātā*; solo presso i jaina, *sādhvī* è in uso per indicare le monache. (Clémentin-Ojha 1988: WS-34-35; Lamb 2012: 262).

suo corpo, eppure non sappiamo di una sola volta in cui si sia preoccupata per il benessere materiale del suo compagno, continuando sempre a dividere con lui fame e abbondanza di cibo con animo imperturbato (BRB 294, BSST p. 505; PP XVI, 3). Le sue sollecitudini per Pīpā sembrano essere solo di natura spirituale. Così, per esempio, quando Pīpā vede un tesoro vicino allo stagno in cui va a fare il bagno, Sītā lo esorta a cambiare posto per non mettersi in tentazione (BRB 294; BBST p. 505; PP XVI, 5). Quando, dopo le prime pericolose disavventure, Pīpā cerca di convincere Sītā a tornarsene a casa avvertendola che non potrà difenderla, è Sītā a ricordare a Pīpā che un *bhakta* non può aver paura: «Keśava è con noi, perché aver timore? / Rāma ci protegge, non preoccupatevi, ripetete il nome di Hari senza paura *(nirabhai)*» *(kesau ajahūṁ svāṁmīṁ kahā aṃdesau // rāṣai rāṃma na ciṃtā kījai nirabhai nāmu harī kau līǰai /*, in PP XIV, 2-3).

Sītā si professa più volte serva di Pīpā, dichiarandosi ai suoi ordini, ma le sue vicende non fanno certo pensare a una moglie che viva alle dipendenze del marito e in funzione di lui, fanno piuttosto pensare che Sītā abbia con lui un rapporto paritario. Smith (2000: 57) arriva a dire che nella relazione fra i due è Sītā «who plays the leading part». Varie volte, in presenza e in assenza di Pīpā, Sītā prende iniziative e decisioni in piena autonomia, iniziative che Pīpā non manca mai di approvare, anche quando arriva a cose fatte, anche quando si tratta di iniziative che nessuna donna racconterebbe al marito e, men che meno, condividerebbe con lui. Ancora una volta, l'impressione è quella di due compagni di percorso, che vivono insieme per condividere l'impegno verso un obiettivo comune: arrivare a Dio e servirlo in tutti, e specialmente nei suoi *bhakta*.

L'ordine di prendere Sītā con sé che Rāmānanda ha dato a Pīpā sembra dunque esser stato motivato dalla preveggenza che Sītā non sarebbe stata per lui un ostacolo, ma un aiuto e uno stimolo nella vita spirituale. Pīpā stesso riconosce le sue alte virtù e – quasi a mo' di riparazione per il rifiuto iniziale – non le risparmia le lodi (come nel lungo elogio di PP XXIV, 8-15) e ammette che abbandonarla sarebbe una "grave onta" (*baṛi khori*, BSST p. 501).

Nel BSST il nome di Sītā è accompagnato da "Sahcarī", "colei che cammina / che va insieme", quindi "compagna". Quello di Sahcarī è un appellativo che non segue il nome di Sītā in nessun'altra fonte agiografica da me consultata.[59] Forse Rūpkalā – che verosimilmente potrebbe averlo recepito nell'ambito della vasta tradizione commentaria della *Bhaktamāl*, che ben conosceva – ha inteso sottolineare come Sītā fosse davvero, nel modo più pieno e completo, la compagna di Pīpā, come mai avrebbe potuto esserlo come sposa del *rājā* Pīpā; ma è anche possibile che Rūpkalā, aggiungendo

[59] Il termine *sahacari* compare nella *Bhaktamāl*, dove è riferito da Nābhādās a una *gopī* (*chappay* 22,2), e poi ancora nel BSST (p. 245), dove Rūpkalā lo usa per indicare un gruppo di *gopī* compagne di Rādhā (*śrīsahcāriyāṁ*).

Sahcarī al nome di Sītā, abbia voluto distinguerla dalla ben più celebre sposa di Rāma. Secondo Hawley (1987: 66),

> It is no accident that Pīpā's faithful wife is called Sītā, for the story of their life together amounts to a new version of the Hindu marriage that is usually understood as the classical statement of virtue and self-sacrifice: the epic marriage of Rām and Sītā. Rām and Sītā too are willingly disenfranchised royalty; they too rely on the instructions of the husband's guru; they too shed the raiments of royalty and wander the forests.

A mio avviso, se è vero che le storie delle due coppie presentano varie somiglianze, è altrettanto vero che grandi sono le differenze, a partire dal fatto che per Rāma e Sītā la vita nella foresta non è affatto una scelta libera e volontaria, e neppure definitiva, ma soltanto una condizione provvisoria accettata in ossequio alla promessa fatta da Daśaratha a Kaikeyī, e solo per il lasso di tempo ben definito di quattordici anni, al termine del quale essi ripassano dalla condizione di *vanavāsin* a quella di *gṛhastha*, pienamente reintegrati nella loro funzione regale. Un'altra notevole differenza è il ruolo che nelle due storie rivestono i legami famigliari, molto importanti nella *rāmakathā* e praticamente inesistenti nella storia di Pīpā e Sītā, per i quali l'unica vera famiglia è il *satsaṅg*, famiglia alla quale tutto può essere sacrificato[60]. Se poi esaminiamo le relazioni di coppia dei nostri personaggi, l'esistenza di una vera relazione sponsale tra Rāma e Sītā è attestata dalla nascita di due figli, mentre non si sa che Pīpā e Sītā Sahcarī ne abbiano mai avuti. Ma soprattutto Rāma difende l'onore di Sītā, dal quale dipende il suo stesso onore – essenziale per un *rājā* –, al punto da sottoporla alla prova del fuoco perché sulla sua fedeltà nessuno possa nutrire dubbi. E quando, dopo anni, la fedeltà di Sītā è messa in dubbio da una voce popolare, non esita ad allontanarla nella foresta pur restandole sempre fedele.[61] La differenza abissale fra Rāma, che scatena una guerra per liberare Sītā (anche se questo è solo il *casus belli* perché Rāma possa portare a termine il suo scopo di *avatāra*), e Pīpā, che prende Sītā Sahcarī sulle spalle per accompagnarla a prostituirsi è fin troppo evidente. Rāma e Sītā sono veri campioni del *dharma*; anche Pīpā e Sītā Sahcarī a modo loro lo sono, ma di quel *bhakti-dharma* intriso di *vairāgya* di cui si è parlato, nel quale sia *dharma* sia *vairāgya* sono subordinati alla *bhakti.*

A proposito di *vairāgya*, ci si può chiedere se il *vairāgya* di Sītā sia stato sancito, anche ritualmente, da una vera e propria *virakta-dīkṣā*, cioè se Sītā sia entrata formalmente nell'ordine

[60] Come osserva Smith (2000: 117), solo due relazioni sono importanti per un *bhakta:* quella con Dio e quella con gli altri *bhakta*, cioè il *satsaṅg*, la sua famiglia spirituale, molto più importante di quella biologica.

[61] L'episodio non compare in tutti i *Rāmāyaṇa:* è presente nel *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, ma, non a caso, è assente nel *Rāmcaritmānas.* Sul tema e su altri aspetti oggi divenuti "spinosi" della storia e del personaggio di Sītā cfr. Caracchi 2010.

monastico di Rāmānanda. I racconti agiografici non sembrano fornirci indicazioni in merito: da una parte, Sītā Sahcarī se ne va dal palazzo reale con indosso il panno dei *sādhu*, dall'altra parte anche per lei valgono – e a maggior ragioni – le considerazioni già fatte per Pīpā. Secondo varie fonti, Sītā non è l'unica donna accolta da Rāmānanda fra i suoi discepoli. Nel *Rāmānandajanmotsava* compare una Padmāvatī dopo l'elenco dei 12 discepoli "canonici", mentre nella tradizione della *Bhaktamāl* due sono le donne incluse direttamente nel novero dei 12 discepoli: oltre a Padmāvatī, anche Sursurī, sposa di Sursurānanda.[62] Ciò non significa che le discepole donne di Rāmānanda siano entrate a far parte della comunità monastica con una formale *virakta-dīkṣā*, tanto più che, come già abbiamo ricordato, anche fra i discepoli maschi non tutti vi entrarono. Che Sītā ci sia entrata o meno, di certo il ritratto che di lei si ricava dalla sua agiografia è, a pieno titolo, quello di un'asceta nella cui *sādhanā* si coniugano *bhakti* e *vairāgya,* a cui si può aggiungere la pratica yogica, come provano le sue *siddhi* di cui s'è parlato.

Sītā non è l'unica donna asceta nell'agiografia di Pīpā. Un episodio, appena accennato da Priyādās (BRB 305), ma raccontato diffusamente da Rūpkalā (BSST, pp. 519-520), è quello delle due belle fanciulle raccoglitrici di sterco di vacca che, esortate da Pīpā ad amare il Signore, essendosi spezzato dentro di loro ogni mondano affetto (*ṭūṭ gaī jag prīti*), lasciano la casa per la vita ascetica, prendono rifugio in Pīpā e si dedicano a cantare la gloria di Śrī Bhagvān (*Śrī Bhagavat-yaś gāyā kartī thīṁ*).

In un contesto socio-religioso dominato dal punto di vista maschile, nel quale la donna è principalmente vista come una pericolosa fonte di tentazione e un ostacolo per la vita ascetica, la *Bhaktamāl* e la sua tradizione aprono un diverso scenario. Nel *chappay* 104 c'è un elenco di ventinove donne definite col termine maschile di *bhaktarāja*, la prima delle quali è la Sītā sposa di Pīpā (come precisa il commento di Rūpkalā), e nel *chappay* 170 c'è un altro elenco di ventuno *bāī*, le quali, pur avendo un debole corpo femminile, divennero forti grazie alla *bhakti* (*abalā sarīra sādhana sabala e bāī haribhakti bala*). Scorrendo il lungo e dettagliato indice della *Bhaktamāl* meticolosamente redatto da Rūpkalā (Nabhādās 1977: 1-7), ci si imbatte in vari nomi femminili: si va da nomi celebri della *bhakti*

[62] Sul tema cfr. Caracchi 2017: 32-37. A Sursurī è dedicato il *chappay* 66 della *Bhaktamāl*, che segue quello su Sursurānanda, entrambi commentati da Rūpkalā (BSST pp. 529-531), ma non da Priyādās. Anche a Sursurānanda fa capo uno *dvārā* dei Rāmānandī (Caracchi 2017: 206); d'altra parte il suo stesso nome rivela una sua affiliazione monastica. La storia di Sursurānanda e Sursurī, pur nell'esiguità delle informazioni della *Bhaktamāl*, potrebbe ricordare quella di Pīpā e Sītā: essi lasciano la loro casa e distribuiscono i loro averi per ritirarsi in una foresta. Mentre sono immersi in meditazione, la bella Sursurī è assalita da malintenzionati desiderosi di possederla, ma è difesa dal Signore stesso che, assunta la forma di Nṛsiṃha, ne fa strage. La *Bhaktamāl* e i due commentari da noi esaminati nulla ci dicono sull'altra discepola, Padmāvatī. Nel BSST (p. 364) c'è una Padmāvatī, ma si tratta di un differente personaggio, la sposa di Jayadeva.

purāṇica e di quella popolare, come quelli della regina Mandālasā[63] (BSST pp. 142-143) e di Mīrābāī (*Baktamāl*, *chappay* 115, BRB 471-480, BSST pp. 712-724), ai molti nomi sconosciuti, come quello di Ganeśdeī Rānī (BRB 417-418; BSST pp. 659-662), che compare subito dopo il già citato *chappay* 104, ma che non figura nell'elenco ivi contenuto. Di particolare interesse è la figura di Karmaitī, l'ultimo personaggio femminile di cui ci narrano la storia sia Nābhādās, sia i suoi due commentatori qui presi in esame. Karmaitī, ardente devota di Kṛṣṇa, «dopo aver compreso che tutti i legami mondani sono lacci, li strappò come un filo d'erba» (*sabai jagata kī phāṃsi taraki, tinukā jyoṃ torī,* in *Bhaktamāl, chappay* 160). Da Rūpkalā (BSST pp. 850-856) sappiamo che Karmaitī fece questo "strappo" proprio la notte precedente il *gaunā*, cioè prima di lasciare la casa paterna per raggiungere quella del marito, gettando nella disperazione i genitori che, pieni di vergogna, la cercarono ovunque. Il padre infine la ritrovò in un bosco vicino a Mathurā e le rivolse parole accorate: la risposta della figlia e la sua scelta di vita finirono col trasformare anche lui in un *bhakta*. Se il percorso ascetico di Sītā ha inizio per seguire il marito, Karmaitī invece abbandona il marito per la vita ascetica. Per un uomo abbandonare la moglie per diventare *sādhu* è un fatto normale, contemplato anche dalle Scritture, ma per una donna è inammissibile lasciare il marito per questa, come per qualunque altra ragione.

5. *Bhakti* e *vairāgya* nel *sevā-dharma*

Si sa che l'ascetismo femminile non era raro nell'India antica, come dimostra la presenza femminile negli ordini monastici jaina e buddhisti, ma, secondo Olivelle (2008: 44), lo divenne in ambito hindū in seguito al processo di "domestication" di un'istituzione – quella della rinuncia – che, per usare ancora le parole di Olivelle, era per natura "anti-structural" e "anti-culture", caratteristiche evidenti anche per la presenza delle donne:

> Renunciation of women was one the most visible and certainly the most bitter symbol of the anti-structural nature of this institution. It is revealing that this is the only aspect of renunciation explicitly rejected in the process of its domestication by *Brāhmaṇism.*
> (Olivelle 2008: 55)

[63] Variante del nome Madālasā, singolare figura femminile, la cui storia e i suoi insegnamenti abbracciano ben 16 *adhyāya* del *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (XIX-XXXIV). Quella del nome non è l'unica variante: per esempio i figli di Madālasā, che sono quattro nel *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, diventano sette nel BSST. Il suo personaggio è particolarmente legato all'ascesi perché instillò nei suoi figli, fin dalla più tenera età, la fede nell'identità con l'*ātman* e il desiderio di distaccarsi dal mondo, tanto che, giovanissimi, scelsero il *saṃnyāsa*. Solo al quarto figlio, su esplicita richiesta del marito, insegnò il *rājādharma* e le altre norme del corretto comportamento al fine di assicurare un erede al trono. Dopo l'ascesa al trono dell'ultimo figlio, seguì poi il marito nella foresta.

Con la *bhakti* l'ascetismo femminile riacquista faticosamente terreno[64], ma questo è solo un aspetto – forse il più appariscente – di un processo ben più vasto e complesso, quello nel quale l'ascetismo, che i *dharmaśāstra* avevano cercato di relegare entro confini ben definiti, grazie alla *bhakti*, rompe schemi consolidati e deborda dai limiti del *varṇāśrama-dharma*. Anche in questo caso non si tratta di una vera novità legata ai movimenti della *bhakti* medievale: del fatto che l'ascetismo non sia mai rimasto entro i ristretti confini assegnati dai *dharmaśāstra* si possono rintracciare numerosi segni e testimonianze fin da epoche risalenti[65], a prescindere dal fatto che, come dimensione interiore, distacco e rinuncia sono sempre stati potenzialmente aperti a tutti, soprattutto dopo che la *Gītā* ha portato il *saṃnyāsa* in seno all'agire "nel mondo". Tuttavia con i movimenti della *bhakti* non si tratta più di una dimensione esclusivamente interiore e neppure di casi sporadici, per quanto significativi, si tratta bensì di un cambiamento su larga scala che ha la sua ragion d'essere in un diverso modo di intendere da un lato *saṃnyāsa* e *vairāgya*, dall'altro il *dharma*. Tirando le fila di quello che abbiamo osservato nell'agiografia

[64] Sull'ascetismo femminile rimando agli studi di Bevilacqua (2017, con una ricca bibliografia sul tema) e di Clémentin-Ojha (1998 e 2011). Per quanto riguarda la vita ascetica di coppia, quello di Pīpā e Sītā non è certo da considerarsi un caso unico o eccezionale nel vasto e variegato panorama dell'ascetismo hindū: infatti non è raro il caso di donne che scelgono la vita ascetica al seguito del marito anche in tempi recenti, secondo quanto riferisce Bevilacqua (2017: 58), che ricorda un esempio celebre fra tutti: quello di Śāradā Devī, la moglie di Rāmakṛṣṇa, che lo seguì nella vita ascetica e che, dopo la morte, ne raccolse l'eredità, diventando guida spirituale dei suoi discepoli. Anche nella *Bhaktamāl* non mancano altri casi di vita ascetica "di coppia", come quello, già citato, di Sursurānanda e Sursurī (v. nota 61 *supra*). Per alcuni aspetti, questo stile di vita potrebbe essere assimilato a quello dei *vānaprastha*, che potevano tenere con sé la sposa e con lei condividere la propria ascesi.

