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Perception of Student-Athletes

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Highlights

Jewish Question in Hannah Arendt

Zbynek Zbyslav Stransky's Museological

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Método e Questão Judaica em Hannah Arendt

By Romildo Gomes Pinheiro Gomes Pinheiro

Abstract- The article seeks to identify the methodological core of the Origins of Totalitarianism in the ideological origins of German misery. It then demonstrates how this perspective is mobilized in book 1 of the Origins of Totalitarianism, dedicated to the rise of modern anti-Semitism.

Keywords: *arendt, metod, anti-semitism.*

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Método e Questão Judaica em Hannah Arendt

Romildo Gomes Pinheiro Gomes Pinheiro

Resumo- **O artigo procura identificar o núcleo metodológico das Origens do Totalitarismo nas origens ideológicas da miséria alemã. Demonstra, em seguida, como esta perspectiva é mobilizada no livro 1 das Origens do Totalitarismo, dedicado ao surgimento do anti-semitismo.**

Palavras chave: *arendt, método, anti-semitismo.*

Abstract- **The article seeks to identify the methodological core of the Origins of Totalitarianism in the ideological origins of German misery. It then demonstrates how this perspective is mobilized in book 1 of the Origins of Totalitarianism, dedicated to the rise of modern anti-Semitism.**

Keywords: *arendt, metod, anti-semitism.*

I. Questões de Método

As *Origens do Totalitarismo* foi publicado em 1951. Este grande livro na verdade é constituído por três livros, cuja densidade conceitual e histórica pode ser lida independentemente dos demais. Ao mesmo tempo, os três livros são articulados, e a questão que passa então a ser objeto de discussão é como encadeá-los em um todo explicativo. E, enfim, se, do ponto de vista metodológico, há um princípio comum que unifica a perspectiva de Arendt nas OT. Dado os limites do presente texto, em relação à primeira tarefa, explorarei somente o livro 1 sobre o anti-semitismo. Já para a segunda, de que passo a me ocupar agora, tentarei discernir a questão do método que envolve a obra, procurando, em seguida, encontrar no livro 1 sua evidência explicativa.

No Prefácio do livro nós encontramos as clássicas perguntas do historiador: "O que se passou? Por que isto se passou? Como isto foi possível?" (ARENDT, 2002a, p. 8). As perguntas do historiador ocorreram quando a Alemanha atinge o "ponto zero" da sua história, isto é, quando um novo 'regime de historicidade' passa a estar em "disputa". Esta noção de "regime de historicidade", que retomo de François Hartog (Hartog, 2014), recobre aspectos conceituais e históricos na obra de Arendt, e em alguns textos nós encontramos explicados a relevância metodológica desta perspectiva.

Arendt envereda pela consideração do primado que o evento histórico tem para a historiografia: a história somente se mostra através dos seus momentos inaugurais, "de aceleração do agora". O que significa que a "novidade é o reino do historiador, que – ao contrário do cientista natural, que se interessa por factos regular e permanentemente recorrentes – se consagra a factos que ocorrem sempre uma só vez. Esta novidade pode ser distorcida se o historiador, invocando a causalidade, se pretender capaz de explicar os acontecimentos por meio de um encadeamento de causas que os teriam produzidos." (Arendt, 2001, p. 246) Reconhece, portanto, no evento histórico, uma singularidade que ultrapassa os fatores determinantes que o teriam condicionado, como evoca com recorrência, por exemplo, a disparidade entre a causa e os efeitos desencadeados da Primeira Guerra Mundial[1].

Esta recusa da ideia de causa não significa, todavia, que o acontecimento se encontre disperso na história. Isto é, ao mesmo tempo, Arendt considera que o evento histórico ilumina retrospectivamente o que ocorreu. "É o acontecimento que esclarece o seu próprio passado, e não pode nunca ser deduzido dele" (Idem, p. 246), de modo que o passado só chega plenamente a existência quando o acontecimento se produz. Trata-se de um método *ex post fact* de *investigação*: *desde que o evento em questão é suficientemente importante* para *lançar luz sobre seu próprio passado*, a *história torna*-se começo. *(Idem,* p. *246*), de modo que somente *então* se estabelece uma história *que pode ser* narrada porque possui *um início e* um *fim.* Isto é, o próprio *passado passa* a *ter um começo, de tal modo que* um começo do passado que permanecia até então escondido aos olhos do historiador finalmente veio à luz. Enfim, o acontecimento se torna o fim, telos, deste começo recém descoberto pelo historiador. O acontecimento é o fim e o culminar de um processo que ocorreu, "um chegar no tempo", como diz Arendt.