[65] Almeno nell'interpretazione dei *dharmaśāstra* più restrittivi (come *Manu*), la possibilità di prendere il *saṃnyāṣa* era negata alle donne, agli *śūdra* e a chi non era passato attraverso ai precedenti stadi della vita e quindi non aveva pagato i suoi tre debiti (Olivelle 2008: 275-279). Per quanto riguarda gli *āśrama*, secondo Olivelle, in origine era previsto che un giovane al termine del suo percorso di studi, potesse scegliere l'*āśrama* a cui accedere, quindi che potesse anche accedere direttamente al *saṃnyāsa* (Olivelle 2008: 276). È evidente che questo orientamento, che ha in Śaṅkarācārya l'esempio più illustre (Piantelli 1998: 109-111), abbia finito poi con l'affermarsi. Inoltre, analizzando la questione di chi sia considerato qualificato per il *saṃnyāṣa*, Olivelle rileva come negli stessi *dharmaśāstra* che negano tale qualificazione per le donne e gli *śūdra* si trovino diverse testimonianze indirette proprio dell'esistenza di rinuncianti donne e *śūdra*. Per quanto riguarda l'ascetismo femminile, per limitarci all'ambito rāmaita (a cui Pīpā e Sītā appartengono), nella *rāmkathā* se ne trovano almeno due esempi: quello di Svayamprabhā, la *tapasvinī* incontrata da Hanumān e compagni durante la ricerca di Sītā (*Rāmāyaṇa* IV, 50-53, *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* IV, 39-83; *Rāmcaritmānas* IV, 24-25, 4, dove il nome non compare, ma è descritta da Tulsīdās come *nārī tapa puṃja*) e quello di Śabarī, che pur essendo una donna e, per giunta, *ādivāsī*, riceve da Rāma (almeno nell'*Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* e nel *Rāmcaritmānas*) l'insegnamento della *navadhā bhakti* (*Rāmāyaṇa* III, 74; *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* III.10; *Rāmcaritmānas* III, 34, 4-36). Al personaggio di Śabarī è dato grande rilievo nei commenti della *Bhaktamāl* (BRB 31-37 e BSST pp. 82-89), dove Rāma e Lakṣmaṇa, per onorarla, mangiano addirittura le bacche che lei aveva raccolto e assaggiato una per una per accertarsi della loro dolcezza. Lo stesso Vālmīki, secondo la leggenda divenuta prevalente e recepita anche dalla *Bhaktamāl* (BSST pp. 148-151), sarebbe stato di bassi natali, oltre che un malvivente ladro e assassino, poi convertitosi grazie alla ripetizione del nome di Rāma, sebbene fatta in modo inconsapevole (Leslie 2013).

di Pīpā, il *dharma* è subordinato alla *bhakti*, ma questa è, per sua stessa natura, intrisa di *vairāgya* dato che non si arriva a Dio se non rinunciando a se stessi. D'altra parte la rinuncia del *bhakta* non è quella del *saṃnyāsin* che tronca ogni rapporto con la società (se non per quel tanto che gli consente di restare in vita)[66], perché amare Dio è anche servirlo in tutti gli esseri, soprattutto nei suoi *bhakta*. Dunque anche chi, come Pīpā e Sītā, decide di abbracciare la vita ascetica non lascia veramente il mondo, ma se ne prende cura, pur senza appartenergli: così *bhakti* e *vairāgya* trovano espressione nel *sevā-dharma*.

Nella visione tradizionale non è l'osservanza del *dharma* che porta al *mokṣa*, ma solo il *saṃnyāsa*: si può dire che *dharma* e *saṃnyāsa* siano quasi antinomici, perché il *dharma* è ciò che "regge" o che tiene insieme l'universo e la società umana, mentre il *saṃnyāsa* è il loro trascendimento, anzi il loro dissolvimento nel fuoco della Conoscenza.[67] Nella nuove vie della *bhakti* tutte le carte si mescolano, non solo perché la *bhakti* porta il *saṃnyāsa* nel cuore del *dharma* (come abbiamo appena ricordato questa via era già stata tracciata dalla *Bhagavad-gītā*), ma perché la *bhakti* assegna un *dharma* anche all'asceta: questo *dharma* è *sevā*, perfetta fusione di *bhakti, vairāgya* e *dharma.*

Le nuove modalità di intendere i rapporti tra *bhakti*, *vairāgya/saṃnyāsa* e *dharma* stanno alla base di gran parte delle riforme dell'ascetismo hindū e, arrivando a tempi più recenti, offrono alcune indispensabili chiavi di lettura anche per la comprensione del pensiero gandhiano.

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PP Anantadās, *Pīpā Parcaī*, in Callewaert 2000: 141-301.

[66] Il rifiuto del *saṃnyāsa* così inteso caratterizza anche la spiritualità dei Vairāgī contemporanei e gli insegnamenti del loro Jagadguru Rāmnareśācārya (Bevilacqua 2018: 6 e 139).

[67] Per il vero in molti testi e negli stessi *dharma-śāstra* si parla di *saṃnyāsa-dharma,* ma il termine *dharma* è utilizzato, in senso traslato e speculare agli altri *āśrama*, solo per indicare le regole che normano la vita ascetica del *saṃnyāsin*. Un esempio eloquente si trova in *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan* 244, 30, dove si dice che per essere pronti per il *saṃnyāsa* occorre aver superato il *dharma* (*dharmapare*) e aver domato i sensi (*jitendriye*), salvo poi esporre il *saṃnyāsa-dharma* nell'*adhyāya* successivo (245). Si tenga presente che le norme per gli altri stadi della vita riguardano l'individuo nei suoi rapporti con la società e con l'universo (anche il *vānaprastha*, pur nella sua vita eremitica, tiene ancora acceso il fuoco sacrificale che lo connette con l'universo); niente di tutto questo per il *saṃnyāsa*. Se il *saṃsāra* si può rappresentare simbolicamente come una ruota che gira incessantemente, il posto del *saṃnyāsin* è nel suo perno immobile, che da un lato pone il *saṃnyāsin* al centro di tutto, dall'altro lo esclude dal movimento della ruota e dalle leggi che lo regolano.

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Variations of the *yamauba* Figure in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* (1987) by Saegusa Kazuko

Daniela Moro

This paper analyzes the variations of the archetype of the 山姥 *yamauba*, or mountain witch, emerging in the work『群ら雲の村の物語』*Murakumo no mura no monogatari* (Story of the Village of the Clouds) by Saegusa Kazuko. The article reflects on the philosophical insight which this work brings, through a close study of the particular structure, characters and setting. In order to show how Saegusa's work foreshadowed contemporary currents such as posthuman feminism, I will try to reread this work together with other novels and essays by the same writer by focusing on the significance of the figure of *yamauba* as the embodiment of a critique of anthropocentrism.

1. Introduction[1]

As it is well known, the figure of the *yamauba* has undergone various changes in the Japanese tradition, and it is very complex to retrace the history of the *yamauba*'s variations, since scholars offer different interpretations of it.

Furthermore, the *topos* of the *yamauba* in Japanese women's literature has been already studied extensively. Before the latest 『現代女性文学を読む。山姥たちの物語』*Gendai josei bungaku wo yomu. Yamanbatachi no monogatari* ("Reading Contemporary Women's Literature. Tales of Yamanba"), which analyzes postwar women writers' works from a broader standpoint, using the keyword "yamauba" as an ideal of woman who lives beyond the stereotype of femininity in Japanese society (Mizuta 2017: 12),『女性の原型と語りなおし。山姥たちの物語』*Josei no genkei to katarinaoshi. Yamanbatachi no monogatari* (Women's Prototypes and Retelling. Tales of Yamanba, Mizuta *et al.* 2002) is the most important study on women's works making use of the *topos* of *yamauba* in their

[1] This article represents the outcome of my research on the image of the *yamauba* in postwar women's literature and it is part of a bigger project by the National Institute for Japanese Literature in Tokyo entitled: "The Body in Traditional Performative Arts. What Emerges from Words and Visual Arts"「古典芸能における身体—ことばと絵画から立ち上がるもの—」. Most of the documents used to write this article were gathered during a period of research conducted in January 2019 in Tokyo and funded by the NIJL.

narrations.[2] As the editor Mizuta Noriko shows (2002: 26), there are many female writers also in Europe who have interpreted witch-like historical characters as figures of resistance to patriarchal society and she collects examples of analogue uses of the *yamauba* made in Japanese literature.

For the above reasons, here I do not aim to discuss the origins of the *yamauba* figure, which have been extensively researched by many scholars such as Meera Viswanathan (2002) and Baba Akiko (1988), nor do I hope to subvert the results of previous seminal works on the rewriting of the *yamauba* figure in postwar Japanese female literature. Rather, I aim to add some new insights to the vast panorama already described by Mizuta and other scholars (Mizuta *et al.* 2002, 2017) and hopefully to broaden the perspective on the figure of the *yamauba*, until now limited to embody a prototype of woman free from the boundaries of society.

In this study I will focus on Saegusa Kazuko's work *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* (Story of the Village of the Clouds), published in 1987. In my view, the archetype of the *yamauba* emerging in this work does not merely embody resistance against stereotypes and the categorization of women's role in society, something which – as postulated by Mizuta – is common in many works by female writers using this *topos* (2002: 37). In particular, as we shall see, in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* the image of the *yamauba* is neither female nor male, overcoming not only the boundary between genders, but also between human and non-human. In its many variations coming to the fore in Saegusa's work, the image of the *yamauba* can be seen as the embodiment of a profound philosophical reflection by the author. Her effort to create a "women's philosophy" (Saegusa [1984] 2013c) through her literature – a philosophy which can easily be considered essentialist if interpreted superficially – is of great theoretical value even today. I believe that this concept plays an important role in the development of a system of thought alternative to patriarchal schemes, which Saegusa studied and created through her works. This is why I think that it is necessary to analyze this and other few works by Saegusa from a different perspective than the work of Mizuta and the others.

By examining the intertextuality with traditional performing arts and classics and by considering Saegusa's essays and some other literary works, I aim to illustrate how her work, through its insights into philosophical and Buddhist conceptions, foreshadows in a way certain stances which may be taken for granted today, but which at the time were not common. By analyzing the particular narrative structure and the characteristic environment of the village in which the work is set through the lenses of posthuman feminism, I would like to explore how *Murakumo no mura no*

[2] As explained in Viswanathan's article (2002: 147), the same term 山姥, is read "yamauba" if generally referring to folklore, and "yamanba" in the case of the *nō* play.

monogatari lends a particular nuance to the archetype of the *yamauba* which will be at the center of some later works.

2. Saegusa's typical themes and style

Critics generally tend to divide Saegusa's works into two phases: the existentialist phase, where she writes to reflect on the precariousness of human existence, and the post-1980s phase, where the influence of her reading of Buddhist texts can be strongly perceived (Fairbanks 2002: 326; Kurata 2016: 151). Apart from this distinction, there is a pattern that Saegusa uses frequently in her works. By explicitly dealing with sensitive topics, she simultaneously reveals various aspects of a given phenomenon (for instance, a criminal act such as murder or rape) and ends provocatively without aiming to provide a fair or ethically acceptable conclusion. However, it could be stated that through the insertion of quotations from *nō* or classics, this directness is softened and the reflection on the sensitive topic acquires a deeper meaning. One theme which is often explored in Saegusa's works is the act of giving birth as strictly interconnected with death, by repeatedly dealing with phenomena like abortion, miscarriage, child abandonment and the killing of one's child.

Yonaha Keiko (2014: 160) points out that in a 1980 collection inspired by *nō*, 『野守の鏡』 *Nomori no kagami* (The Mirror of Nomori), Saegusa uses the image of the chain of Möbius to create a set of short stories which are intertwined but can be read separately. I would argue that this idea lies at the basis of the structure of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* as well. In this work, apparently focused on a main text with a prologue and epilogue, the length of the three parts is different, but it is not easy to identify the elements which link them: these actually are three different stories with different characters, even though in Saegusa's intention they might display what she calls 同一人物 *dōitsujinbutsu* "the same personality" (Tamashiro *et al.* 1985: 41).

Quoting the afterword to 『珈琲館木曜社』 *Kōhīkan mokuyōsha* (Kohikan, Thursday Company, 1973), Yonaha explains that for Saegusa this work represented an experimental effort by which, instead of founding the story on the flowing of time or on the description of "one life" or "one story," she sought to base the narrative on the "expansion of space" by focusing on "one concept" or "one world" (Yonaha 2014: 161). Yonaha goes on to explain that this is the reason why in *Kōhikan mokuyōsha* we do not find a protagonist, but rather many different details that appear such as persons, landscapes and things, creating the "expansion of space" (Yonaha 2014: 161). In the case of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*, written fifteen years later, I would argue that this kind of fragmented narrative has been accomplished through the image of the *yamauba*, as a concept linking

the epilogue, the main text and the prologue and giving a direction to the main story, which has little coherence in terms of time, space and subject.

Apart from the frequent references to the *yamauba*, in my reading there are only two other things which give continuity to the stories in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*. The first is the setting (an unnamed village near the mountains), even if, owing to frequent time lapses and shifting point of view, the mountain sometimes represents a different space, a second dimension which brings the characters in contact with the otherworld. The second element is the insistence on the death of the weaker as a necessary sacrifice for the stronger to continue living. In relation to weak beings we always find the analogy between little animals and little humans, whose lives are sacrificed.

As for the peculiar structure of the work, to explain it better I must briefly introduce the writer's philosophy, which is reflected in her writing. After reading one of the major Buddhist texts at the beginning of the 1980s,『大乗起信論』*Daijōkishinron* (Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna), with her husband (Saegusa [1983] 2013b: 154), a Buddhist monk, Saegusa started inserting in her literature a deep reflection on many themes linked to the Buddhist conception of the world. In a long interview with four different scholars (Tamashiro *et al.* 1985: 136), Saegusa states that her aim is to create a world where there are no fixed time and place – analogous to a dream *nō* for Yonaha (2014: 152) – and where time behaves "spatially," like a place where you can go back and forth. In this "place" living beings and dead ones, life and death, coexist, being merely temporary states. "When I say 'spatial' I mean that that there is something like a big mass of life and when it takes a form, that is life. When it sinks, that is death" (Tamashiro *et al.* 1985: 136). In other words, if some being comes to life it means that it just took a specific form (animal, human, plant), but it is part of the same flow to which all other beings belong as well. In this Buddhist "eternal now," there are no fixed boundaries between "me" and "the other," since the subject and the object are part of a bigger continuum and therefore there is no real difference between animal or human. This provocative stance, often displayed by the writer and obviously directly drown from Buddhist thought, ultimately represents a challenge to the "modern self" at the center of modern Japanese (male) literature, as argued by Yonaha (2014: 130).

Another feature of Saegusa's writing emphasized by Yonaha (2014: 141) – a feature that probably does not seem so innovative nowadays, but which was certainly experimental at the time –, is the mixture of genres. The 1980 work 『思いがけず風の蝶』*Omoigakezu kaze no chō* (Unexpected Wind Butterfly) is a hybrid novel, constituting an important reflection on the writing process. I will quote here the words uttered by the protagonist after watching the *shite* (main actor) of *nō Teika*, since they summarize the role of *nō* as a source of inspiration for the writer, as the one place where the loss of self *à la* Saegusa occurs:

> Every moment I follow the figure ［of Princess Shikishi］ which at times disappears and at other times floats from a place with no forms, and in so doing I create my characters. I try to catch it as clearly as possible, but I sometimes lose sight of it, or get confused. And so, at a certain moment, suddenly, I realize that it was nothing but my own shadow. It is impossible to catch the source of light, but by catching my own shadow, I realize that it is a hint at the light and that this is why my own shadow, which is to say the characters, must be created by alluding to the light. Probably I am jumping around, but I also think that with this figure I confirm my own identity, or better, that my own identity is confirmed by it (Saegusa 1980a:124).[3]

Yonaha argues that, in this particular world created by Saegusa, reality and fantasy or dream are not distinguished, and living creatures coexist with dead ones, again as in a *nō* of dream (2014: 159) – considered a form of science fiction – or in magical realism (Yonaha 2007: 732). In *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* we find all the above features very distinctly.

3. *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*: structure and main events

3.1. General structure

Having introduced some general aspects of Saegusa's works, I will now illustrate the complex structure of the work *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*. The richness of this novel obliges me to explain some parts of the main plot in detail in order to then be able – in the second part of the paper – to refer to certain episodes that help clarify my reading of the work.

The novel is made up of three seemingly independent short stories with separate titles, which in some points may be seen to intertwine: the prologue「桜能」*Sakura nō* (The *Nō* of Cherry Trees), the main text bearing the same title as the overall work (*Murakumo no mura no monogatari*), and the epilogue 「逆髪」*Sakagami* (Reverse Hair), named after the main role in the *nō*『蝉丸』*Semimaru*. As shown by the title, the shorter stories at the beginning and at the end directly report some scenes from two *nō* dramas: *Yamanba* and *Semimaru*, both set in the mountains like Saegusa's own work.

3.2. Prologue: *Sakura nō*

The prologue comprises four intertwined stories: two stories set in the mountains and two episodes taken from the『今昔物語集』*Konjaku monogatari shū* (The Tales of Times Now Past) and linked to the *yamauba*. At first, the narrative describes a mountain village where cherry petals similar to snow

[3]All the translations from Japanese are mine unless otherwise specified.

suddenly start falling down and the whole village becomes like a *nō* stage, as suggested in the title. Three young women make their appearance as sightseers. They watch a performance of the *nō Yamanba*. It is not clear whether this is a hallucination or whether the play is really being performed. Suddenly it gets dark, and the tourists realize that they have seen the figure of the real *yamauba.* At this point, it is implied that they have entered another world or dimension, where the *yamauba*'s spirit is present and the story ends vaguely, without any definite conclusion.

Another story is intertwined with this one, where an unnamed male and his female mistress appear and try to bury a baby's body in the mountain. The woman blames the man for killing the baby and feigning it was an accident. He denies the accusation, but she suddenly disappears. When she returns, the baby's corpse is gone, and her face and voice are transformed into those of the mountain witch, the *yamauba*. She confesses to the man that she ate the corpse because she thought that this was the best solution and that he would be happy about it. The man runs away, and goes back home, where he had left his parents, an elderly father and a supposedly bedridden mother. There he finds them lamenting that they had been waiting for him for months and starving, while in his mind he had been away only for one day. His pregnant wife is said to have fled, but it is suggested by the narrative that his parents had no food to eat and decided to kill her and eat both her and the baby in her belly. The mother's face too is transformed into a *yamauba*'s one, and she flees to the mountains.