Nós podemos agora tentar interrogar de que modo nomear este interregno situado entre o início do passado e o acontecimento final na obra as OT. Na obra que compõe o sugestivo título a este respeito, *Entre o Passado e o Futuro,* Arendt nomeia este intervalo

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[1] 1 Para a 1ª Guerra Mundial como divisor de águas do regime de historicidade contemporâneo, ver H. Arendt, *Sobre a Revolução,* São Paulo, Cia das Letras, 2011, pp. 35-47. Foi não somente a desintegração dos Impérios Continentais que veio à luz, como o Austro-húngaro e sua Monarquia Dual, mas também as Revoluções Alemãs, Húngara e Insurreição em Viena, derrotadas, e a Revolução Russa, vitoriosa, mas cuja conexão explosiva foi finalmente sucedida pela estabilização da Revolução em um só país, no famoso Outubro Alemão que não veio. A crença dos bolcheviques se defrontava com as fronteiras das trincheiras da própria guerra com a Alemanha, e quando sobreveio o declínio do II Império Alemão, "a social-democracia alemã não se entusiasmara com a ideia de uma revolução". Cf. Daniel Arãao Reis, *A Revolução Russa – 1917-1921,* SP, Brasiliense, 1989, pp. 106-107. Ou talvez retificando um pouco este comentário, a ala mais radical e Conselhista fora derrotada pela extrema-direita com o beneplácito da social-democracia.

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entre duas rupturas do tempo como uma brecha (gap) entre o passado e o futuro, um "estranho entremeio no tempo histórico, onde se toma consciência de um intervalo no tempo inteiramente determinado por coisas que não são mais e por coisas que não são ainda."[2] (Arendt, 2014, p. 66) Nas OT, este intervalo no tempo, esta ruptura que instalou uma fenda no tempo, dando início a um novo começo até chegar a um fim, vai ser escalonada de uma maneira precisa. Parte de uma acontecimento maior da política moderna, a Revolução Francesa e a fundação do Estado Nação Moderno, e, no outro extremo, o advento do III Reich e do Estalinismo. Nos dois acontecimentos nós tivemos duas fendas na ordem do tempo, e, perseguindo o regime de historicidade que adveio após esta última fenda no tempo, nós temos a dualidade da Guerra Fria cujo *telos* foi atingido com a Queda do Muro de Berlim. Isto é, seguindo a lógica conceitual e histórica das OT, após a Queda do Nazismo, o Comunismo continuou o evento central do "breve século XX", pois a continuidade da URSS e do Imperialismo Soviético continuou até 1989, fim do regime deste regime de historicidade, para retomar o desdobramento do raciocínio de Hartog, com o declínio da "sociedade de trabalhadores, agora combinando Hannah Arendt com Robert Kurz."[3]

Mas voltando ao raciocínio acerca da antítese entre a Revolução Francesa e os Totalitarismos Imperialistas do século XX, entre esses dois extremos, nós temos nas OT um espaço histórico composto de diferentes extratos do tempo que o acontecimento revolucionário deu surgimento, espécie de coexistência na forma da contemporaneidade do não-contemporâneo. O livro começa tratando da emancipação dos Judeus a partir da Revolução Francesa em 1792, e o seu fim com a comparação histórico-política entre o III Reich e a URSS com a qual se encerra o capítulo IV do livro 3. Olhando para o conjunto, Arendt expõe diferentes extratos dos tempos modernos: capítulos sobre a história do judaísmo, caso Dreyfus na França, análises marxistas sobre o Imperialismo francês, inglês e continental, retomadas da psicologia do homem de massas, etc. Isto é, em princípio, nós não podemos alinhavar a obra entre um começo e um fim segundo uma continuidade homogênea.

Por outro lado, indo além da poeira ideológica dos acontecimentos, uma perspectiva de "longa duração histórica" pode ser situada entre a Revolução e os Totalitarismos do século XX. Ou seja, os fios da obra são reatados do início ao fim se nós considerarmos a influência desencadeada pela Revolução Francesa e as Conquistas Napoleônicas nas formações nacionais retardatárias por meio do estudo das ideologias políticas no quadro da inserção da formação nacional alemã, e também russa, no contexto europeu. Entre os dois acontecimentos que assinalam a marcação histórica e conceitual das OT, nós temos um interregno histórico que corresponde ao problema Nacional na esfera ideológica.

Duas pontas deste processo histórico são postas: de um lado o conceito revolucionário de igualdade criado pela Revolução Francesa, e, de outro, os Imperialismos Continentais que desencadearam a Primeira Guerra Mundial. Fatores de longa duração históricos que se encontram associados aos desdobramentos da Era da Revolução Francesa na Europa. Arendt não menciona jamais a ideia de atraso histórico em Marx, isto é, o descompasso comparativo das Nações Continentais relativamente ao Estado Nacional na França após a Revolução, ponto que já retomaremos. Todavia, sua narrativa acerca da longa duração histórica das ideologias políticas de matriz racista dos Impérios Europeus que colapsaram com a Primeira Guerra Mundial, divisor de águas do regime de historicidade contemporâneo, introduz metodologicamente este ponto de vista, ponto de vista este que opera em diferentes regimes discursivos e ideológicos na obra.

Se não estivermos equivocados, esta ênfase na análise do Totalitarismo a partir das Ideologias de "longa duração" dos Impérios Continentais Atrasados após a Revolução Francesa, coloca as OT na mesma perspectiva dos trabalhos de Gramsci sobre a "revolução passiva" e a "via prussiana" nas Nações que foram modernizadas pelo alto por meio da aliança entre os Intelectuais e o Estado diante de uma sociedade civil fraca. Ambos os autores põem ênfase no peso das sedimentações ideológicas do passado político europeu por meio de uma espécie de sociologia histórica e comparativa entre diferentes Nações, valorizando na esfera ideológica o meio de explicação das origens dos fascismos contemporâneos das Nações que sofreram o abalo da Revolução Francesa. Para o filósofo italiano, na

> "Alemanha, como a Itália, foi a sede de uma instituição e de uma ideologia universalista, supranacional (Sacro Império Romano da Nação Alemã), e forneceu uma certa quantidade de quadros à cosmópole medieval, depauperando as próprias energias internas e provocando lutas que desviavam dos problemas da organização nacional e mantinham a desagregação territorial da Idade Média. O desenvolvimento industrial ocorreu sob um

[2] Este intervalo do tempo entre coisas que "não são mais" e "coisas que não são ainda" é discutido por Arendt em *La vie de l'esprit. La pensée. Le vouloir,* Paris, PUF, 2013, pp. 259-272.

[3] A referência aos regimes de historicidade se encontra em François Hartog, *Regimes de Historicidade, Presentismo e Experiência do Tempo,* Belo Horizonte, Autêntica, 2013. Quanto a queda da URSS em 1989 como fim da utopia da sociedade de trabalho, em consonância com Arendt, ver. R. Kurtz, *O Colapso da moderização,* São Paulo, Paz e Terra, 1996.

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> invólucro semifeudal, que durou até novembro de 1918, e os *junker* mantiveram uma supremacia político-intelectual bem maior do que a mantida pelo mesmo grupo inglês. Eles foram os intelectual tradicionais dos industriais alemães, mas com privilégios especiais e com uma forte consciência de ser um grupo social independente, baseada no fato de que detinham um notável poder econômico sobre a terra, mais 'produtiva' do que na Inglaterra. Os *junkers* prussianos asemelham-se a uma casta sacerdotal-militar, que possui um quase monopólio das funções diretivo-organizativas na sociedade política, mas que dispõe ao mesmo tempo de uma base econômica própria e não depende exclusivamente da liberalidade do grupo econômico dominante. Além disso, diferentemente dos nobres agrários ingleses, os *junkers* constituíram a oficialidade de um grande exército permanente, o que lhes fornecia sólidos quadros organizativos, favoráveis à conservação do espírito de grupo e do monopólio político." (Gramsci, 2010, p. 29).

Tanto quanto Arendt, Gramsci põe em evidência na Alemanha e na Itália (sede do papado, unificação tardia, desagregação territorial, etc) a existência de uma Ideologia Universal, espécie de sobrevivência política que ganhou novos esteios com as guerras napoleônicas e o fim do I Império após a Revolução Francesa. Para Gramsci foram os *junkers* que mantiveram a hegemonia político intelectual na Alemanha, intelectuais tradicionais dos Industriais Alemães após a Unificação, espécie de casta sacerdotal e militar que possui base econômica e que dispunha de funções diretivas na sociedade.

Em Arendt, os contornos desta ideologia política são forjados com o fim do I Império durante as invasões napoleônicas, espécie de antítese da herança do Estado-Nação Moderno fundado pela Revolução Francesa. É no pangermanismo que nossa autora apreende a história dos fantasmas políticos alemães. Na "Alemanha, o pensamento racial se desenvolveu somente após a derrota do velho Exército Prussiano diante de Napoleão. Seu desenvolvimento decorreu dos patriotas prussianos e do romantismo político muito mais do que da Nobreza e de seus porta-vozes. Diferente do movimento racial francês que visava a desencadear a guerra civil e a fazer explodir a Nação, o pensamento racial alemão foi inventado por meio de um esforço para unir o povo contra toda dominação estrangeira. Seus autores não procuravam aliados além das fronteiras; eles queriam revelar no povo a consciência de uma origem comum."[4]

Este pensamento racial nascido como Reação à Revolução após a Revolução Francesa depois da derrota do I Império Alemão, será reconsiderado dentro de um outro "regime de historicidade" nos capítulos seguintes das OT. Isto é, no registro histórico da reconstituição da ideologia dos Imperialismos Continentais no Pan-eslavismo e no Pan-germanismo nos quais nós podemos encontrar as origens tanto do Nazismo quanto do Estalinismo. Arendt encontrará após 1871, portanto, após o II Império Alemão, no pangermanismo e do pan-eslavismo as duas ideologias que deram origem aos movimentos de massa das nacionalidades que visavam sua integração nos Impérios Continentais em expansão.