Furthermore, in this part there is a reference to two episodes of the *Konjaku monogatari shū* (Japanese section), namely the 22th tale of chapter 27 and the 25th tale of chapter 29. In the former we find two brothers out on a hunt. When a creature threatens to attack one of the two brothers, the other shoots it down with his bow, after which the two siblings run home. There they find their old mother in bed wounded by an arrow, so they immediately realize that at the night she changes into a monstrous creature and kill her. The moral of the story is that "once they become old mothers, all change into monsters and try to eat their children."

The second *Konjaku* story is about a 10th-century samurai, Taira no Sadamori. He is sick and a physician tells him that the only way for him to get better is to eat the liver of a small male fetus. He is ready to sacrifice his unborn nephew, but the father of the child asks the physician to tell Sadamori that a fetus linked to him by blood is not going to cure him. So the nephew is saved, but a lot of female fetuses are sacrificed before the samurai gets hold of another male one. Just after this story, Saegusa adds a comment underlining that in the *Konjaku monogatari* there is no mention of what happened after death to the many spirits of the pregnant women and their female fetuses killed by Sadamori.

3.3. The main text: *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*

The setting of the main text of *Murakumo* no mura no monogatari is again a village near the mountains. The main character is a man in his forties named Ryō whose mother was killed during a bomb raid just after giving birth to him. Ryō's older sister tells him that after birth he was suckling from his dead mother's breast, and refers to the story of Izanagi and Izanami in『古事記』*Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters). Similarly to Izanami, who has partaken of food cooked in the otherworld and therefore cannot come back to the world of the living, Ryō has drunk milk from the 黄泉の国 *Yomi no kuni*, the land of dead, and throughout the story he is considered by his sister a creature half belonging to the otherworld. After that, he is raised by a woman already over the age of sixty who is not a blood relative but is referred to as ばあさん *bāsan*,"grandma."

Even if the narrative is in third person, the reader may get the impression that Ryō is the protagonist. But, as anticipated, this work is designed not to have a protagonist. The point of view frequently shifts, not giving the reader any certainty as to the identity of the speaker. The only difference the narrative introduces is the use of the dialect (of the prefecture of Hyōgo) for old inhabitants of the village. The novel starts precisely with a narrator speaking in dialect. It is the voice of some old person (probably not a specific one, but a choral voice as an embodiment of the spirit of the village) who is speaking from the otherworld. The voice introduces the feelings of someone who dies and perceives him/herself going back to a dark and comfortable place, to her mother's womb. Then a second first person narrator starts narrating – in standard Japanese – her incident and how she died and "awoke," seeing a little child sucking her immobile breasts. She died soon after giving birth, so we can easily detect the analogy with Ryō's mother, even if the circumstances of their deaths are different. She asks the other voice where she is and it replies: "*Yomi no kuni*". After that, the focus is on this world and there is a description of Ryo's travelling to a village near the mountains to attend the funeral of this *bāsan*, dead at 103. Even if after that the novel recounts facts of this world related to the funeral, Ryō, because of his half belonging to the otherworld, can often hear voices, especially that of his grandmother. The latter speaks in the first person in dialect, creating a mixture of past and present, reality and fantasy, life and death typical of Saegusa's style, as explained above.

During the wake we hear stories about the grandmother's life and we get to know that she had many children. Two of them died in war, while the last boy was drowned by her. The family was living in severe poverty at the time and, being in her forties, the woman felt ashamed to face another pregnancy. It is clear from the narrative that she always regretted having sacrificed her baby and that she also felt in debt to her other sons, who died in the war, allowing her to receive a pension.

When Ryō was born, the grandmother believed that the soul of the child she had drowned had come back into our world by entering Ryō's body. She thus decided to take care of him after his mother's death, in order to expiate her guilt. So, even though there are many other members of the family around, it is his name alone that she calls out just before dying. In the narrative there is another tale of death which almost mirrors this one. A group of 70-year-old grandfathers, who had met many years before and agreed to die together, come to the mountains to commit suicide. It is a group of men who want to die because of their sense of guilt towards the soldiers who perished in the war and their feeling that they are unnecessary to society after retirement. The story of the abandoning of the weakest as a step necessary in order for the stronger to survive that emerges with the account of the grandmother's life narrative becomes intertwined with the self-perception of weakness and self-annihilation of men who used to be at the center of society but lost this place with old age.

Here the realistic part ends and the dreamlike one begins, which will run on until the end. Ryō is following the old men up the mountains, and he suddenly feels that his body, completely surrounded by clouds, is becoming a cloud itself, ultimately merging with the mountain and becoming one with nature. Afterwords, he meets a dog about to be eaten by crows and does not help it, but starts feeling as though his own body were being eaten by crows – as though the dog were inside him. On the mountain top he watches the old men commit suicide and hears them speaking together, although at the same time he can distinguish every single voice. After that, his grandmother's voice calls him to accompany her on the 中陰 *chūin*, the road to the realm of death, as she always expected him to do while still alive. This time his appearance and voice are those he used to have in his youth, and he finds himself wearing a schoolbag over his funeral suit. Along the way the two of them not only meet the man's mother, but see the kittens which the grandmother had sacrificed while still alive by abandoning them – an act for which she always felt guilty. Ryō can also speak with his sister, who is alive, but he cannot see her, so this suggests that by now he is probably unable to come back from the otherworld, just as Izanami. The story ends ambiguously with Ryō feeling his body inside his grandmother's voice.

3.4. Epilogue: *Sakagami*

The beginning of the epilogue, exactly like the previous two sections, has a dreamlike quality to it. The beginning, where the narrator describes the voice of a youth in the mountains which is difficult to understand, reminds us of the main story as well, since there is a focus on the voice as a sign of the presence of the otherworld in this world. In this story we have a reference to the *nō* play *Semimaru*,

where the blind son of a nobleman is exiled into the mountains. The main character too, his sister Sakagami, cannot have a respectable position in society because of her strange hair, which points towards the sky and literally drives her mad. She joins him in the mountains, and they share tears, only to part again to find their respective paths.

At first the narrative presents this voice spreading across the mountains, and talking about the sadness of abandoned kittens, poppies or children, who cannot reach Buddhahood. Then the story begins with two middle-aged sisters watching the *nō Yamanba* come to life in a bloom of snow-like cherry petals, on a stage which cannot be distinct from the mountains – again an ambiguous setting that is half-dream and half-reality. It is probably the same performance we find in the prologue. Indeed, even in this case the characters realize that when the performance starts every spectator suddenly disappears, again making the reader suspect that the *nō* leads the characters into another dimension, as in the prologue. This reference also makes it possible to read the whole work as one in which time has stopped and all the stories occur at the same time. After *Yamanba* comes *Semimaru* and the sisters are moved by the sadness of this story of 子捨て *kosute*, "child abandonment" (Saegusa 1987: 177). They are touched by the play because it reminds them of their own brother. The sisters and their small brother had a difficult youth, growing up with their father and stepmother in a mountain village where they did not belong and were not happy. The little brother was sick and died at the age of fourteen, after spending four years alone in hospital – a prospect he preferred to that of going back to his father's house. The story focuses on the elder sister, a non-married woman who is still mourning her little brother after thirty-three years, feeling pity for him but also for herself because of her solitude. Short tempered and ill-mannered, she is sometimes considered "mad" by people. She used to be a teacher and when they would call her ババア *babaa* or "old granny," she would get so angry as to dream of killing her students with a knife. So, at the early age of fifty-five she decided to quit her job suddenly. She has a non-conventional way of seeing society, and this is probably why she never married or had children. But she truly loved her little brother. Nevertheless, after seeing him lie in hospital throughout his sickness, she makes a toast to his death, as she feels relieved by the fact that he has stopped suffering.

After watching *Semimaru*, the woman decides to go and dig up the remains of her brother and mother's urns and to bury them again away from their father's tomb. But when she starts digging, she realizes that she cannot find them. The voice – probably that of the woman's brother – lamenting abandonment in the mountain is heard again. When the younger sister looks at her to try to convince her to stop digging, she sees that her "mad" sister's hair is growing towards the sky, as with the madwoman in *Semimaru*, and feels that she will never make her way back from the tomb.

4. The space and time of the *mura*

As becomes clear already from the title, the setting of the 村 *mura*,"village," is preponderant and it links the three parts, as already anticipated. Yonaha (2014: 158), suggests that the function of the *mura* in Saegusa's writings from a certain period is to embody the constrictions and obligations due to the community's rules and fear of hearsay. In the village, more that in the city, the existentialist doubt is strengthen by the feeling of not having a "way out" (Yonaha 2007: 730), as clearly emerges from the story of the sisters' youth in the epilogue of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*. Old people live long and the young often die, as a metaphor of the disintegration of the community based on patriarchal principles (Yonaha 2014: 157). Nevertheless, while Saegusa continued to problematize the idea of the community as a constraint for the individual, once her works started acquiring more Buddhist overtones, the village also came to be described as a place where individuals become blurred with one another (Yonaha 2014: 158) and the conception of time is relative, as the story of Ryō and her grandmother shows. Here, in the same space, the living and the dead, past, present and future coexist almost without distinction (Yonaha 2014: 152). With young and old people living together, age distinctions are lost because time is vanquished by the old people's perception. To put it in the words of Ryō's grandmother: "people's soul when they are dead begins a long long journey. Compared to that journey, a hundred years, one year or twenty-thirty years are merely an instant" (Saegusa 1987: 171).

In the idea of the village as the setting for magic realism par excellence, one important aspect is the voice, which, as suggested before, has a very focal role throughout the narrative. In particular, the voices often heard in the mountains are clearly the voices of dead people whose body is not visible. They are frequently multiple and coexist with the voices of living people, especially in Ryō's mind, who, as underlined in many passages, is already half living, half dead, because he has suckled from his dead mother's breast. Also in the scene of the group suicide of the old men, Ryō perceives all their voices together yet at the same time distinctly, exactly as in a *nō* performance, when main actor *shite* and the chorus chant the same lines. In that scene he looks at them and they all seem to have the same face (Saegusa 1987: 146).

5. Yamauba variations and *josei genri*

One could say that the message of this novel is encapsulated by the following sentence, uttered by Ryo's grandmother: "The ones who survive, survive thanks to the dead" (Saegusa 1987: 116). Whether

children or old people, the key idea here is that people (or beings) who are weak or sick and represent a burden to the family must be sacrificed, no matter how painful this might be. As already anticipated, this work is clearly representative of Saegusa's use of sensitive themes to explore different points of view. Indeed, the recurrence of scenes in which weak beings are sacrificed is evident. The victims are not only human beings, but also kittens an puppies. Indeed, the grandmother must thank her two dead children for her pension, as well as the little fetus she aborted in the water. Likewise, Ryō must thank his mother for protecting him from bombs at the cost of her own life.

The prologue presents a controversial idea of sacrifice, which is even more problematic from an ethical point of view. Two women eating fetuses appear. While at least one of these fetuses has already died when the *yamauba*-mother eats it, another one is killed and eaten by its grandfather and grandmother to survive. This story is evidently analogous to both the tales quoted from *Konjaku monogatari.* In both cases, we find elderly people who in order to go on living must eat their younger relatives (a son or nephew). These rather extreme stories are probably presented at the beginning in order to prevent the reader from taking any moral judgement for granted, and to provocatively introduce the other act of abandonment, which mirrors the act perpetrated by the elderly on children for the sake of survival: the abandonment of the elderly by their own children.

Indeed, at the end of the main text, the theme of 姨捨 *obasute* is presented. *Obasute* is another legend about old women in the mountains, but we could say that even though some critics consider the *yamauba* and *obasute* to come from the same source and to be essentially related (Komatsu 2000: 432), they are actually perceived as being quite different: one devours (or is accused of devouring) people, especially children, while the other is abandoned in the mountains, left there by her son to die of hunger. The perpetrator and the victim in this work are linked and their difference relativized to the point of potentially offending the sensitivity of the reader, as is typical of Segusa's works.

In this study, I consider the figure of Ryō's grandmother as one that combines life and death, similarly to the figure of the Great Mother. Acclaimed Jungian psychologist Kawai Hayao in『昔話と日本人の心』*Mukashibanashi to nihonjin no kokoro* (Old Tales and The Japanese Mind, [1982] trad. 1996) explains the double spirit of the *yamauba* by using the archetype of the Great Mother postulated by Erich Neumann. Like the Great Mother, the *yamauba* has the power to destroy as well as to create, and she is a source of death precisely because she is a source of life. Kawai (1996: 33) writes: "This figure, from whom everything is born and to whom everything returns when it dies, is a container in

which the process of death and rebirth occurs. She is especially important to agricultural peoples, becoming the object of worship quite naturally."[4]

At the beginning of the main text of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*, the choral voice embodying the spirit of the village explains how the place where it is now, the entrance to the long road to the *Yomi no kuni*, is the same as the uterus (Saegusa 1987: 37). "We all go back to our mother's womb. That is called the journey after death." This key sentence clearly links life and death, connecting the *yamauba*, the main *topos* of the whole work, and the Great Mother. Moreover, the grandmother who is talking is also clearly another variation of the *yamauba*/Great Mother, giving birth to many children but then sacrificing one to save the others.

As I mentioned at the beginning, by dealing with sensitive topics from various perspectives, morals and common sense are completely deconstructed in Saegusa's work. After shocking the reader in the prologue with a description of *yamaubas* eating fetuses, i.e. women transformed into demons, in the main text the author presents a *yamauba*-like figure that, being connected to archetype of the Great Mother, emerges as more than just a perpetrator, no matter how cruel her action might be.

With regard to the dramaturgy of *nō Yamanba*, theatre expert Watanabe Tamotsu writes:

> It is said that *yamanba* was originally created by the spirit of the mountain, the sound of the mountain and the dust of the mountain together. Therefore, she can become a demon and take the appearance of a demon, but it is only a temporary figure, and it can change into many different forms. Moreover, the changing figure itself is temporary and her real substance is just like air (1995: 251-2).[5]

Certainly, in the *nō* play it is not clear if the *yamauba* is a woman or a demon, as noted by Baba Akiko (1988: 281-7). What is clear is that in what she calls "the *yamanba* philosophy" her identity is blurred and she is integrated with nature, becoming one with it while roaming the mountains (Baba 1988: 282).

In the play *Yamanba* we often find the image of clouds, which also occurs in Saegusa's work, as suggested by the very title. In the play, the *yamanba*'s own self is also compared to 妄想の雲 *mōsō no*

[4]「すべてのものがそれから生まれ、死んだ後はそこへと帰り、死と在生の過程が生じる場としてのは、民族にとっては特に重要なものであり、宗教的崇拝の対象となったのも当然のことである。」(Kawai 1982: 50)

[5] 「山姥は、自分は本来山の精であり、山の音、山の塵（ちり）があつまってできたという。いまは鬼女となって姿をあらわしたけれども、それは仮の姿であり、いろいろな姿に変化する。しかし変化するのもまた仮りの姿であって、実態は空気のようなものである」

kumo, the clouds of illusion. The verse reads: "With shifting form, like drifting clouds,/ temporarily transforming self,/ by attachment transfigured, a she-demon/ appears before our eyes, but,/ when good and evil are seen as one,/ form as void as it is, then..." (Bethe, Brazell 1978: 109). Yamauba is indeed a very unmaterial being, and – as underlined by the two sisters in the epilogue, where they state that "the *yamauba* never dies" – she never ceases to exist, but only changes form. This detail is very important, since it reminds us of the blurred existence of Ryō, initially considered human, but then transforming into clouds and after that continuously changing his appearance until he follows the grandmother on her way to the realm of death.

In the play *Yamanba*, there is also a quotation of a famous verse from the *Prajnaparamita Sutra* (般若経 *Han'nyakyō*), called 色即是空 *shikisoku zekkū* (lit. "What exists in material form is devoid of substantiality"). The play continues: "Buddhism equals wordliness,/ passions imply enlightenment,/ buddhas, living creatures,/ living creatures, Yamanba" (Bethe, Brazell 1978: 50). This underlines how in Buddhist philosophy the *yamauba* has a fleeting essence, in unity with all living creatures. So, even if the *yamauba* takes very different forms in the Japanese imagination, the *yamanba* emerging from *nō* stands out for its indistinct self and unity with nature, combined with perpetual change.

In Kawai's theory (Kawai 1996: 34) the Great Mother too has a close relationship with the concept of change: "The transformation in connection with motherhood has a strong tie to the body as is shown in eating, in conception, and in giving birth."[6]

Neumann's concept of matriarchal consciousness, linked to cycles of nature and passivity, "accepts fate rather than cursing it" (Kawai 1996: 178) and is opposed to the active "impatient patriarchal consciousness which tries to fight and overcome" the adversities. Kawai's idea of the "feminine consciousness" is similar in some aspect to Neumann's matriarchal consciousness, but Kawai takes distance from Neumann's dialectic and hierarchic vision of the matriarchal consciousness as separate and inferior to the patriarchal one (Kawai 1996: 179). His goal is demonstrating with a Jungian approach the strength and validity of the feminine consciousness via its representation through female archetypes of the Japanese folklore. Needless to say, he holds a point of view in looking at the figure of the *yamauba* and at the many female images analyzed in his work, which is dramatically different from Saegusa's stance, not only because of the psychological insight, but especially because of his extremely essentialist focus on what he considers the "Japanese

[6]「母性との関連における「変容」は、食物の、あるいは妊娠·出産などに示されるように、身体性と切っても切れぬ関係を持つことをその特性としている」。(Kawai 1982: 52).

ego," supposedly represented by the feminine consciousness and different to the Western and more masculine one. Nevertheless, his insistence in considering the expressions of the multifaceted feminine consciousness as manifestation of a certain attitude of human ego "*regardless of sex,*" in my opinion is similar to the idea of *josei genri* created by Saegusa, which as we shall see is genderless (Kawai 1996: 189).