O que significa que, se considerarmos as OT sob esta perspectiva de conjunto nas quais as formações nacionais alemãs e russa vem à luz, é muito mais no conceito de Imperialismo enquanto nexo entre espaço geográfico e relações de poder que nós encontramos a chave explicativa de Arendt para o desenvolvimento histórico que gerou os Totalitarismos Contemporâneos. Certo, entre o Imperialismo e o Totalitarismo nós encontramos uma distinção terminológica, já que, por exemplo, o Imperialismo Clássico resultante da exportação de capital supérfluo e mão de obra supérflua não gerou um modo totalitário de governo nestes países. Todavia, sem o Pangermanismo e o Panesvalismo nós não podemos compreender o surgimento do III Reich e do Stalinismo. Tudo se passa como se após a decadência destes dois Impérios após a Primeira Guerra Mundial, a conjuntura social e política que deu nascimento a estas duas Ideologias reacionárias houvesse se reproduzido em toda a atmosfera do Entre-Guerras.

Em resumo, considerado no seu conjunto, a estrutura comparativa França-Alemanha funciona como um contraponto que organiza não somente o conjunto da obra naquilo que concerne a gênese explicativa das origens do Totalitarismos, na medida em que inscreve a relação Alemanha e Rússia dentre de uma gênese histórica e ideológica particular enquanto duas Nações que sofreram o abalo da França Pós-Revolucionária, quanto nos permite contestar o método de homologias comparativas entre os dois regimes sob a pluma do conceito de "forma de governo", como será o caso no capítulo IV do livro 3. (Arendt, 2002) Nesta ótica, os termos nos quais se põe a comparação entre o Nazismo e o Estalinismo a partir do conceito de forma de governo se modifica, como em IT[5]. Raça e Classe não são mais as "Ideologias Totalitárias" que são colocadas em relação de correspondência, fundamento a partir do qual Arendt pôde comparar os conceitos de luta de classes e luta de raças quando apreende o Totalitarismo como forma de governo no capítulo IT (Arendt, 2002, p. 287). A "Ideologia Totalitária" se

[4] A propósito dos nacionalistas conservadores na Alemanha, contrário ao espírito do humanismo clássico, ver Nobert Elias, *The Germans – Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twenthieth Centuries,* New York, Colombia University Press, 1196, pp. 14-15

[5] Nas palavras de Arendt, "a luta de raças pela dominação do mundo, a luta de classes pela tomada do poder político em diferentes países." (Arendt, 2002, p. 298).

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chama Racismo: "Bem mais que o pensamento de classe, é o pensamento racial que não cessou de planar como uma sombra embaixo do desenvolvimento do concerto das nações europeias, para se tornar finalmente a arma terrível de destruição das nações. Do ponto de vista histórico, os racistas detém um registro de patriotismo pior que aqueles que sustentam todas as outros ideologias em conjunto, e eles foram os únicos a negar incessantemente o grande princípio sobre o qual foram edificados as organizações nacionais dos povos: o princípio de igualdade e solidariedade de todos os povos, garantido pela ideia de humanidade." (Arendt, 2002a, p. 80) Arendt reconstrói a ideologia da Raça com o objetivo de mostrar sua conjugação histórica ulterior com o Imperialismo Continental dos Estados Atrasados, e a "ideologia da luta de classes" mencionada no capítulo IV do livro 3 corresponde não a Marx, mas ao Pan-eslavismo, uma mudança de perspectiva evidente entre a gênese explicativa da obra e seu ulterior resumo explicativo sob a pluma do conceito de forma de governo.

Por fim, esta inscrição das Ideologias Totalitárias nas Ideologias Racistas dos Estados Nações atrasados no contexto da França Pós-Revolucionária[6], do ponto de vista da reconstrução metodológica da obra, nos permite rearticular a história conceitual de Arendt com a tese acerca do *anacronismo alemão* do jovem Marx. O texto sobre o qual nós nos apoiamos é a *Introdução à Crítica da Filosofia do Direito de Hegel*: "porque o *statu quo* alemão é o acabamento confessado do antigo regime, e o antigo regime é o defeito escondido do Estado moderno. O combate contra o presente político alemão, é o combate contra o passado dos povos modernos, e as reminiscências deste passado vêm sempre a atormentá-los. É instrutivo para eles de ver o antigo regime, que neles viveu sua tragédia, jogar sua comédia enquanto fantasma alemão." (Marx, 2000, p. 10)

É o caso de verificarmos agora como esta perspectiva acerca dos fantasmas políticos alemães, para Marx, funciona na explicação de Arendt sobre a questão judaica na Alemanha no livro 1 das OT, exposição que farei tomando a discussão do jovem Marx sobre a questão judaica como referência explicativa. Os espectros alemães como reminiscências políticas do passado alemão tem uma função metodológica importante no modo como Arendt expõe a questão judaica no contexto pós-Revolucionário, em continuo diálogo, ao mesmo tempo, como a ênfase posta por Gramsci no Estado e nos intelectuais como agentes das superestruturas ideológicas das nações de formação tardia, como é o caso da Alemã. (Viana, 2002) Razão pela qual a reconstituição paciente do livro 1 acaba nos levando para o classicismo alemão como Era da Revolução Burguesa na Alemanha.

Resumindo, esta ênfase metodológica posta na ideia de *anacronismo alemão* pela marcação comparativa das Nações atrasadas relativamente à Revolução Francesa, assim como o destaque para o âmbito ideológico na explicação do surgimento do Nacional-Socialismo e do Bolchevismo, acompanha o livro OT do início ao fim[7]. Dados os limites desta exposição, vejamos apenas o livro 1 das OT.