Coming back to Sageusa's work, the figure of the *yamauba* presented in the work is embodied by a variety of characters: from the woman changing into child-devouring demon in the prologue to a pitiful grandmother who has miscarried and feels forever guilty in the main story, to a teacher who has been mourning her little brother for thirty-three years, but dreams of killing her students with a knife. The mask 増髪 Masugami, typically used for the role of Sakagami and more generally for the madwoman in *nō,* is often considered to represent a woman possessed by a spirit (Kobayashi 2000: 208), and to combine human and supernatural elements. Therefore, I would argue that we can assign a half-human character to the last variation of the *yamauba* embodied by the elder sister-Sakagami. I wish to point out here that throughout the narrative of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* the *yamauba* figure varies from being demonic to being human or half-human. In showing these many different aspects, I would like to attempt a reading of the *yamauba* figure in this work as an example of transience and I would interpret the whole work as an embodiment of the changing nature of the *yamauba* herself.

Here I need to investigate Saegusa's outlook in relation to the Buddhist principles I have anticipated above. Referring to Greek myth in order to trace back the matriarchal conception of life, Saegusa postulates a principle to contrast society, which is completely immersed in the patriarchal matrix, "exploring the possibility of uncovering a woman's way of thinking, a woman-centered philosophy" (Saegusa [1984] 2013a: 129). She explains her thought with the keyword 女性原理 *josei genri*, or "female principle," often connected to the logic of 同一性 *dōitsusei* "likeness" or "identification" (Saegusa [1983] 2013b: 146), as well as with the Buddhist conception of the world as something where the "human" or *homo sapiens* is not the center of the natural world, as in modern thought, but an integral part of it (Saegusa [1984] 2013a: 127). In this sense, 衆生 *shujō* " all creatures" (Saegusa [1984] 2013a: 128), in every form, must be considered equal. In 1984 Saegusa wrote: "In general, if you say something "differentiates humans *from* animals," it somehow propels you straight into a humans-are-superior ideology. I detect the assertion of "human superiority" a man's way of thinking" (Saegusa [1984] 2013a: 128).

She explains that men, being accustomed to fight for power, apply the principle of 区別 *kubetsu* "distinction," which she explains in Hegelian terms: "in order for A to be A, we must start from the

negation of A" (Saegusa [1983] 2013b: 139). On the other hand, "women's logic is equipped with an ability to find common ground, to embrace others or identify with others" (Saegusa [1983] 2013b: 156). A woman does not need to establish a self "by wedging a stake in the flow of nature's abundant life force to claim it as his own," but "she immerses herself in nature, listens to the voice of nature" (Saegusa [1983] 2013b: 156). It is interesting to note Saegusa's focus on the voice as the defining aspect of nature, because we can easily link it to the voices heard in the mountains, which are so frequent in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* as well as in other works.

6. The critique of anthropocentrism and attempt to decentralize the *dansei genri*

It is obvious that this concept of the affinity between woman and nature is not exclusive to Seagusa, but rather started spreading with so-called ecofeminist theories. In the mid-1980s, Aoki Yayoi, the first scholar to promote ecofeminist theories in Japan, was involved in a public debate with Ueno Chizuko, probably the best-known feminist in Japan, who accused Aoki of basing her analysis on an essentialist stance. In 1986 Ueno wrote 『女は世界を救えるか？』 *Onna ha sekai wo sukueru ka?* (Can Women Save the Earth?), criticizing Aoki's views. Onabe Tomoko explains: "Ueno fears that Aoki's ecofeminism forces feminism to blindly accept the female principle allotted by male-dominant culture, which could result in allowing oneself to be trapped within the framework created by male-dominant culture" (Onabe 2019: 116-7). It is probably difficult now – and I guess it was even more difficult at the time – to distinguish the stance underlying Saegusa's works – imbued with Buddhist concepts – from a common essentialist stance, where rigidly dividing what is "female" from what is "male" risks confining both categories to a narrow model.

Kurata Yōko – the one scholar who, together with Yonaha Keiko, has most extensively studied Saegusa's writing – mentions a 1985 round table in which Ueno Chizuko labelled Saegusa's thought as pertaining to ジェンダー差異派 *jendā saiha* "the faction of gender difference thought" (Kurata 2014: 137) because of her focus on the distinction between the female and the male principle. Kurata argues that this accusation is unjust, since it considers Sagusa's "female principle" something concrete, while Kurata calls it 亡霊的 *bōreiteki*, "ghostly," or 現前不可能 *genzen fukanō* "impossible to manifest" (Kurata 2014: 130). Even if I share Ueno's sense of discomfort towards an analogy between "woman" and "nature" – especially when the latter is still generally considered inferior to culture – I agree with Kurata that this "ghostly" female principle is something which is not tangible, but which can be used to search for a different logic, as a heuristic instrument allowing us to stop taking for granted any morals or habits which we have been brought up with. Precisely because it is not a concrete and fixed logic, it is supposed to undermine the principles which have sustained patriarchal

society until now. Saegusa hopes that "women's philosophy" will develop "in spite of" a male-centered dominant logic, rather than "because of" it (Saegusa［1984］2013a: 132).

In more recent times, so-called posthuman feminism has assigned further significance to the critique of anthropocentrism initially developed in feminist and ecofeminist environments (Gaard 2011: 34, 42). Rosi Braidotti – who, together with Donna Haraway, is probably the best-known posthuman feminist – quotes Mies and Shiva, two famous names in ecofeminism, who as early as the beginning of the 1990s started underlining the importance of the interconnection between human and non-human beings, and to criticize every form of discrimination based on "othering," such as those based on gender, race or species. Although she distances herself from their being overly critical of everything "Western," she acknowledges the importance of Shiva's contribution to the rethinking of gender and development (Mellor 1994: 119). In 2005 Braidotti argues:

> Post-humanism is a fast-growing new intersectional feminist alliance. It gathers the remains of post-structuralist anti-humanism and joins them with feminist reappraisals of contemporary genetics and molecular biology in a non-deterministic frame.(...) Vandana Shiva stresses the extent to which the bodies of the empirical subjects who signify difference (woman/native/earth or natural others) have become the disposable bodies of the global economy. (Braidotti 2005: 178)

In the same article she postulates a new vision of otherness which lies at the basis of her idea of posthuman theory, which is very distant from the dystopic and cybernetic image this theory often acquires in popular culture (Oppermann 2013: 28):

> Fortunately, otherness remains also as the site of production of counter-subjectivities. Feminist, post-colonial, black, youth, gay, lesbian and trans-gender counter-cultures are positive examples of these emergent subjectivities which are 'other' only in relation to an assumed and implicit 'Same.' How to disengage difference or otherness from the dialectics of Sameness is therefore the challenge. Intersecting lines of 'otherness' map out the location of what used to be the 'constitutive others' of the unitary subject of classical humanism. They mark the sexualised bodies of women; the racialised bodies of ethnic or native others and the naturalised bodies of animals and earth others. (Braidotti 2005: 170)

This "implicit 'Same'" Braidotti speaks about is, in my view, similar to the 男性原理 *dansei genri*, the "male principle" at the basis of anthropocentrism which Saegusa postulates in her essays. Braidotti too has trouble defining how we can disengage from the same-other dialectic and shed light on emergent subjectivities, but she is positive about the possibility of doing so. And all this can happen *in spite of* the exploitation brought about by the "global economy," exactly as Saegusa, twenty years

before, postulated a "ghostly" female principle which would develop *in spite of* the male-centered logic dominating society.

In her later and seminal work *The Posthuman* (2013: 100-1), Braidotti deepens her vision of otherness and declares:

> In my view, posthuman ethics urges us to endure the principle of not-One at the in-depth structures of our subjectivity by acknowledging the ties that bind us to the multiple 'others' in a vital web of complex interrelations. *This ethical principle breaks up the fantasy of unity, totality and one-ness*, but also the master narratives of primordial loss, incommensurable lack and irreparable separation. What I want to emphasize instead, in a more affirmative vein, is *the priority of the relation and the awareness that one is the effect of irrepressible flows of encounters, interactions, affectivity and desire*, which one is not in charge of.
>
> This humbling experience of not-Oneness, which is constitutive of the non-unitary subject, anchors the subject in an ethical bond to alterity, to the multiple and external others that are constitutive of that entity which, out of laziness and habit, we call the 'self.' (...) A materialist politics of posthuman differences works by potential becomings that call for actualization. (...) *It actualizes a community that is not bound negatively by shared vulnerability, the guilt of ancestral communal violence*, or the melancholia of unpayable ontological debts, *but rather by the compassionate acknowledgement of their interdependence with multiple others* most of which, in the age of anthropocene, are quite simply not anthropomorphic. [italics mine]

Although one cannot say that Saegusa's position was as affirmative as Braidotti's, I would argue that her view of the community is both what Braidotti is trying to overcome and what she is hoping might come true in the future. This is why I find certain posthuman principles crucial in order to understand Saegusa's stance as it emerges from *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*, since the village in which the story is set embodies the ambivalence towards what the community represents for Saegusa, as I have explained above. To put it in Braidotti's terms, Saegusa's abhorrence of community bonds is due to a fear of the "ancestral communal violence" based on unspoken patriarchal rules, but at the same time it represents the realization of our "self" as constituted of many "others" and in continuous becoming. These others, Braidotti underlines, may be human or non-human. Here her use of the concept of "zoe" emerges. She explains:

> Post-anthropocentrism is marked by the emergence of 'the politics of life itself' (...). 'Life,' far from being codified as the exclusive property or the unalienable right of one species, the human, over all others or of being sacralized as a pre-established given, is posited as process, interactive and open-ended. This vitalist approach to living matter displaces the boundary between the portion of life – both organic and discursive – that has traditionally been reserved for anthropos, that is to say bios, and the wider scope of animal and non-human life, also known as zoe. Zoe as the dynamic, self organizing structure of life itself [...] stands for

> generative vitality. It is the transversal force that cuts across and reconnects previously segregated species, categories and domains. Zoe-centred egalitarianism is, for me, the core of the post-anthropocentric turn: it is a materialist, secular, grounded and unsentimental response to the opportunistic trans-species commodification of Life that is the logic of advanced capitalism (Braidotti 2013: 60).

Clearly, we cannot say that Seagusa was living the same experience of "advanced capitalism" as Braidotti when she was writing *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*. But she definitely foreshadowed some of Braidotti's stances also as far as the basic concept of *zoe* is concerned, which elsewhere in the book Braidotti defines in terms reminiscent of the Great Mother's ambivalently creative and destructive power: "The starting point is the relentless generative but also destructive force of zoe and the specific brand of trans-species egalitarianism which they establish as the grounds for posthuman ethics. It is a matter of forces as well as of ethology" (Braidotti 2013: 140).

In Seagusa's work we find a similar concept to that of "Life itself" through the archetype of the Great Mother or *yamauba* who, as said above, embodies eternal becoming and denies the *dansei genri* of anthropocentrism. I will anticipate here that Seagusa, in my reading, creates all the variations of the *yamauba* we have seen above by changing the focus and experimenting with a new point of view, which no longer takes any human (= male) centrality for granted. Details such as those of the abandoned kittens or the dying dog that crop up in the story confirm my view of the work as an experimental attempt to capture all the aspects of what Seagusa calls *dōitsu*, the "oneness" of beings at the basis of her philosophy – what we might instead call the "not-Oneness" of the subject, borrowing Braidotti's terms. Saegusa, with her *yamauba*, represents not only the "universality beyond gender" which Mizuta Noriko (2002: 24) speaks about in her first work on the *yamauba*, but also beyond species and elements of nature.

At this point, it may be said that Saegusa's thought, as reflected in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari,* foreshadows many aspects of posthuman feminism. This becomes very evident when we examine the central concept of death. I will quote one passage which explains Braidotti's vision of death in connection to *zoe*.

> This means that what we all fear the most, our being dead, the source of anguish, terror and fear, does not lie ahead but is already behind us; it has been. This death that pertains to a past that is forever present is not individual but impersonal; it is the precondition of our existence, of the future. (...) I want to stress instead the productive differential nature of zoe, which means the productive aspect of the life–death continuum. It does not deny the reality of horrors, but rather to re-work it so as to assert the vital powers of healing and compassion (Braidotti 2013: 132).

I find it interesting that Seagusa speaks of time in relation to death, by borrowing the ancient Greek concept of *kairos* in opposition to the rectilinear conception of time embodied by *chronos*, when she wants to underline the eternal flow of life and death in Buddhist terms, as explained above. In doing so, she demonstrates that life (or death) is just an occurrence in the flux of the eternal life of creatures (Yonaha 2014, 151). Instead of *kairos*, Braidotti speaks of *aion* (as the time of Eternal being) in opposition to *chronos*, but the effect of the contrast is similar, also because *kairos* is considered – as a moment of inspired creativeness – part of *aion* in the ancient Greek conception of time (Philippson 1949: 91):

> As an individual occurrence it will come in the form of the physical extinction of the body, but as event, in the sense of the awareness of finitude, of the interrupted flow of my being there, death has already taken place. We are all synchronized with death – death is the same thing as the time of our living, in so far as we all live on borrowed time. The time of death as event is the impersonal continuous present of Aion, perpetual becoming, not only the linear and individualized Chronos. The temporality of death is time itself, by which I mean the totality of time (Braidotti 2013: 133).

In our work, the *yamauba*, a mother and therefore creator, is also a cause of death, but she does not die herself, as she embodies the idea of a continuous present and perpetual becoming – what Braidotti calls the "generative force of zoe – life beyond the ego-bound human" (Braidotti 2013: 133).

In this sense, in my reading not only are the many variations of the *yamauba* – a keyword in this work that is supposedly "female" in gender – a metaphor of the *josei genri*, but so is the other non-human character and male protagonist: Ryō. This is why he roams the mountains like a *yamauba* and constantly metamorphoses intro natural elements before entering the *chūin*, the road to the realm of death, from which they say people cannot come back. Actually we do not know if Ryō will come back and we are left with this doubt, because, in virtue of his non-bodily, non-human nature, he can probably challenge every "rule" created by our individualistic and anthropocentric vision. We also have another group of people who do not pertain to *dansei genri* even if they are of male gender: the old men going to the mountain to commit group suicide. In Braidotti's terms, they embody both aspects of the community, sharing "the melancholia of unpayable ontological debts," but also "the compassionate acknowledgement of their interdependence with multiple others" (Braidotti 2013: 101).

7. *Obasute:* victim or perpetrator?

Here it is important to return to the other theme which emerges in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*: the abandonment of the weak. I have already discussed the abandonment of children, but what I want to stress here is the role of the abandonment of the elderly in this work. Through the metaphor of the *obasute*, Saegusa's novel illustrates the problem of the care of the elderly, which was becoming more and more felt in the 1980s because of the changes in the conception of the family (Kurata 2010: 152). There is no proof that in Japanese history the abandonment of the elderly was an established practice, but it remains strong as an image. In a scene of Saegusa's work, an old man attending Ryō's grandmother's funeral considers the deceased 103-year-old woman lucky, because she was surrounded by her family. He says: "Today, young people do not abandon their parents in the mountains anymore. Instead, they leave the village early. When you look at our village, it's not necessary to look deep into the mountains, because you can find many *obasute* right in front of your eyes"『今日びの若い者は、昔の若い者のよに背負うて捨てにはいかんわ。その代わりに、早目に親捨てして村を出る。わしの村を見とると、姥捨ては、何も深い山奥とは限らん、現在、目の前が姥捨て山じゃ』(Saegusa 1987: 160).

Elderly people who are bedridden or are losing their mental faculties find it difficult to be independent and live alone. Jason Danely, who has studied how the archetype of the *obasute* has been reiterated in different Japanese cultural products, uses the expression "death-in-life" (Danely 2014: 139) to describe this situation where a person is stuck half way between life and death, and obliged to depend on others. For different reasons, the *yamauba* is a liminal figure as well, without a fixed identity, who drifts like a cloud. She is generally considered a perpetrator and indeed becomes one in the prologue of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*. On the contrary, the *obasute* is considered a victim and in the main text appears in this role, both metaphorically and factually, as mentioned in the quotation above. In my reading, the analogy of the *yamauba* and *obasute* in this work serves to relativize the concepts of victim and perpetrator, which in turn are linked to the above idea of the non-Oneness of the subject.

In the main text there is another quotation from the *Prajnaparamita sutra*. It says: 『一切有情、殺害三界不堕悪趣』*issaiujō, satsugaisangaifudaakushu*. It is a sentence which Ryō's grandmother taught him in order to keep the *yamauba* away when walking in the mountains. This time it does not refer to insubstantiality of things, but to the inevitability of killing other beings. This sentence is explained in the narrative from Ryō's point of view with these words: "even if you might kill the creatures of the three worlds, if you recite Han'nyakyō, you cannot fall on the wrong path." 『たとい

三界のあらゆる生き物を殺害しても、大般若経を誦すれば悪道に堕ちない』(Saegusa 1987: 138).

After this explanation, the narrative adds that for Ryō these words save living creatures that are obliged to kill others in order to survive, exactly like him, who is alive thanks to his mother's death. Again, by denying the perpetrator's guilt, he/she is assimilated to the victim. One person brings death and the other receives it, but in Saegusa's work the boundaries between the subject and the object are blurred. In *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* there are some morally unacceptable actions like killing one's daughter-in-law in order to eat, but the downplaying of the guilt created by the fluid narrative construction of the subject allows the reader to accept this act within the economy of the narrative. In so doing, for example the killing of a human being is set on the same level as the killing of kittens, de-hierarchizing all categories of living beings. In an interview, Sageusa underlines that there can be no separation between victim and perpetrator, and she reaches the provocative conclusion that even a rapist can be considered the victim of something, especially in a war (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 2018: 146). As said above, Saegusa often risks offending the sensitivity of victims of crime, but she nevertheless chooses to relativize all situations. This aspect of Saegusa's thought becomes very clear, for example, in the work 『江口水駅』*Eguchi suieki* (1981): its protagonist, an ex-comfort woman, is depicted not as a victim but, on the contrary, as someone enthusiastic about her past as a war prostitute (Moro 2018).