II. Antisemitismo Como Ideologia do Atraso

O ponto de partida de Arendt é a definição do anti-semitismo como ideologia política que se cristalizou após a fundação do II Reich e a virada intelectual e moral sucedida pela recusa da cultura humanista do classicismo alemão e o predomínio do militarismo prussiano[8]. Olhando para o sumário do livro I, Arendt mobiliza a distinção entre emancipação política e emancipação social dos judeus, procurando compreender o anti-semitismo como ideologia política a partir da relação dos judeus com o Estado e a Sociedade, descrição história ao mesmo tempo política e social. A perspectiva não deixa de lembrar "Sobre a questão judaica" do jovem Marx, não somente pelo interesse no estudo da situação dos judeus no contexto do "atraso alemão", nos seus aspectos políticos, sociais e culturais, mas também por Arendt discutir metodologicamente a questão judaica partindo da Revolução Francesa e da Declaração dos Direitos

[6] Ainda sobre esta antítese histórica entre Revolução e o surgimento de Ideologias Conservadoras, cf. Karl Mannheim, para quem "depois da Revolução Francesa se desenvolveu o que poderíamos chamar de uma tendência polarizante no pensamento", um pensamento conservador tipicamente alemão, cujo apanágio foi "uma tendência de se ir aos extremos, levando os argumentos lógicos às suas últimas conclusões." Em seguida Mannheim evoca o Romantismo como exemplo alemão típico desta tendência. A questão das ideologias totalitárias em Arendt como raciocínio lógico levado às últimas consequências, definida pela autora como princípio de ação dos regimes totalitários, também encontra aqui seu fundamento explicativo. Entre a ideologia como lógica da ação levada às suas últimas consequências e o surgimento do racismo nos Estados pós-revolucionários a linha é contínua. Cf. "O pensamento conservador", *In:* K. MANNHEIM, SP, Ática, 1998, pp. 74-79.

[7] E. Renan, *op. cit.* pp. 180-181.

[8] Para a questão do atraso e do antisemitismo, Arendt afirma que "Le fait de coupler des slogans tout à fait modernes avec des conditions extrêmement arriérés, ce qui à première vue apparaît absurde, perde de as signification si l'on fait abstraction pour un instant de l'outillage purement idéologique de ces mouvements et si l'on se représente que c'est avec les progroms russes des années 1880 qu'a commencé la nouvelle émigraion de masse des Juifs." H. Arendt, *Écrits Juifs, op. cit.* p. 189. Em seguida, "Avec l'aide des États les plus avancés, les États arriérés transposèrent leur barbarie sous les formes les plus modernes et les plus fascistes." Idem. p. 189. Para a virada cultura da fundação do II Reich, ver E. Renan, *La Réforme intellectuelle et morale:* "la período de sa domination militaire, marquée peut-être par un abaissement intellectuel et moral (...)", Ed. Complexe, Paris, 1990, p. 181.

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Humanos. Ambos partem da consideração que o desdobramento político da questão judaica deve ser tomado em conta a partir da relação do judeu com o Estado em diferentes formações nacionais. Ao associar o destino do judeu ao destino do Estado-Nação, Arendt e Marx coincidem na problematização da relação do judeu com o Estado-Nação na França e na Alemanha. Isto é, como o Judeu determina o destino do Estado-Nação pelo capital financeiro que "pelo dinheiro determina o destino do Império Autro-Húngaro". Enfim, a descrição sobre os dilemas sociais da emancipação social dos judeus na Era da Revolução apreenderá no fenômeno da dupla consciência uma cisão csaracterística da sociedade burguesa, como será novamente exposto na discussão sobre o fenômeno da dupla consciência do judeu[9].

Esta ênfase na relação dos judeus com os destinos da Revolução Francesa e do Estado-Nação é já posta de maneira explícita na introdução do livro III. Arendt associa o ódio mobilizado contra o judeu à famosa análise de Alexis de Tocqueville consagrada em *O Antigo Regime e a Revolução* a explicar as razões pelas quais os nobres foram tão odiados na época da Revolução. A explicação de Tocqueville é que na França o feudalismo continuou sendo uma importante instituição civil mesmo quando deixou de ser uma instituição política. Quanto uma parte das instituições da Idade Média foram destituídas, o ódio aos nobres pôde adquirir uma outra escala quando os privilégios agora estavam desguarnecidos do poder político. (Tocqueville, 1997, p. 76). Para Arendt, *mutatis mutandis,* o ódio aos judeus nos discursos anti-semitas foi decorrente da condição de privilégio dos Judeus no Estado quando a aristocracia se contrapõe ao Estado. É o nobre odiado que agora passa a odiar quando seus privilégios de casta são ameaçados, espécie de inversão da Reação no interior do discurso da Revolução quando transplantado para a situação alemã.