In *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*, the metaphor of *obasute* for old parents, abandoned by their children, who do not wish to take care of them, depicts the elderly as victims; but at the same time we find a grandmother who has killed her grandchild and, in the prologue, elderly parents who kill their daughter-in-law who is taking care of them. These are all different characters, but in the peculiar narrative of *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* there is no real distinction between self and other, dead and alive. Everything is relative and can change, there is no absolute truth. Here the dismantling of modern subjects becomes evident through the Buddhist denial of the self.

Saegusa reflects on human behavior from various points of view without ever justifying or criticizing it. Baba Akiko argues that the *yamauba*'s philosophy is very close to "the poorest, most deeply marginalized people"『「もっとも乏しく、もっとも深く疎外された人々の思想に近い」と明らかになります。』(Baba: 286). Sagusa herself in the above quoted interview (Tamashiro *et al.* 1985: 38) admitted that in her coming narratives she would try to create a world bringing together all 「無辜の者、力のない者」*muko no mono, chikara no nai mono* "creatures without guilt and without power."

This again links the main topic of the work with the ideas of posthumanism, since whereas the *dansei genri* is based on the struggle for power, the *josei genri* must focus on other aspects of human and non-human society and start anew, from a "transformation of the interior through a self-cleansing of male culture" (Nakayama［1986］2006: 152).

8. "Nomori:" a male following the *josei genri*

In order to gain a deeper understanding of this concept of *dansei genri* and *josei genri*, I now wish to analyze the aspect of death from this point of view in relation to another work of Sageusa's, 「野守」 "Nomori," a short story inspired by the *nō* of the same name from the aforemention collection *Nomori no kagami* (Saegusa 1980b). The protagonist is an old man who has lost his wife the year before the narrative starts and the exclusive point of view of the narrative is his narrating "I." He moves in with his son's family and at the beginning he finds it rude that his daughter-in-law makes him do his own laundry, but then he understands how much his wife had been spoiling him, rigidly following the postwar gender roles of the "good wife and wise mother." He then starts reflecting on his wife's life, seeing it from a different perspective, and realizes that she was probably never happy with him, but that she only fulfilled her supposed duties, with little satisfaction. Through the protagonist's recollections, we learn that his wife did not die from the health problem she had, which was a broken leg, but only because she chose to stop eating after becoming bedridden, so as not to be a burden to her family. He soon starts feeling that he himself is probably a burden to his son, and especially to his daughter-in-law, and decides to leave the house and find death, inspired by his wife's decision. Even if he is not very religious, he has the *nō* chant of *Nomori* in mind, and he decides to go on a pilgrimage to a temple in Kyōto in search of the "mirror of Nomori" – a Buddhist expression that means to see what one's eyes normally cannot see. The story ends with him having the vision of two butterflies, representing his wife's soul and his own. As soon as he sees them, he realizes that even if they were emotionally apart when alive, now they are together. He sees the mirror in the hands of a statue of the deity Fudō-Myō-ō, and finds death peacefully on the temple floor.

According to my reading these butterflies are an embodiment of what Saegusa, borrowing an abovementioned Buddhist term, would call *shujō*, all living creatures, an eternal flow into which the narrating "I" finally decides to throw himself, abandoning his ego. This is due to his realizing how he mistreated his wife by exercising power over her and by living within the narrow limits of his *dansei genri*-like mentality. Royall Tyler (1987: 29) summarizes the core of the play *Nomori* with the concept of "non duality of subject and object," which is exactly what the protagonist "learns" throughout the narrative. I would argue that, inspired by his wife's decision, the man also follows her path by

abandoning himself to the *josei genri*, in accordance with nature and the eternal flow of life and death, exactly like in *Murakumo no mura no monogatari* the old men who commit group suicide and the elephant from the legend – mentioned twice in the work– who supposedly knows when it is dying and goes directly where other elephants have ceased to live before.

In 1991 Sagusa wrote an article discussing the novel 『楢山節考』*Narayama bushikō* (The Ballad of Narayama, 1956) by Fukazawa Shichirō. She argued that Fukazawa expresses well the pain a woman feels in her old age and that it is a work which is based on a philosophy close to *josei genri* (Saegusa 1991: 199-201). In this story, a variation on the *obasute* theme, the old woman obliges her son to take her to the mountain to die. In the same article, Saegusa admits that in the past she has tried to depict aging men, but that it is difficult for her as a woman to express the male perception of old age because men do not accept that a woman might depict their weaknesses (Saegusa 1991: 201). Probably one of the works she is referring to in this article is "Nomori" (along with *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*), but I suppose that she has not been successful in depicting men's pain only if we consider this depiction from a *dansei-genri*-centered point of view. If instead we see this novel as an expression of the *josei genri*, the pain that needs to be described is obviously a much lighter one, due to the acceptance that "as event, in the sense of the awareness of finitude, of the interrupted flow of my being there, death has already taken place" (Braidotti 2013: 133).

9. Conclusions

Murakumo no mura no monogatari is not Saegusa's most famous work referring to the figure of the *yamauba*. Rather, this figure is most famously explored in the four-part narrative focusing on the character Hibikiko. Amy Gwen Christiansen – quoted by Carol Fairbanks (2002: 327) – argues that the first work 『響子微笑』*Hibikiko mishō* (Hibikiko's Smile, 1988) "presents a *yamamba* heroine who is autonomous and at the same time fully integrated with her community." Christiansen goes on to summarize all parts of the narrative, which describes Hibikiko's upbringing in a village, and she says that "at every stage of her life [Hibikiko] violates social conventions: she has three children with three different men, never marries, rejects the concept of *filial piety* but, because of her powerful personality derived from her oneness with "the cosmos," she is never ostracized" (Fairbanks 2002: 327). Probably in Hibikiko's narratives the idea of the *yamauba* as unity with nature reaches its peak, as for example in the scene where she feels the mountain inside her body and recalls that when she felt like this in the past, people used to say that she was possessed by the spirit of the *yamauba* (Saegusa 1988: 255). Yonaha argues that Hibikiko's four-part narrative "is a work which expresses the *josei genri* in its ultimate form" (Yonaha 2014: 166).

I believe that *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*, written just one year before the series on Hibikiko, provides an interesting case study for deepening the reflection on the two above-mentioned aspects of the community and the figure of the *yamauba*, both linked to the *josei genri* as a genderless principle. Although the word *josei* can be easily misunderstood as an essentialist term or one suggesting a binary stance, this work shows the possibilities disclosed by the decentralization of (male) power through a different point of view, which is neither simplistic nor banal: a point of view based on the controversial idea of non-duality between victim and perpetrator and on the dismantling of the distinction between human and non-human.

With my analysis I hope to have shown how a work like *Murakumo no mura no monogatari*, which challenges the concept of "human" through the archetype of the *yamauba*, sticks out from the common use of the *yamauba* archetype in literature and can be read from a contemporary point of view such as posthuman theory, "resisting the myth of organicism and holistic harmony, but also capitalist opportunism" (Braidotti 2013: 101).

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Terms of address in the Pubian dialect of Lampung (Indonesia)

Iing Sunarti, Sumarti, Bambang Riadi, and Gede Eka Putrawan

One of Lampung (Sumatra, Indonesia) sub-ethnic groups, the Pubian Lampung people, has unique and varied terms of address equipped with a set of rules to use them. However, despite the great importance of the terms of address of the Pubian dialect of the Lampung language as assets of local and national cultures that need attention, protection and development, few researchers have studied this issue. Hence, this study was aimed at investigating the terms of address used in the Pubian Lampung language. This study, which provides a descriptive analysis of the entire system of terms of address, was conducted through a qualitative approach in which the data were collected through observations and interviews. The results of this study show that the terms of address of the Pubian Lampung language include: 1. kinship terms of address based on blood relation and marriage; 2. non-kinship terms of address used to address conversation partners from the same ethnicity, newly-known/unknown conversation partners from the same ethnicity, known conversation partners from the same ethnicity, conversation partners of different ethnicities, newly-known or unknown conversation partners of different ethnicities, known conversation partners of different ethnicities; 3. terms of address based on family background which include religious, ordinary (non-noble), noble families; 4. terms of endearment; 5. terms of reference; 6. terms of address based on birth order; 7. customary title terms of address based on customary status/rank and marriage; 8. pronouns of address; 9. terms of address of proper names; and 10. religious terms of address. Finally, the implications and limitations of this study with some suggestions for future research are discussed.

1. Introduction

Lampung, a multi-ethnic and multilingual province in Indonesia located in the southernmost tip of Sumatra, is inhabited by a variety of ethnicities. Those who are considered Lampung people (the natives) are the descendants of native Lampung people in Lampung and can use and speak their native language, Lampung (Katubi 2007). Based on their lines of cultural tradition, the Lampung are divided into those who belong and adhere to *Saibatin* tradition and those of *Pepadun* tradition (Puspawidjaja 1982, as cited in Katubi 2007).

The Lampung language, which belongs to a branch of Western Malayo-Polynesian (Frawley 2003), is spoken by around 1.5 native speakers with two main dialects: Lampung Api (also known as

Pesisir, or A-dialect) and Lampung Nyo (also known as Abung, or O-dialect). A third, Komering, which is sometimes considered as a part of Lampung Api, is also considered a different language (IPFS 2017; Wikipedia 2019).

Figure 1. Lampung language map: Yellow: Lampung Api; Blue: Lampung Nyo; Red: Komering (Source: Glottolog 2019; https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/lamp1241.bigmap.html#6/-4.764/105.217 (accessed August 9, 2019)

Lampung Api, spoken by a total of 827,000 Lampung Saibatin people living in the western, central, and southern parts of Lampung Province (Ministry of Education and Culture 2019), is found in particular in the Sekala Brak, Melinting-Maringgai, Pesisir Rajabasa, Pesisir Teluk, Pesisir Semaka, Pesisir Krui, Belalau, Ranau, Komering, Kayu Agung, Way Kanan, Sungkai, and Pubian areas (Sujadi 2012). Lampung Nyo, which is spoken by a total of 180,000 Lampung Pepadun people, is found in the Abung, Sukadana, Menggala/Tulang Bawang, and West Tulang Bawang areas (Sujadi 2012). Table 1 shows the language profiles of both Lampung Api and Lampung Nyo.

	Lampung Api	Lampung Nyo
ISO 639-3I	ljp	abl
Alternate names	Api, Lampong, Lampung, Lampung Pesisir	Abung, Lampong
Speakers	827,000	180,000
Language Status	6a (Vigorous)	6a (Vigorous)
Dialects	Krui, Southern Pesisir, Pubian, Sungkai, Daya, Ranau	Abung, Tulangbawang, Sukadana, Melinting
Language Use	Outside of the city, home and village everyday. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Indonesian [ind].	Home. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Indonesian [ind], especially in education, religion, and civil domains.
Language Development	Dictionary. Grammar. NT [: New Testament]: 2002.	Taught in primary schools as an auxiliary medium. Literature.

Table 1. Language profiles of Lampung Api and Lampung Nyo (from Ethnologue:

Lampung Api http://www.ethnologue.com/language/ljp; last accessed August 10, 2019;

Lampung Nyo https://www.ethnologue.com/language/abl; last accessed August 10, 2019).

The table shows that both Lampung Api and Lampung Nyo are still widely spoken by their speakers, who have positive attitudes towards their languages. The Pubian dialect of Lampung, in particular, is part of Lampung Api. Most of Lampung Pubian people can also speak Indonesian and many of them can speak other native languages of transmigrants such as Javanese and Sundanese. They live in Bandar Lampung city, Tanggamus, the Central Lampung regency, and the South Lampung regency (Joshua Project 2019) as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. The location of Pubian Lampung within Indonesia (Source: Joshua Project, 2019; https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/14465/ID; last accessed August 10, 2019)

The study of the Lampung language has become an important aspect of investigation. Although it is hard to figure out the total number of population on the basis of the ethnic groups in Lampung (Katubi 2006), according to the 1980 census the Lampung province was inhabited by a total of 4,624,238 people, 65% of them being transmigrants and 35% native Lampung people (Puspawidjaja 1987, as cited in Katubi 2006). In other words, native Lampung people are a minority on their home land (Levang 2003, as cited in Katubi 2006); still, as anticipated above, they are reported to still maintain their native language with positive attitudes (Wulandari 2018). According to Astuti (2017), the Lampung language is still widely used in the family and friendship domains (89% and 82% respectively). She further reveals three important factors that make the language at risk of falling out of use: shifts in language domains, lack of linguistic documents, and a small number of native speakers. Therefore, the government of Lampung Province released a Local Regulation of Lampung Province Number 2 Year 2008 on Cultural Maintenance of Lampung. In the regulation, Article 7 states that Lampung language and its script/abugida as elements of cultural wealth must be developed. More specifically, in Article 8 it is stated that the Lampung language must be maintained through its use as language of instruction in educational settings, in government official meetings, introducing and teaching Lampung language in elementary school and in lower as well as upper secondary schools. Another effort made by the local government of Lampung Province was by releasing other local regulations to maintain the language, such as the Local Regulation of the Governor of Lampung Province Number 39 Year 2014 on Lampung Language as a Mandatory Local Content Lesson in Elementary, Primary, and Secondary Schools and the Local Regulation of the Governor of Lampung

Province Number 4 Year 2011 on Maintenance, Development, and Preservation of Lampung Language.

To understand the existence, maintenance, and development of Lampung language, the language has been extensively studied. At schools, a contextual learning strategy can be applied to help primary and secondary schools students learn Lampung language, either Lampung Api or Lampung Nyo, successfully (Agustina 2014). Due to lack of Lampung language learning materials today, a research and development-based study was also done by Warsiyem, Ariyani, and Raja (2016). They made a feasible, valid, and reliable textbook for Lampung language teaching and learning in lower secondary schools which was based on teams games tournament. Seen from the language attitude point of view, native speakers of Lampung language have positive attitude towards their language with regard to the integrative function, while with reference to instrumental function they have negative attitude towards it but positive attitude towards Indonesian (Katubi 2010). However, less attention has been paid to the importance of contexts in Lampung language use. Few researchers have examined the way Lampung people use their language in different social contexts and social relationships. This is important because "the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structure of languages themselves, is through the phenomenon of deixis" (Levinson 1983: 54). Between two traditional categories of deixis, "discourse (or text) deixis and social deixis" (Levinson 1983: 62), this study was focused on social deixis of Lampung Pubian language in particular, including terms of address.

Terms of address have been widely defined by experts. They refer to "words of linguistic expressions that speakers use to appeal directly to their addresses" (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2003: 1). Terms of address can also be defined as "words or expressions used to indicate certain relations between people, or to show the difference in identity, position, and social status" (Esmae'li 2011: 183). By using a certain term of address, the speaker actually shows his/her "feeling of respect, solidarity, intimacy, and familiarity to the other people" (Esmae'li 2011: 184) since the way people address each other is "crucial in marking social relations and is critical to human relationships (Clyne, Norrby, and Warren 2009: 1). In the context of Lampung language, various linguistic terms are used in daily speaking activities called *tutugh/tutor/tutor*, i.e. a call, a way of calling, or addressing family members and/or other relatives (Hadikusuma, Arifin, and Barusman 1996).

The use of terms of address is dependant on some factors. E.g., in the Chinese and English terms of address the choice is also determined by factors due to context, such as who speaks and is addressed, and when, where, and for which intentions (Qin 2008); they are keys to understanding social concepts and relationships. Conversation between people coming from unequal ranks (due to

status in an organization, social class, age, and other factors) is less relaxed and much more formal compared to that of between equal ranks (Trudgill 2000). Therefore, status differences or intimacy determine the choice of different terms of address (Yang 2010). Moreover, the mastery of address forms is needed in order to achieve intercultural communication (Yang 2010). The interrelationships between address forms and cultural values (Mashiri 1999) and between language and culture (Hwang 1991) are inseparable. Afzali (2011) reports that in Iran the way spouses address each other is also influenced by the religious and patriachal society. In addition, the choice of a term of address is also determined by categories such as personal names, general and occupation titles, kinship, religion, honorifics, intimacy, personal pronouns, and descriptive phrases (Aliakbari and Toni 2008). Other social factors such as age, gender, social status, formality, intimacy, and familiarity between the speaker and the addressee (Al-Qudah 2017) and setting, intimacy, and social distance (Keshavarz 2001) also influence the choice of a term of address.

In an informal situation, for example, one may call his/her friend by using his/her nickname such as Tom for Tommy or Mike for Michael. However, in a formal situation, one tends to address someone by their titles such as Mr., Dr.. In addition, terms such as My Dear or My Love are used to show an intimate relationship between the speaker and the hearer (Esmae'li 2011). In Lampung language, the address of *Atu* used by the speaker to address his/her grandfather shows the existence of a kinship between the addresser and the addressee.

It is generally accepted that the use of terms of address plays an important role in the custom of Lampung people. If someone makes use of inappropriate terms of address, he/she can be said to have bad manners. In addition, it will also interfere with the process of communication between the speaker and the hearer. In fact, communication can completely stop due to the use of inappropriate terms of address. As stated by Moghaddam, Yazdanpanah, and Abolhassanizadeh (2013), if someone uses an appropriate term of address, they identify themselves as part of a social group, and the inappropriate use of terms of address can cease a good interaction.

However, despite the great importance of Lampung Pubian language terms of address as assets of local and national cultures that need attention, protection and development, few researchers have studied this issue. So far, the reported study of the Lampung language terms of address covered only a part of the Abung Lampung language (Sunarti, Sumarti, and Riadi 2019). Therefore, an additional study of the Pubian dialect of Lampung was needed in order to have a holistic view of the Lampung language in Lampung, Indonesia. Hence, this study was aimed at investigating the terms of address used by the Lampung Pubian people in the Pubian dialect of the Lampung language.