III. Arendt, Marx e a Questão Judaica

Pensando bem, a discussão sobre as ambiguidades da emancipação do Judeus em relação ao Estado retoma a discussão de Marx sobre os limites da emancipação política dos Judeus, e de toda emancipação política em geral, do mesmo modo que os capítulos consagrados a discriminação dos Judeus na sociedade discute os limites de toda emancipação social advinda pelo privilégio. Esta associação entre os dois autores é importante, porque a análise de Arendt sobre "a questão judaica" passa a funcionar como uma "prolongação" da hipótese de Marx da situação do judeu no contexto de "atraso"[10]. Naturalmente que identificá-los sob a perspectiva de uma prolongação da análise de Arendt daquela de Marx não significa que estejamos apagando a irredutibilidade de cada ponto de vista histórico acerca da questão judaica na Alemanha, mas somente chamando atenção para aquilo que há de comum entre as duas análises, e como, sob o fundo desta aproximação, os fios histórico-políticos que articulam os demais livros das OT são melhor compreendidos.

Em primeiro lugar, para a questão judaica, a questão comum concerne a crítica da emancipação dos judeus na Alemanha, onde a chave explicativa da questão judaica é a considerada tomando em conta a relação do judeu com o Estado, como já salientado. Na Alemanha o Estado ainda não se emancipou politicamente, é um Estado "atrasado", carregado pelos vestígios do *ancien regime* europeu encarnados no I Reich "Alemão". Trata-se de um Estado que ainda não se emancipou politicamente, incapaz de tratar o judeu como cidadão. (Marx, 2010, p. 35) A análise comparativa de Marx é retomada por Arendt, em um primeiro plano, no entendimento do significado da emancipação política dos Judeus na Revolução Francesa. "Era necessário abolir as restrições aos direitos dos Judeus e a seus privilégios ao mesmo tempo que as outras liberdades e direitos particulares." (Arendt, 2002c, p. 33) Esta emancipação é acompanhada pelo desenvolvimento de um Estado independente, acima das classes sociais, capaz de assegurar a unidade nacional. Só que para o desenvolvimento do Estado-Nação, o crédito Judeu foi fundamental, praticados já em grande escala pelos Judeus para Nobreza. De modo que o Judeu do Crédito passou a desfrutar de privilégios do Estado em razão da dívida pública adquirida pelo Estado. O que significa que a emancipação política dos Judeus plenamente acordada no século XIX foi ambígua porque, de um lado, ela se inscrevia na estrutura

[9] Marx afirma em *A Questão Judaica*: "A cisão do homem em público e privado, o deslocamento da religião do Estado para a sociedade burguesa, não constitui um estágio, e sim a realização plena da emancipação política, a qual, portanto, não anula nem busca anular a religiosidade real do homem." *op. cit.* pp. Se compreendo bem Arendt, a dupla consciência do judeu recobre esta cisão em contexto de atraso, onde os limites da distinção são esfumados. H. Arendt, *op. cit.* p. P. Gilroy desenvolve esta análise da dupla consciência no estudo dos negros no período pós-emancipatório da escravidão nos EUA a partir de Du Bois, cujo resumo segue: "Todos sentem alguma vez sua dualidade - um lado americano, um lado negro; duas almas, dois pensamentos, dois esforços inconciliáveis; dois ideais em guerra em um só corpo escuro, cuja forca tenaz é apenas o que a impede de se dilacerar." *Atlântico Negro, Modernidade e dupla consciência*, SP, Ed. 34, p. 248.

[10] Sobre o estudo dos judeus em situação de atraso social e político, a referência é Marx em *A Questão Judaica*, novamente, pela razão evidente que situa o problema da emancipação no contexto pós-revolucionário, tanto quanto Arendt. Nossa autora expõe esta perspectiva de análise dos judeus como grupo social dividido entre os privilégios da corte, os judeus de gueto e o desprezo pelos intelectuais da *Bildung* alemã claramente nos *Ecrits Juifs, op. cit*. p. 189, como já assinalado.

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política e jurídica de um corpo político que funcionava a partir da igualdade política e jurídica. Mas de outro lado, esta emancipação foi acompanhada de privilégios específicos acordados aos Judeus ricos. Significou, portanto, a igualdade e o privilégio, a destruição da antiga comunidade judia, e, ao mesmo tempo, a conservação dos Judeus enquanto grupo fora da sociedade pela relações de privilégio com o Estado. Na sua argumentação, Arendt estende esta situação ambígua dos judeus ao conjunto da sociedade, isto é, os limites da emancipação política dos judeus são os limites da emancipação política da sociedade moderna: "A igualdade de condições, no sentido onde os Jacobinos a entenderam durante a Revolução Francesa, somente se tornou uma realidade na América, enquanto que na Europa foi substituída imediatamente por uma igualdade da pura forma, a igualdade diante da lei." (Arendt, 2002c, p. 35) A proximidade com a análise de Marx em *Sobre a questão judaica* é evidente, pois referencia esta insuficiência da emancipação política nas desigualdades sociais das sociedades burguesas. "As inultrapassáveis desigualdades sociais, e o fato que um indivíduo, sobre o continente Europeu, e até a Primeira Guerra Mundial, pertencia a uma classe quase pelo direito de nascimento, era incompatível com a igualdade política." (Arendt, 2002c, p. 36).