2. Method

This study adopted a qualitative approach which was conducted through intense contact with participants or informants (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana 2014). The data collection was conducted through field research in a natural setting for observation in detail. Open-ended and informal interviews were also conducted to take detailed notes on a daily basis (Neuman 2014). Speeches uttered by the native speakers of Lampung Pubian language when they were in communication with others were carefully observed. Face-to-face interviews with the informants were also conducted to ask open-ended questions about addressing people including the choice of terms of address, factors taken into account for determining the terms of address, and the customary rules for awarding and using the terms of address. The informants in this study were chosen on the basis of the following criteria:

1. adult or older, not suffering from senility;
2. native speakers of Lampung language;
3. good linguistic knowledge of Lampung;
4. preferably, non-mobile native speakers living in the research site.

To check the accuracy and validity of the collected data, the latter were verified by reporting back to the informants. In addition, triangulating them with the data collection methods and informants was also done because the triangulation is an almost must-do method for confirmation of findings (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana 2014).

The empirical data were then analyzed in three concurrent flows of activity:

1. data condensation;
2. data display;
3. conclusion drawing/verification.

First, the written-up field notes, interview transcripts, and other empirical data were selected, transformed, and coded. Second, the data display, which is part of data analysis, was done to allow conclusion drawing and action. The collected terms of address were compared to one another. The results of the comparison were then referred to as distinctive semantic features. The features were in the forms of speech components that became external or social factors underlying the emergence of various terms of address. The external factors that underlie the emergence of various terms of address also become the distinguishing elements for each meaning of the terms of address used by speakers. These factors are adjusted to the determinants found in the culture of Lampung people. The

factors are in terms of sex (male/female), age (older/above, younger/below, the same age (1, 2, 3, 4, so forth), customary titles (customary institutions, marital status, birth order), origin of family (ordinary family, religious family, noble family or not), level of formality of the relationship (intimate or not), conversation situation (formal or informal), purpose of conversation, endearment, and spirituality. The last flow of analysis was drawing and verifying conclusions (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana 2014).

3. Kinship Terms of Address

3.1. Terms of Address due to Blood Relationship/Ancestry

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
Father			
1.	*Abah*	√	–
2.	*Ama*	√	–
3.	*Ayah*	√	–
4.	*Bapak*	√	–
5.	*Papah*	√	–
Mother			
1.	*Emak*	–	√
2.	*Ibu*	–	√
3.	*Mamah*	–	√
4.	*Umi*	–	√

Table 2. Terms of Address for Father and Mother (Generation +1)

Terms used to address the father (male) in Lampung Pubian language speaking society are *Abah, Ama, Father, Father,* and *Papah*. Terms used to address the mother (female) are *Emak, Ibu, Mamah,* and *Umi.*

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Grandfather		
1.	*Atuk*	√	–
2.	*Atu Ayah*	√	–
3.	*Datuk*	√	–
	Grandmother		
1.	*Atu*	–	√
2.	*Atu Umik*	–	√
3.	*Ambai*	–	√
4.	*Nyaik*	–	√

Table 3. Terms of Address for Grandfather and Grandmother (Generation +2)

The terms used to address the grandfather are *Atuk, Atu Ayah*, and *Datuk*. *Atuk* term of address is a short form of *Datuk*. *Atu Ayah* is a term used to address male interlocutors. The terms used to address the grandmother are *Atu, Atu Umik, Ambai,* and *Nyaik*. *Atu Umik* is a term used to address female interlocutors.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Great-grandparents		
1.	*Uyut*	√	√

Table 4. Term of Address for Great-grandparents (Generation +3)

There is only one term used for addressing great-grandparents, that is *Uyut*, without distinguishing the sex of the interlocutors. In other words, the term *Uyut* applies to both male and female great-grandparents.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Great-grandparents' parents		
1.	*Canggah*	√	√

Table 5. Terms of Address for Parents of the Great-grandparents (Generation +4)

The term used for addressing the parents of the great-grandparents is *Canggah*. The term applies to both male and female parents of the great-grandparents.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Canggah's parents		
1.	*Waghing*	√	√

Table 6. Term of address for Parents of Canggah (Generation +5)

The term used to address both male and female parents of *Canggah* is *Waghing*.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Marital status		Customary title	
		Male	Female	Married	Unmarried	Yes	No
	Father/mother's siblings (Generation +1)						
1.	*Adék*	√	√	√	–	√	–
2.	*Buyah*	√	–	–	–	–	–
3.	*Juluk*	√	√	–	√	√	–
4.	*Papah*	√	–	–	–	–	–
5.	*Paman*	√	–	–	–	–	–
6.	*Pak + Adék*	√	–	–	–	√	–
7.	*Pak Dalom*	√	–	–	–	√	–
8.	*Pak Eran*	√	–	–	–	√	–
9.	*Induk*	–	√	–	–	–	–
10.	*Induk Dalom*	–	√	–	–	√	–
11.	*Mami*	–	√	–	–	–	–

Table 7. Terms of Address for Father and Mother's Siblings (Generation +1)

The terms used to address the father/mother's brother are *Adék, Buyah, Juluk, Papah, Paman, Pak + Adék, Pak Dalom,* and *Pak Eran.* The term *Adék* is used to address the married father/mother's brother and sister, while the term *Jejuluk* is used to address the unmarried father/mother's brother and sister.

The term *Pak Adék* is derived from *Pak + Adék* of the person concerned. For example, if the *adek* of the father/mother's sibling is *Pengiran,* then the person will be addressed by using the term *Pak Pengiran*. The terms *Pak Dalom, Pak Eran*. and *Induk Dalom* are customary terms of address. The terms *Pak + Adék, Pak Dalom,* and *Pak Eran* are short forms of *Bapak + Adék, Bapak Dalom,* and *Bapak Pangeran* respectively. The terms *Buyah, Paman, Papah,* and *Mamih* are non-customary terms of address but integrated loanwords from other languages.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Marital status		Birth order status	
		Male	Female	Married	Unmarried	Ordered	Not
	Siblings						
1.	*Adék*	√	√	√	–	–	–
2.	*Adik*	√	√	–	–	√	–
3.	*Batin*	√	√	–	–	√	–
4.	*Daing*	√	√	–	–	√	–
5.	*Dalom*	√	√	–	–	√	–
6.	*Dik*	√	√	–	–	√	–
7.	*Jejuluk*	√	√	–	√	–	–
8.	*Kanjang*	√	√	–	–	√	–
9.	*Kanjeng*	√	√	–	–	√	–
10.	*Kiay*	√	√	–	–	√	–
11.	*Maha Raja*	√	√	–	–	√	–
12.	*Minak*	√	√	–	–	√	–
13.	*Nama*	√	√	–	–	–	–
14.	*Raja*	√	√	–	–	√	–
15.	*Paksi*	√	–	–	–	–	–

Table 8. Terms of Address for Siblings

There is no difference between terms used to address the brother and the sister. What differentiates them is rather marital status and birth order. The terms of address used are *Adék, Adik, Batin, Daing, Dalom, Dik, Jejuluk, Kanjang, Kanjeng, Kiay, Maha Raja, Minak, Nama, Raja,* and *Paksi*. The term *Adék* is used if the interlocutor is married, while *Jejuluk* is used to address unmarried interlocutor. The terms *Adik, Dik,* and Proper Name are used to address interlocutors who are younger than the speakers. The terms *Kanjeng, Kiay, Daing, Batin, Dalom, Minak, Maha Raja, Raja,* and *Paksi* are terms of address based on birth order.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Marital status		Age		
		Male	Female	Married	Unmarried	Under	Above	Same
	Cousins							
1.	*Adék*	√	√	√	–	√	√	√
2.	*Adik*	√	√	–	–	√	–	–
3.	*Jejuluk*	√	√	–	√	√	√	√
4.	*Kanjeng*	√	√	–	–	–	√	–
5.	Proper names	√	√	–	–	√	–	√
6.	The same terms used to address siblings.	√	√	–	–	–	–	–

Table 9. Terms of Address for Cousins

The terms used to address both the cousin-brother and cousin-sister are *Adék, Adik, Jejuluk, Kanjeng,* Proper Name, and the same terms used to address siblings. *Adék* is used to address if the cousin is married, while *Jejuluk* is used to address if the cousin is unmarried. *Adik* and Proper Name are used if the cousin is younger than the speaker. It is in line with what is stated by Fleming and Slotta (2018, 394) that juniors "use kin terms and not personal names to address their senior kin while senior kin use personal names to address their juniors".

Proper Names are used if the cousin is of the same age or younger than the speaker. The term *Kanjeng* is used to address the elder cousin. The same terms used to address siblings refer to the same terms used to address the speaker's siblings. For example, if the speaker addresses his/her first-born sister by using the term *Kanjeng,* then the speaker also addresses his/her first-born cousin by using the same term.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Marital status		Terms of address	
		Male	Female	Married	Unmarried	Endearment	Not
	Children (Generation -1)						
1.	*Adẻk*	√	√	√	–	–	√
2.	*Anak*	√	√	–	–	–	√
3.	*Cumbu*	√	√	–	–	√	–
4.	*Jejuluk*	√	√	–	√	–	√
5.	*Jangkuna*	√	√	–	–	√	–
6.	Proper names	√	√	–	–	–	√
7.	*Sayang*	√	√	–	–	√	–

Table 10. Terms of Address for Children (Generation -1)

The terms used to address a son or daughter are *Adẻk*, *Anak, Cumbu, Jejuluk, Jangkuna,* Proper Name, and *Sayang*. The term *Adok* is used to address married children, while the term *Jejuluk* is used to address unmarried children. The term *Anak* literally means Child/Children. The terms *Cumbu, Jangkuna* and *Sayang* are terms of endearment.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Marital status		Terms of address	
		Male	Female	Married	Unmarried	Endearment	Not
	Grandchildren (Generation -2)						
1.	*Adẻk*	√	√	√	–	–	√
2.	*Jejuluk*	√	√	–	√	–	–
3.	Proper name	√	√	–	–	–	–
4.	*Sayang*	√	√	–	–	√	–
5.	*Uppu*	√	√	–	–	–	–

Table 11. Terms of Address for Grandchildren (Generation -2)

The terms used to address grandchildren are *Adĕk, Jejuluk,* Proper Name, *Sayang*, and *Uppu.* The term *Adĕk* is used to address married grandchildren, while *Jejuluk* is used to address the unmarried ones. The term *Sayang* is a term of endearment. The term *Uppu* literally means grandchild/grandchildren.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Marital status		Terms of address	
		Male	Female	Married	Unmarried	Male	Female
	Great-grandchildren (Generation -3)						
1.	*Adĕk*	√	√	√	–	–	–
2.	*Jejuluk*	√	√	–	√	–	–
3.	Proper name	√	√	–	–	–	–
4.	*Sayang*	√	√	–	–	√	–
5.	*Tuyuk*	√	√	–	–	–	–

Table 12. Terms of Address for Great-grandchildren (Generation -3)

The terms used to address both great-grandson and -granddaughter are *Adĕk*, *Jejuluk,* Proper Name, *Sayang*, and *Tuyuk.* The term *Adĕk* is used if the great-grandchild is married, while the term *Jejuluk* is used to address the unmarried great-grandchild and *Sayang* is a term of endearment. The term *Tuyuk* literally means great-grandchild/-grandchildren.

3.2. Terms of Address based on Marriage

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Terms of Address	
		Male	Female	Endearment	Not
	Husband				
1.	*Adẻk*	√	–	–	–
2.	*Ayah*	√	–	–	
3.	*Bapak*	√	–	–	–
4.	*Daying*	√	–	–	–
5.	*Kanjeng*	√	–	–	–
6.	*Kiay*	√	–	–	–
7.	*Papah*	√	–	–	–
8.	*Sayang*	√	–	√	√
9.	The same terms as used by children	√	–	–	√
	Wife				
1.	Proper name	–	√	–	–
2.	*Ibu*	–	√	–	–
3.	*Mamah*	–	√	–	–
4.	*Ratuku*	–	√	√	–
5.	*Sayang*	–	√	√	–

Table 13. Terms of Address for Husband and Wife

The terms used to address the husband are *Adék, Ayah, Bapak, Daying, Kanjeng, Kiay, Papah,* and *Sayang*. The terms used to address the wife are Proper Name, *Ibu, Mamah, Ratuku*, and *Sayang*. The term *Ratuku* is a short form of *Ratu Aku*, which literally means *Ratu milikku* or 'Queen of mine.' This form is to express deep affection. Therefore, the term of address *Ratuku* can be used as a term of endearment and so is *Sayang*.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Parents-in-laws		
1.	*Abah*	√	–
2.	*Ama*	√	–
3.	*Ayah*	√	–
4.	*Ibu*	–	√
5.	*Mamah*	–	√
6.	in accordance with what is used by his/her partner	√	√
7.	in accordance with what is commonly used in the family	√	√
8.	*Umik*	–	√

Table 14. Terms of Address for In-laws

The terms used to address in-laws are *Abah*, *Ama*, *Ayah*, *Ibu*, *Mamah*, in accordance with what is used by his/her partner, according to what is usually used in the family, and *Umik*. The terms *Abah, Ama*, and *Ayah* are used to address male in-laws. *Ibu, Mamah* and *Umik* are used to address female-in-law.

The term of address which is 'in accordance with what is used by his/her partner' refers to the use of the same term of address by his/her partner. In other words, if someone uses a certain term, the same is also used by his/her partner. For example, a husband addresses his parents (father and mother) by using the terms *Ayah* and *Ibu*, then his wife/partner will also address her parents-in-law by using the same terms of address *Ayah* and *Ibu*, and vice versa. If a wife addresses her parents (father and mother) by using *Abah* and *Umik*, then her husband/partner will address his wife's parents (his parents-in-law) by using the same terms of address *Abah* and *Umik* as well. The term of address in accordance with what is commonly used in the family refers to the same term of address as used by the family members of his/her in-laws. For example, his/her in-laws' children address their parents by using the terms *Ama* and *Mamah*, then the wife or husband will also address his/her in-laws by using the same terms of address.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Son-/daughter-in-law		
1.	*Adẻk*	√	√
2.	Proper name	√	√
3.	*Mattu*	√	√

Table 15. Terms of Address for Son-/Daughter-in-law

The terms used to address a son- or daughter-in-law are *Adẻk*, Proper Name, and *Mattu*.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
	Co-parents-in-law		
1.	*Sabai*	√	√

Table 16. Terms of Address for Co-parents-in-law (Relationship between parents whose children are married to each other)

The term used to address male or female co-parents-in-law is only *Sabai*.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female	Married	Unmarried
	Brother-/sister-in-law				
1.	*Adĕk*	√	√	√	–
2.	*Jejuluk*	√	√	–	√
3.	Proper name	√	√	–	–
4.	In accordance with his/her status	√	√	–	–

Table 17. Terms of Address for Brother-/Sister-in-law

The terms used to address a brother- or sister-in-law are *Adĕk*, *Jejuluk*, his/her proper name, and in accordance with his/her status. The term *Adĕk* is used to address married brothers-/sisters-in-law, while *Jejuluk* is used to address unmarried brothers-/sisters-in-law. The terms of address in accordance with his/her status mean that the speaker will address his/her brothers-/sisters-in-law according to his/her status or position. For example, his/her brother-in-law is the second child, then the speaker will address the addressee (his/her brother-in-law) by using the term *Kiay*. To take another example, if one's brother-in-law holds a customary title *Pengiran*, then he will be addressed by using the term *Pengiran.*

4. Non-kinship Terms of Address for conversation partners

4.1. Non-kinship Terms of Address for conversation partners from the same ethnicity

To address a newly-known or unknown conversation partner coming from the same ethnicity, Lampung *Pubian* speakers use common terms of address used in their customs by taking into account the sex and age of the person they are speaking with. The terms of address used to address older male conversation partners (fatherhood) are *Bapak* or *Buya*, and *Ibu* (motherhood) is the term used to address a female older conversation partner. In addition, the term of address used to address a female elderly conversation partner is *Nyaik*, and to address a male elderly conversation partner is *Datuk.*

The terms of address for addressing a conversation partner coming from the same ethnicity, both male or female, who is slightly older and newly-known or unknown are *Kakak* or *Kiay*. The term *Kiay* is used to show respect that the conversation partner does not feel offended or that his/her age is not considered old by the speaker. This is a neutral term in Lampung customs.

The terms of address for addressing a conversation partner coming from the same ethnicity both male or female who is newly-known or unknown and younger than the speaker are *Adik* or *Dik*, while *Anak* or *Nak* is used to address a conversation partner who is much younger than the speaker.

The terms used to address a known conversation partner coming from the same ethnicity are the same terms of address used to address relatives or family members.

4.2. Non-kinship terms of address for conversation partners of different ethnicity

To address a newly-known or unknown conversation partner of different ethnicity, the speaker will use common terms of address with respect to the conversation partner's sex and age. The terms of address used to address older conversation partners are *Bapak* for male or *Ibu* for female. In addition, the terms of address used to address elderly conversation partners are *Kakek* for male and *Nenek* for female. To address a slightly older conversation partner, *Kakak, Abang, Mbak*, and *Mas* are used, while to address a conversation partner who is younger than the speaker, *Adik* or *Dik* is used. The term *Anak* or *Nak* is used to address a much younger conversation partner (e.g., school children).

The terms of address used to address a known conversation partner of different ethnicity are general terms of address which are sometimes added with a special term that shows the conversation partner's term of address characteristics or professions. For example, to address a Javanese conversation partner, the speaker will use the terms of address such as *Mbah, Mas,* or *Mbak, Mas Bakso* (Mr. Meatball/*Bakso* vendor), *Mbak Jamu* (Ms. *Jamu* seller). In addition, there are also neutral terms of address for conversation partners coming from all ethnic groups which include *Pak Guru, Bu Guru, Pak Lurah, Pak Camat, Pak Ustad, Pak Imam*, *Om, Tante*. The terms of address for conversation partners of different ethnicity include *Babah, Encik, Tulang, Uda, Uni, Beli, Oda.*

5. Terms of Endearment

The terms of endearment are used to express a very deep affection to other persons/conversation partners as shown in the following Table 18.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
1.	*Cumbu*	√	√
2.	*Jangkuna*	√	√
3.	*Sayang*	√	√

Table 18. Terms of Endearment

The terms of endearment used in Lampung *Pubian* customs are *Cumbu*, *Jangkuna*, and *Sayang*. These terms are used to address children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren both male and female.

6. Terms of Reference

The terms of reference are used to refer to conversation partners who are blood-relatives or in hereditary relationship or relatives by marriage as shown in Table 19.

No.	Terms of Address	Male	Female
1.	*Ulun Tuho* (parents)	√	–
2.	*Abah* (father)	√	–
3.	*Umik* (mother)	–	√
4.	*Datuk* (grandfather)	√	–
5.	*Nyaik* (grandmother)	–	√
6.	*Uyut* (great-grandparents)	√	√
7.	*Canggah*	√	√
8.	*Waghing* (canggah's parents)	√	√
9.	*Anak* (child)	√	√
10.	*Uppu* (grandchild)	√	√
11.	*Uppu* (great-grandchild)	√	√
12.	*Kemaman* (father/mother's sibling)	√	–
13.	*Keminan* (father/mother's sibling)	–	√
14.	*Kajong Mengiyan* (husband)	√	–
15.	*Kajong Kebayan* (wife)	–	√
16.	*Lakau* (brother-/sister-in-law)	√	√
17.	*Puwakhi* (sibling)	√	√
18.	*Kenubi* (cousin)	√	√
19.	*Mettuha* (parents-in-law)	√	√
20.	*Mattu* (son-/daughter-in-law)	√	√
21.	*Sabai* (co-parents-in-law)	√	√
22.	*Naken* (niece)	√	√
23.	*Kelamo* (male cousins)	√	–
24.	*Lebu* (female cousins)	–	√

Table 19. Terms of Reference

The terms of address used to refer include *Ulun Tuho, Abah, Umik, Datuk, Nyaik, Uyut, Canggah, Waghing, Anak, Uppu, Kemaman, Keminan, Kajong, Mengiyan, Kebayan, Lakau, Puwakhi, Kenubi, Mettuha, Mattu, Sabai, Naken, Kelamo,* and *Lebu.* The term *Ulun Tuho* is used to refer to parents.

The term *Abah* is used to refer to male parent (father), while *Umik* is used to refer to female parent (mother). The term *Datuk* is used to refer to grandfather, while *Nyaik* is used to refer to grandmother. The term *Uyut* is used to refer to the parents of grandparents, while *Canggah* is used for the parents of *Uyut*, and *Waghing* is for the parents of *Canggah* both male and female.

The terms used to refer to children are son and daughter, while the term used to refer to both male and female grandchildren or great-grandchildren is *Uppu*. The term for the mother or father's brother is *Kemaman*, while the mother or father's sister is *Keminan*. The term for the husband is *Kajong* (ordinary polite) or *Mengiyan* (very polite). The term for the wife is *Kajong* (ordinary polite) or *Kebayan* (very polite).

The term for the brother- or sister-in-law is *Lakau.* The term for the male or female sibling is *Puwakhi.* The term of reference *Kenubi* is used for male or female cousins. The term *Mettuha* is used to refer to male- or female-in-laws, while *Mattu* is used to refer to the son- or daughter-in-law. The term *Sabai* is used for both male and female *besan* (co-parents-in-law). The term *Naken* is used to refer to male or female nieces. The term *Kelamo* is used for male cousins in which their fathers are from either the father's or mother's sides, while *Lebu* is used for female cousins in which their mothers are from either the father's or mother's sides.

7. Pronouns of Address

No.	Terms of Address	Types of pronouns						Level of politeness	
		Singular			Plural			Very polite	Ordinary polite
		1	2	3	1	2	3		
1.	*Nyak* (I)	√	—	—	—	—	—	-	√
2.	*Sikam* (I)	√	-		-	- -	-	√	-
3.	*Niku* (You)	—	√		—	— —	—	-	√
4.	*Pusekam* (You)	—	√		—	— √	—	√	-
5.	*Ia* (She/He)	—	—		√	— —	—	-	√
6.	*Beliau* (She/He)	—	—		√	— —	—	√	-
7.	*Kham* (We)	—	—		—	√ —	—	-	√
8.	*Kuti* (You)	—	—		—	— √	—	-	√
9.	*Kuti Ghumpok* (All of you)	—	—		—	— √	—	√	-
10.	*Tiyan* (They)	—	—		—	— —	√	√	√
11.	*Gham* (We)	—	—		—	√ —	—	√	√

Table 20. Pronouns of Address

The pronouns of address used in conversation by Lampung Pubian speakers are *Nyak, Sikam, Niku, Pusekam, Ia, Beliau*, *Kham, Kuti, Kuti Ghumpok, Tiyan,* and *Gham*. The pronoun *Nyak* (I) is used as the first person singular pronoun with a level of 'ordinary polite', while the pronoun *Sikam* is used as the first person singular pronoun with a level of 'very polite'. The pronoun *Niku* (you) is used as the second person singular pronoun with a level of 'ordinary polite', while the pronoun *Pusekan* (you) as the second person singular and plural pronoun with a level of 'very polite'.

The pronoun *Ia* (he/she) is the third person singular pronoun with a level of 'ordinary polite', while *Beliau* (he/she) belongs to the third person singular pronoun with a level of 'very polite'. The pronoun *Kham* (we) is the first person plural pronoun which falls into 'ordinary polite' category. The pronoun *Kuti* (you) and *Kuti Ghumpok* (all of you) are the second person plural pronouns. The pronoun *Kuti* is ordinary polite, while *Kuti Ghumpok* is very polite. The pronoun *Tiyan* (they) is the third person plural pronoun which is ordinary polite and very polite. The pronoun *Gham* (we) is the inclusive first- and second-person plural pronoun which is both ordinary polite and very polite.

7. Terms of Address of Customary Titles

The terms of address of customary titles consist of terms of address based on customary ranks and marital status.

7.1. Terms of Address based on Customary Ranks

No.	Terms of Address	Customary Ranks				
		1	2	3	4	5
1.	*Suntan/suttan*	√	–	–	–	–
2.	*Pengiran*	–	√	–	–	–
3.	*Raja/Ghaja*	–	–	√	–	–
4.	*Ratu/Ghatu*	–	–	–	√	–
5.	*Minak*	–	–	–	–	√

Table 21. Terms of address based on Customary Ranks

The Pubian Lampung speakers recognize differences in social levels or social stratification. To recognize one's customary rank from one another can be done by looking at the differences of the terms of address used. The term *Suntan/Suttan* is used to address people from the first customary rank, the term *Pengiran* is used to address people from the second customary rank, the term *Raja/Ghaja* is used to address people from the third customary rank, the term *Ratu/Ghatu* is used to address people from the fourth customary rank, and *Minak* from the fifth customary rank.

7.2. Terms of Address based on Marital Status

The terms of address based on marital status can be divided into two, *Jejuluk* and *Adék.* The *Jejuluk* term of address is given to newborn children. This term of address is always in use as long as the person does not get married. The awarding of the term *Jejuluk* is carried out during the *akikahan* event while shaving the baby's hair. This event is called *Marhabanan.* In the *akikahan* event, the baby parents slaughter two goats for sons and one for daughters. The examples of *Jejuluk* title are as follows:

- Name : Yunita Sari
- *Jejuluk* : *Pengiran Permai*
- Name : Ahmad Yusuf
- *Jejuluk* : *Raja Puhunan*

The *Adék* term of address is given to married individuals. The awarding of this title is at the time of the wedding day or at a special occasion deliberately held for the awarding of the title *Adék.* The title is given by the leader of the *adat* (The Council of Traditional Lampung Elders) and/or it is given by the oldest male brother of the descendant of the father and mother.

For examples:

- Proper name : Hi. M. Idris Thaib
- *Adék* : *Suttan Ghaja Yang Tuan*
- Proper name : Hj. Nursila
- *Adék* : *Suttan Ghaja Indoman*
- Proper name : Antoni
- *Adék* : *Ghatu Sempurna*

8. Terms of Address based on Birth Order

The terms of address based on birth order in Lampung Pubian community can be used to address siblings both male and female as shown in Table 22.

No.	Terms of Address	Sex		Birth order						Line of descent	
		Male	Female	1	2	3	4	5	6	Nobles	Non-nobles
1.	*Kanjang*	√	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	√
2.	*Kanjeng*	√	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	—	√
3.	*Maha Raja*	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	—
4.	*Raja*	√	—	—	√	—	—	—	—	√	—
5.	*Kiay*	√	√	—	√	—	—	—	—	—	√
6.	*Ratu*	—	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	—
7.	*Daing*	√	√	—	—	√	—	—	—	—	√
8.	*Batin*	√	√	—	—	—	√	—	—	—	√
9.	*Minak*	√	√	—	—	—	—	√	—	—	√
10.	*Dalom*	√	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	—	√

Table 22. Terms of Address based on Birth Order

The terms of address based on birth order used include *Kanjang, Kanjeng, Maha Raja, Raja, Kiay, Ratu, Daing, Batin, Minak*, and *Dalom*. The terms *Kanjang, Kanjeng, Kiay, Raja, Daing, Batin, Minak*, and *Dalom* are generally accepted (ordinary) terms of address in Lampung Pubian families. The terms *Maha Raja, Raja*, and *Ratu* are used in noble families. The term *Kanjang* or *Kanjeng* is used to address the first-born son or daughter in ordinary (non-noble) families. The term *Maha Raja* is used to address the first-born son in noble families, while *Ratu* is used to address the first-born daughter in noble families.

The term *Raja* is used to address the second-born person in noble families. The term *Kiay* is used to address the second-born son or daughter in ordinary (non-noble) families. *Daing* is for the third-born son or daughter. *Batin* is for the fourth-born son or daughter in ordinary (non-noble) families. Minak is for the fifth-born son or daughter in ordinary (non-noble) families. *Dalom* is for the sixth-born son or daughter in ordinary (non-noble) families. Finally, the seventh-born son or daughter and so forth is only addressed by using his/her own proper name.

9. Proper Names and Religious Terms of Address

Proper names are given to each individual as an identity of the individual. The proper names that exist in Lampung Pubian people are similar to those in other ethnic groups, for example: Nur Maya Sari, Yosi Gustina, Rosdiana, Edyson Sulaiman, Muhammad Daud, Elly Syarifah, Halimah, Desiana, etc.

The people of Lampung Pubian highly respect people who play an important role in the field of religion that they give a certain term of address to those who get involved in it.

For example:

- *Pak Imam* refers to the person who usually leads while praying in congregation (the *Imam*).
- *Ustad* or *Pak Ustad* refers to the person who usually teaches how to recite Quran.
- *Pak/Bu/Mak Haji* refers to the person who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

10. Conclusion

The terms of address of Lampung Pubian language include:

1. kinship terms of address based on blood relation and marriage;
2. non-kinship terms of address used to address conversation partners from the same ethnicity, newly-known/unknown conversation partners from the same ethnicity, known conversation partners from the same ethnicity, conversation partners of different ethnicities, newly-known or unknown conversation partners of different ethnicities, known conversation partners of different ethnicities;
3. terms of address based on family backgrounds which include religious, ordinary (non-noble), noble families;
4. terms of endearment;
5. terms of reference;
6. terms of address based on birth order;
7. customary title terms of address based on customary status/rank and marriage;
8. pronouns terms of address;
9. terms of address of proper names;
10. religious terms of address.

It can be stated that the choice of terms of address in Lampung Pubian language are dependant on several factors as mentioned in the findings above. As in traditional hierarchy of Balinese society, the choice of terms of address is not only influenced by different social status and the thing being talked about (the referent), but also the relation to the addressee (Arka 2005). It is also in line with what is revealed by Kusumastuti (2018) in Chinese and Javanese cultures that "similar social distribution of power relations, solidarity that leads to intimacy, and formality" exist in both cultures (Kusumastuti 2018: 388). As stated by Holmes (2013: 14), in addition to the relationship between the speaker and the hearer and intimacy, selecting appropriate terms of address is also affected by several factors such as "family norms of address between children and parents at different stages, audience (who is listening?), social context (is it formal or public, or private or personal)."

In addition to interpersonal relationships, context also plays a significant role in the choice of terms of address as in Chinese and English which is dependant on who, when, where, to whom, and for what intention the term is used (Qin 2008). Therefore, "language is sensitive to its social context" (Keshavarz 2001: 16) and "any given instance of language is inextricably bound up with its context of situation (Montgomery 1993, as cited in Keshavarz 2001: 1). The choice of a term of address also gives information about the relationship between society and its language as well as how one supposes his/her relationship with other people within his/her society (Özcan 2016). Therefore, how one uses a term of address may provide information about his/her social background (Holmes 2013).

This study has some implications for the preservation of Lampung Pubian language. This study also provides input to identify, maintain, and develop the language and culture of Lampung in general. Therefore, various parties such as linguists, policy makers, and the society are expected to make efforts to maintain and preserve the local wisdom because Lampung language in general is said to have the possibility to be extinct in 75 to 100 years (Gunarman 1994, as cited in Gunarwan 2002). It makes sense since native speakers of Lampung language are in the minority on their home land (Levang 2003 as cited in Katubi 2006), only 35% out of 4,624,238 inhabitants (Puspawidjaja 1987, as cited in Katubi 2006). Moreover, the transmigrants coming from other ethnic groups such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese who were born and grew up in Lampung are reported to find it hard to speak in Lampung language (Septianasari 2016). Therefore, to maintain minority languages, a sophisticated interdisiplinary language management is highly needed in response to the issues that can be done by "decision makers at different levels – individuals, families, traditional organizations (*adat*), and government institutions" (Arka 2013: 74).

However, this study is not without its limitations. Although it has been able to describe the terms of address of the Pubian Lampung language and to enrich the sociolinguistic studies on Lampung, and the Pubian Lampung language terms of address in particular, other points need to be looked at in the future. Therefore, additional studies of lexical relations in Lampung language should be conducted. In addition, for more reliable and precise findings, a mixed-methods approach can be applied to get both quantitative and qualitative data that complement each other.

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Reviews

Horst Beinlich (ed.). 2013. *9. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Kultabbildung und Kultrealität. Hamburg, 27. September-1. Oktober 2011* ("Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3/4"). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 1-391. ISBN 978-3-447-10004-5.

The publication presents the papers of the "9. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung," which took place from 27th September to 1st October 2011 in Hamburg. The theme were the mutual relationships of cult representation and cult reality. The volume contents can be described as follows:

Silke Caßor-Pfeiffer ("'Milch ist es, es ist kein Wasser darin.' Bemerkungen zu den Szenen des sogenannten Übergießens der Opfergaben mit Milch in Philae und den unternubischen Tempeln," 5-22) looks at the scene of the milk sacrifice in Philae and the Lower-Nubian temples. The pouring of the offerings with milk occurs only in two scenes in Philae and Kalabscha and one scene in Dendur (6). The scenes in Philae are located on the western side of the south wall of the hall and the western north wall of the naos of the Isis temple and depict the king at the sacrifice before Osiris (6). The libation from a "ḥś.t"-vase with a situla under the sacrificial table is attested for the first time in the chapel of Ergamenes II. in Dakke and Adichalamani in Debod between 218 and 170 BC (11). In the case of the liquid in the "ḥś.t"-vase, according to the author, it does not necessarily have to be milk (12-13). The situla may have served in Philae as a region-specific libation vessel for milk (17).

Andreas Effland ("'Das Herz ist zufrieden in Abydos.' Bild und Befund in Relief und Ritual," 23-44) draws the attention to heart-shaped vessels in relief and ritual. In two-dimensional representations, ritual scenes with this form of vessel can be found in the temple of Sethos II./Abydos, temple of Ramses II./Abydos and the temple of Sethos I./Qurna (24). The archaeological sources contribute heart-shaped vessels from Umm el-Qaab of the Ramesside period (26). The decoration on the vessels can be divided into two types: a) image and text with Osiris and the adorant and short prayers; b) mythologizing ritual texts (27).

Thomas Gamelin ("Le rituel de fondation des temples. Jeux d'images et jeux de placement," 45-58) carries out an analysis of the ritual of temple foundation. The ritual can be roughly divided into six stages, which partially show the king directly during rope stretching and brick making (43-46).

Erhart Graefe ("Bemerkungen zu den Vignetten von Tempelszenen als 'abstracts' des Ritualverlaufs," 59-74) argues for the interpretation of the vignettes of temple scenes as "abstracts" of the ritual process. The vignettes of the so-called sacrificial scenes are interpreted as a pictorial

summary for complex ritual or symbolic acts (60). The crushing of red vessels is associated with the phenomenon of the execration texts (64).

Jan-Peter Graeff ("Gauopferprozessionen – Bild und Realität einer Textkategorie am Beispiel des Tempels von Edfu," 75-88) gathers information on offering processions of the nomes, using the example of the temple of Edfu. The beginnings of the procession go back to the early New Kingdom (73). In the time after Ptolemy VIII., the text and scene categories were structured more strongly, and this lasted until the trajanic period (73). The majority of statements in the nome processsions are supposed to be symbolic (86).

Rolf Gundlach ("Die ägyptischen 'Wirklichkeiten' in Kultpolitik und Kult," 89-98) offers his view of Egyptian realities in cult politics and cult performance. The components of a temple are fanned out in: 1. location/environment, 2. architecture, 3. decorations, 4. cult devices, 5. actions (89-91).