Contudo, a inscrição do Judeu na divisão entre Estado e sociedade civil burguesa é somente metodológica, porque factualmente os Judeus não pertencem à estrutura de classes das sociedades modernas com seu desenvolvimento capitalista, pois são um grupo à parte. Nas OT, Arendt explica que os judeus se definem como judeus, e não pela sua relação com outras classes da sociedade, e a proteção social que eles receberam decorre da sua relação com o Estado e os serviços que os impediam de aceder ao sistema de classes. Daí sua condição similar à da Nobreza, classe por excelência expressão do atraso. E daí também o porque da autora tratar do problema da emancipação social dos Judeus tomando em conta a esfera ideológica da *Bildung,* dada sua hegemonia sob o impacto da cultura da *aufklarung* na "miséria alemã".

Esta relação de privilégio com o Estado se exponenciou após a Revolução Francesa, de modo que no século XVIII nas principais centros capitalistas europeus os judeus foram emancipados ao mesmo tempo que se tornaram os grandes credores do Estado[11]. Arendt identifica no Crédito Judeu o Capital Financeiro através do qual o Estado Nação se desenvolveu, espécie de simbiose entre a alta finança que sempre acompanhou o desenvolvimento capitalista nas grandes cidades, e o Estado Nação[12]. Como pensar o Império Austro-Húngaro sem o crédito judaico, que permitia que os judeus gozassem de liberdades civis em Viena? Esta associação do capital financeiro judeu com o desenvolvimento do Estado é fundamental na análise de Arendt, e sem esta consideração nós não compreendemos o porque o anti-semitismo se tornou uma ideologia política contraposta ao universalismo das Luzes, e, como que uma Reação plantada no seu interior.

IV. Surgimento do Anti-Semitismo

Pois é assim que Arendt apreende o nexo histórico conceitual do anti-semitismo com a Revolução. Isto é, nasceu nos Estados atrasados que sofreram o abalo da Revolução. Sobretudo nesta Alemanha cuja Reação contra as guerras napoleônicas decorria das reformas que tornou possível que a Prússia se tornasse um Estado-Nação moderno que tratasse os judeus em condição de igualdade, condição advinda somente com o Reich de 1871.[13] Isto é, nesta Prússia influenciada pelo espírito das Luzes, em que pese os limites da emancipação, ao judeu era reconhecido as melhores condições de vida e de instrução em um Estado de uma administração burocrática que não tolerava mais privilégios e distinções.

Nas condições de atraso político, em que a Nação ainda não é definida, importando somente a esfera da cultura e da hegemonia intelectual, vicejou um discurso anti-semita em resposta ao Édito de 1812 dos "reformadores" proveniente de uma aristocracia que passou a atacar os Judeus como grupo privilegiado. Decorre, portanto, da Reação no contexto das guerras napoleônicas, quando as revoluções pelo alto procuravam dar luz a uma nova hegemonia cultural após o abalo representado pela Revolução. Isto é, na explicação de Arendt, cujo parentesco com a de Gramsci me parece crucial, a origem do anti-semitismo moderno como ideologia política deve ser creditada na Aristocracia, que passou a atacar abertamente o Estado Nacional que tratava todos em condição de igualdade. O ataque dirigido ao Estado se voltada ao Judeu ao mesmo tempo; conjuntamente, os valores de classe

[11] Esta marcação da história dos Judeus na Revolução Francesa é importante também porque em relação a ela Arendt apreende a ausência de emancipação política dos Judeus nos países atrasados socialmente e onde os judeus não eram um grupo capaz de dotar o Estado de recursos financeiros, como foi o caso dos banqueiros Rothschild com a Santa Aliança a partir de 1815 (Arendt, 2002c, p. 58).

[12] Recapitulando Marx em *A Questão Judaica*: "A letra de câmbio é o deus real do judeu. Seu deus não passa de uma letra de câmbio ilusória." (Marx, 2012, p. 58)

[13] Para o surgimento do II Reich, ponto de inflexão na curva do antisemitismo, ver a análise clássica de Engels, já mencionada. *Op. Cit.* Para a mudança de ideologia representada pelo II Império, assim como sobre a formação do II Reich como retomada do "vieux rêve" de um Império Universal, ver *La reforme intellecuelle et morale,* Paris, Ed. Complexe, 1990, pp. 132-142.