Holger Kockelmann ("Zur Kultpraxis auf Philae, Aussagen der Tempeldekoration und dokumentarischer Befund im Vergleich," 99-130) refers to the cult practice on Philae. In the hieroglyphic texts and graffiti, the birth festival of Isis is mentioned most frequently (100). The trip to the tomb of Osiris on Bigge may have belonged early to the Isis-Osiris-cult on Philae (103). The relatively large number of temples for local gods is a special feature of the temple island (108). The second most popular goddess besides Isis is Hathor (109). The alleged competition between the Philae and Aswan temples probably does not reflect reality (111). The Arensnuphis temple at the southern end of the festival court may have served as the starting point for the Hathor-Tefnut procession (116).

Kirsten Konrad ('Mein Name bleibt auf Erden..., ich bin (ja) Ihj...' Bemerkungen zu einer einzigartigen königlichen Kniefigur (Kairo CG 1201)," 131-148) turns her attention to the royal kneeling figure Kairo CG 1201. The restrained sistrum can be considered a singular attribute for a royal statue (131). The cartridges identify the person depicted as Ramses II. (131). The two illustrations of the young sistrum bearers in the inscriptions are probably to be seen as a representation of the god Ihi (131). The theological conception of the object is intended to express the two regeneration phases of the daily sun-course and the annual flood of the Nile (140). The mention of the memphitic Hathor as a sistrum deity could speak for the city as site of the statue (142).

Eleonora Kormyschewa ("Der Gott Horus in den nubischen Tempeln der 18. Dynastie," 149-176) discusses the god Horus in the Nubian temples of the 18th dynasty. The construction of temples for local Horus forms begins in Nubia in the time of Hatschepsut/Thutmosis II. (148). In temple rites of Horus of Buhen, the pouring of sand before the god played an important role (150).

Andrea Kucharek ("Das *Große Dekret* und die Osiriskapelle von Dendera," 177-192) makes a comparison between the "Great Decree" and the Osiris chapel of Dendera. The "Great Decree" is the

only Osiris liturgy with lamentations of Isis and Nephthys outside the embalming hall (177). In both sources, 25th Choiak is said to be the date of the ritual execution (177). Contrary to the "Decree," the complaints about Osiris do not occur in Dendara Chapel Ouest 2 (180). The "Decree" and the wall decorations of the chapel are an explicit source for the rites of the Osiris burial (181).

Dieter Kurth ("Textliche Aussagen zur Kultrealität in Tempelinschriften griechisch-römischer Zeit," 193-204) examines the truthfulness of textual statements on the cult-reality in temple inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman period. The complete authenticity of the texts with the exhortations to the serving priests is emphasized (193). The mention of the engraved crocodiles in the texts for the production of enemy images agrees with engraved crocodiles on Horus stela (195). The king´s supine position in the recitation may be compared to a scene in the tomb of Horemheb, in which an Asiatic prisoner on his back pleads for clemency (198). The ritual slaughtering of the hippo was apparently carried out naturally on an hippopotamus-shaped cake (199).

Alexandra von Lieven ("Darstellungen von Götterstatuen als Dekor in Krypten und Sanktuaren," 205-234) focuses on depictions of gods as decor in crypts and sanctuaries. The depictions can be subdivided into type 1 – with inscriptions of the names of the gods and measures/sizes – and type 2 – with sole inscriptions of the god names (205). In temples with statue representations there is a local selection of gods or divine forms (208). The pseudoepigraphic "Stele of the daughter of Cheops" may be a monument by Isis priests of the Late Period in support of their own claims (219).

Benoit Lurson ("Zwischen Kultabbildungen und Kultrealität: Die Rolle der ikonographischen Dynamik," 235-266) speculates on the role of iconographic dynamics in cult images and cult reality. The reign of Ramesses II. seems to be a clear turning point in the development of the representation of the statuettes with anointing-vessel sacrificed by the king, since here the sphinx form of statuettes is more widespread (228). The anointing of the deity by the king is recorded under Niuserre, Amenhotep I, and Hatschepsut, with the regent taking the fingers of the raised hands for help (231). In the times of Thutmosis III. a change begins by which the king bears the anointing vessel between his raised hands (231). In the times of Amenhotep III., the ointment is pictured as it flows out of the vessel and pours itself over the deity (232). In the Ramesside period, the king is preferably dressed in a long apron during the anointing (235). The representation of the Maat-offering is apparently documented for the first time under Hatschepsut (236). In the New Kingdom, changes of the temple iconography can be observed, especially at the beginning of the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties (245).

Laetitia Martzolff ("Les 'trésors' des temples de Philae et d'Edfou," 267-284) deals with selected examples of treasure chambers in Greco-Roman temples. In Edfu, the treasury is housed in the eastern area of the great temple (262). In Dendera there were two treasuries, of which treasury Q was near the

sanctuary and treasury D in the western part of the second hypostyle room (263). In Kom Ombo, the treasury is located in one of the chapels of the secret passage (263). The treasure chambers could be named with different terms such as *pr-ḥḏ, ś.t-nfr.t, ꜥbꜣ-ḏfꜣw, wḏꜣ, śḥ, stii.t, ꜥꜣy.t* (263).

Andreas H. Pries ("Ritualvollzug im Spiegel der überkommenen Tradition, oder: wie festgelegt war die altägyptische Kultpraxis tatsächlich?" 285-302) reflects on the standardization of the ancient Egyptian cult practice. The formally related ceremonies could have quite different documentation modes in the picture (281). In the ritual representations, sequence variants and the loss of certain rites were apparently no exception (286). In the case of larger complexes, it seems that short and long versions as well as secondary traditions exist (293).

Martina Seifert ("Kultabbildung und Kultrealität: der Parthenonfries und die Reliefs der Telemachos-Stele in Athen als Beispiel für visuelle Kommunikation," 303-324) questions the Parthenon frieze and the role of the reliefs of the Athener Telemachos-Stele for visual communication. The author does not believe in the actual performance of cult on the Parthenon frieze (301), and sees in the Parthenon frieze a medium for visual communication with and among the visitors of the sanctuary (301). The Telemachos-Stele records the introduction of the Asklepios cult in Athens in 420 BC.

Christophe Thiers ("Le temple de Ptah à Karnak: remarques préliminaires," 325-348) offers his reflections on the temple of Ptah in Karnak. The history of the temple covers the period from Thutmosis III. to Tiberius (321).

Martina Ullmann ("Architektur und Bildprogramm des Tempels von Amada: Zur Problematik der Rekonstruktion von Kultrealität," 349-372) traces the architecture and picture program of the temple of Amada. The erection of the temple is largely due to Thutmosis III. (344), and the freestanding building has an ideal cult axis extending from east to west (347). The most striking feature of the image program is for the author the juxtaposition of Thutmosis III. and Amenophis II. on the one side and Re-Harachte and Amun-Re on the other (349). The two kings are portrayed as cult worshipers as well as recipients of divine benefits (353). The juxtaposition of Re-Harachte and Amun-Re is here attested in Lower Nubia for the first time (358).

Finally, Hana Vymazalová and Filip Coppens ("The Clothing Ritual in the Royal Temples of Abusir. Image versus Reality," 373-378) follow the footsteps of the clothing ritual in the royal temple of Abusir. The general arrangement of the Abusir papyri works well with the directories of cult statues and other objects on temple walls in the 1st millenium BC (369). The number of statues of Chentkaus II. in the papyri can be estimated to be at least 10 (370). The majority of the linen gifts to the royal statues were later divided among the temple staff (373), while the statue ritual consists of the following: 1. unveiling, 2. cleaning, 3. dressing, 4. decorating, and 5. incensing (374).

The volume makes an ambivalent impression: the contributions can from a scientific point of view be considered partly good and partly less good. The writing style is not always characterized by the required conciseness, and in some cases the texts should have been better edited.

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Tony K. Stewart. 2019. *Witness to Marvels. Sufism and Literary Imagination.* Oakland: University of California Press. 300 pages. ISBN 978-0-52030-633-2. Price: $39.95. Available from: www.luminosoa.org. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.76

The scope of the monograph *Witness to Marvels. Sufism and Literary Imagination* is not as broad as the title might suggest; it focuses exclusively on the fantastic world of the legendary *pīrs,* the *sūphī*[1] saints of Bengal. The texts analysed in this book enter the category of *kathā* (fictional narration) that became popular with the advent of inexpensive printing in the late 19th century, although the stories are thought to have originated much earlier.

The content is divided in six chapters, in which the author intertwines his presentation of those extremely intricate narrations with their analysis and inscription in the general context of literary theory. The synopsis of several representative stories, featuring such figures as Satya Pīr, Mānik Pīr, Bonbibī or Baḍa Khān Gāji, is detailed, even painstaking, with frequent quotations in extenso. Such a work, requiring also from the reader a considerable amount of patience, is fully justified, since the texts brought into the limelight are not known to the wider academic audience and have been marginalised, if not ignored, in the existing scholarship. In the Preface, Tony K. Stewart speaks of *agnotology,* "the study of our intellectual blind spots" (xiv); undoubtedly, the study of those fantastic adventures standing so far from any Islamic orthodoxy may be seen as an agnotological exercise. What is more, the appreciation of such a peculiar form of literature is an important contribution to a more encompassing and profound understanding of the Islamic culture composing the whole that Shahab Ahmed has recently qualified as the Balkans-to-Bengal complex.[2]

On the other hand, a painstaking account of all the marvellous intricacies is an indispensable preliminary step toward the appreciation of the imaginary world these narrations create. This is why, in Chapter One, the reader is confronted with the endless meanders of Satya Pīr's conception and miraculous double birth, first from the womb of his mother, Cāndbibī (who descended from heaven especially to give birth to the saint), and then from a turtle's egg. The detail that Cāndbibī was

[1] The author uses a specific Bangla transliteration also for the terms that are equally applied to other areas of the Islamicate world. Such a convention serves to underline strictly localised understanding of these terms, whose semantic fields in the Bengali context do not correspond exactly to their general, universalised meaning.

[2] Cf. Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2016.

impregnated as she inhaled the fragrance of a special flower sent to her by God while she was bathing in a river gives the taste of the peculiar type of imagination and idiosyncratic logical structure characterising the *kathā.*

Chapter Two brings forth the story of Mānik Pīr that serves as a further exemplification of the genre of Bengali hagiographic narration that the author analyses in terms of autotelic fiction, criticizing the judgement of conservative reformers, ready to dismiss those tales as sheer nonsense. Inadvertently, those Orientalists who failed to pay sufficient scholarly attention to this form of culture and the specific dimension of Islamic experience in Bengal of which it testifies subscribe for this misconception. Meanwhile, Tony K. Stewart strives to overcome the idiosyncrasy of the typically Bengali cultural expression connecting *kathā* with the Western tradition of literary theory and criticism, quoting such names as Tzvetan Todorov (that appear in this context as a theoretician of the marvellous) and Northrop Frye. Frye's classical book, *The Secular Scripture,* serves as a good starting point for the study of Bengali texts, since it is especially concerned with the narrative structure; this is why the theory, popular among the scholars of European literature in the 1970s and 1980s, is regarded as a valid legacy, ready to be employed in a new context. Just to give an example, the points of coincidence between Frye's conclusions and the Bengali stories may imply such narrative elements as divine interventions to impel the action or cases of lost identity leading to gender confusion.

Also the following chapters are built upon quite a well-known theoretical basis, created, among others, by Linda Hutcheon dealing with such concepts as intertextuality and parody. Nonetheless, the use of those rather traditional, routine theoretical approaches in literary studies remains productive, since the material that Tony K. Stewart offers to the reader is so fresh and unexplored. Establishing the link between the well-known (theory) and the unknown (analysed texts), the author inscribes the Bengali literature in a broad context and overcomes its marginalisation. Certainly, the association of *kathā* with the genre that the Western literary critics qualified as *romance* may be seen as a form of Eurocentrism. Yet on the other hand, the imaginary world of *pīrs* and *bibīs* finds its idiosyncratic expression due to the use of the same narrative strategies and genres that remain at the heart of such literary traditions as the Sanskrit epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata,* the Persian *Shāh Nāmeh,* as well as Buddhist tales. If there is a hidden universalist stance in Stewart's book, this literary universalism is at least not entirely Eurocentric.

The story of Badar Pīr analysed in the Chapter Three, in which local gods and goddesses seem to coexist with Islamic imagination of angels and the Prophet as a direct interlocutor of God, is presented as a parody, rather than an example of syncretism, a term with which Tony K. Stewart remains cautious. To resume and simplify the author's argument, the adventures of Badar are shown as parallel

to the *vaiṣṇav* mythology speaking of the diverse avatars of Viṣṇu or the amorous relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Badar Pīr charms the women, attracted by his personal charisma, just as gallant Kṛṣṇa would do, in spite of his mission implying ascetic practices. He offers first fruits to Āllā, in parallel to the *pūjā* offered to *hinduyāni* gods and goddesses. The coincidence is analysed in terms of parody rather than hypothetical fusion of religious beliefs or interpenetration of their imaginary worlds. Building upon the well-known conclusions of Bakhtin, the author argues that establishing an intertextual relationship with an older convention or precursor narration, the Islamicised version provides a critique of the parodied material: the new text "disturbs and reveals the gaps in prevailing ideologies" (92). What is more, such a criticism is bivalent, since the tales counting the lives of imaginary *pīrs* may also parody the hagiographic narrations of the historical ones, those actually involved in the propagation of Islam.

Subscribing for the conclusions that had been formulated by Linda Hutcheon, Tony K. Stewart treats the parody as a testimony of cultural sophistication, since it relies on considerable competence of the public. He associates the tales of the *sūphī* saints with the great movement of vernacularization in Bengal, once again leading the reader quite far away from the dismissive attitude toward the *pīr kathā* that arguably used to characterise both the Islamic reformers and the Orientalists. Be that as it may, the proper appreciation of the analysed material requires, as Tony K. Stewart argues, an awareness of the ironic dimension of the text, delivering a critique of the prevailing discourse present in its social and cultural background.

Still in the Chapter Three, an interesting passage is dedicated to the analysis of the possible relationship between the imaginary physiology evoked in *pīr kathā* texts and esoteric *tantrik* traditions. Tony K. Stewart proposes to treat the matter as a sort of elaborate literary joke having no other meaning and aim than just to held up to ridicule the "twilight language" *(sandhya bhāṣā)* used by certain categories of people: "[...] the apparent technical expressions are a kind of pidgin mumbo jumbo, a parody of twilight language [...]. In much the same manner as the gesture toward linguistically unviable Arabic versions of the *shahāda* [...], these riddles may not indicate a specific content, but true to their fictional quality, allude to a type of understanding that would always be obscure to the reader or listener, but would be immediately identifiable as part of an esoteric discourse of *sūphīs* and other ascetic groups – expressions intended to mystify because ordinary readers or auditors could never be expected to understand" (107).

In Chapter Four, using the metaphorical key concept of "mapping the *Imaginaire,*" the author discusses the intersection between the self-contained textual world and local geography and history. Once again, this attempt at exploring the frontier between the "fictional" and the "real" is indebted to

the literary studies of the 1970s and the 1980s; it might be seen, to a considerable extent, as anachronistic in today's humanities, were it not for the freshness of the Bengali material brought into the limelight. The central figure of this chapter, a female saint Bonbibī, heroine of Mohāmmad Kather's *Bonbibī jahurā nāmā* (a late-nineteenth-century production), captivates the attention of the reader not only because of the gender variation of the *pīr kathā* predominant scheme and Bonbibī's impersonation of the matriarchal authority, but partially also because of her presence in the Amitav Ghosh's novel *The Hungry Tide* and her importance for the present day environmental discourse in the Sunderban mangrove swamps. Once again, the analysis points out to the parodistic dimension of the text; namely, the tale parodies the genre of *maṅgal kāvya* romance.

Chapter Five focuses on yet another story circulating in various versions attested between the 18th and the 19th century: that of Baḍa Khān Gāji. Also in this case, the network of intertextual connections is dense. Tony K. Stewart links it to *Rāmāyaṇa* and the tales of Gaurī and Hara, and also to the Persian figure of Rostam and more generally, to the culture of *bazm* and *razm,* feasting and fighting. The conclusions of this chapter lead toward the reflection on the intersemiotic nature of the process that not only creates vernacular translation of Arabic and Persian concepts, but also inscribes them in shared metaphoric worlds defined by Roman Jakobson. The intersemiotic dimension of those translated concepts extends to intersecting mythologies, rituals and theologies.

Finally, the last chapter deals with the pragmatics of *pīr kathā* and its importance for a social discourse that goes beyond the usual Hindu-Muslim binary. The author completes his analysis of the autotelic, self-contained imaginary narration with its inscription in the identity politics of Bengal across the last two centuries. Obviously, the phantasmagoric tales are very distant from the orthodox Islamic world view; nonetheless, the author concludes that they convey some general notions and ideals such as that of religious commitment. The texts operate through symbolic images, as well as the very process of intertextuality and parody analysed in previous chapters: "To invoke a precursor is to engage with its presuppositions, positively or negatively, to share or share in part its positions on key cosmological and pragmatic issues, which inevitably formulate an ethical position. As a result, these parodies mimic, for better or worse, the beliefs and practices that are associated with those other texts in the ordinary world of things" (190). The holy heroes and heroines of the stories, "key technicians of the sacred" as Tony K. Stewart calls them (193), foster a constant negotiation of standards in a multi-religious context characterised by a plurality of ethnic and social distinctions, modes of behaviour, rules and obligations.

Being such a detailed presentation of a textual corpus that is virtually unknown to the larger academic audience, Stewart's book makes a slow reading, addressed to the specialists in the first place.

Yet on the other hand, the author invests a lot of effort in such a contextualisation of his material that might foster its inclusion in the larger landscape of world literature and literary criticism. Undoubtedly, these aspects make his monograph a truly groundbreaking endeavour, even if it is not entirely free of shortcomings; constant reference to classical literary theory, with no visible effort of introducing state-of-the-art approaches may eventually be seen as one. Nevertheless, the book opens a new, fascinating field of exploration.

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