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média eram rejeitados ao mesmo tempo que o discurso dos reformadores. No contexto da Reação após o Congresso de Viena, a Santa Aliança tonifica a nobreza prussiana que passa a emplacar uma discriminação contra os Judeus, cujo apogeu será a introdução da distinção entre Judeus aceitos e aqueles que não o eram. O relevo cristão do Estado, analisa Arendt, associado ao Congresso de Viena que verteu à Prússia as províncias habitadas por massas judaicas de pobres, nunca conseguiu tratar com igualdade os judeus. Caridoso com os Judeus ricos, o Estado cristão podia discriminar socialmente a inteligência judaica e as massas judaicas. Isto é, seguindo o nexo histórico de Arendt, o anti-semitismo é essencialmente um fenômeno da aristocracia que se opôs à formação de um Estado Nação na Alemanha que pudesse tratar com igualdade os Judeus. Não é outra a referência de Arendt senão a de Friedrich Engels, que observou que "um dia que os protagonistas do anti-semitismo de sua época eram os aristocratas, a ralé pequeno-burguesa desencadeada jogando o papel do coração. Nós podemos dizer também, continua Arendt, que foi assim na Alemanha, com os cristão-sociais da Austria e os anti-dreyfus francês. Em cada caso, a aristocracia levava um luta desesperada e procurava a se aliar às forças conservadoras da Igreja: a Igreja católica na Austria e na França, a Igreja protestante na Alemanha, sob o pretexto de combater o liberalismo com as armas do cristinianismo." (Arendt, 2002c, p. 76)

O terreno da agitação dos discursos anti-semitas adquiriu status de ideologia política quando dos movimentos pangermanistas que mobilizaram a opinião pública contra o Império Austro-Húngaro, pois reinvindicavam a união da nacionalidade alemã sob base do extermínio dos judeus e dos eslavos. E uma nova marcação histórica é posta: não mais o Edito de 1812 no contexto da ocupação napoleônica, mas após a fundação do Reich Alemão e o krach financeiro de 1873, quando os slogans anti-semitas se tornaram moeda corrente nas regiões atrasadas, até se tornarem uma ideologia política de alcance universal quando a condição de miséria das províncias alemãs se expandiu às grandes cidades com a crise do entre-guerras[14]. Os discursos anti-semitas proliferaram em condições de atraso radical, o que prova, agora seguindo o raciocínio sociológico de Nobert Elias, que os códigos dos príncipes e das classes aristocráticas que afirmavam a característica desigual se sobrepuseram ao igualitarismo proveniente da Revolução Francesa.[15]

V. *Bildung* Judaica e as Dificuldades da Emancipação Social

Esta apreensão do anti-semitismo nas regiões atrasadas, mas no entanto iluminadas pelos reformadores que aspiravam a emancipação política dos judeus, tudo no espírito das Luzes e da educação do gênero humano, serve igualmente de baliza teórica à crítica de Arendt da emancipação social dos judeus. Neste ponto, Arendt desenvolve o conceito de emancipação social com um vigor teórico que ultrapassa *A Questão Judaica* de Marx, mesmo que, insisto, os pressupostos de Marx sejam constantemente repostos pela autora, como a distinção entre Estado e sociedade civil, enfim, a discussão sobre a ausência de direitos humanos dos judeus na Alemanha.

O cenário de Arendt para apreender esta descrição da situação social dos judeus é Berlim, capital de um Estado atrasado, onde os judeus gozavam dos direitos humanos, mesmo que ao preço de severas restrições às massas judaicas. *Nathan, O sábio,* de Lessing, torna-se emblemático a este respeito, pois proclama os direitos humanos para os judeus por meio da Revolução Francesa, verdadeiro libelo em favor da tolerância religiosa. (Arendt, p. 188, EJ) Do paradoxo da igualdade e do privilégio diante do Estado, isto é, do reconhecimento da igualdade diante da lei em um Estado separado da sociedade civil, e do privilégio ao capital financeiro que tornava possível a abstração Estado, Arendt vai questionar as insuficiências da emancipação social do judeus. A forma política é posta em questão pelo conteúdo social. O nó do argumento é que a assmilação do judeus à sociedade foi conferida aos judeus na qualidade de indivíduos excepcionais em relação as massas judaicas. O que significa que em face da igualdade econômica, política e jurídica dos judeus a sociedade reagiu sob base do fato de que a assimilação dos judeus, o reconhecimento da sua igualdade social somente fosse concedido a casos excepcionais. Estabelecer relações com a sociedade significava "ser e não ser-judeu", isto é, renunciar uma religião discriminada socialmente, e se fazer aceitar na qualidade "excepcional" de um indivíduo extremamente educado, resultado que seria encarnado pelos intelectuais judeus. Um fenômeno de dupla consciência torna-se aqui manifesto, expressão da renúncia pública do judaísmo e sua exacerbação na esfera privada, expressão esta da própria cisão do homem na sociedade burguesa, entre indivíduo privado e cidadão. Nesta tessitura social os partidários da emancipação dos judeus consideravam que seria através da educação que os judeus seriam integrados na sociedade, raciocínio idêntico para os não-judeus. Se a emancipação dos judeus ocorreu através da emancipação política do Estado, traduzindo a emancipação política do Estado da religião, na

[14] No resumo de Arendt: "Dans les années 1870, la question juive ne fait plus l'objet d'un débat, mais forme plutôt le point de cristallisation d'un mouvement politique dont le mot d'ordre est l'antisémitisme." "L'Antisémitisme", In *Écrits Juifs*, Paris, Fayard, 2002, p.165.

[15] A análise de Elias encontras-se em "Digression on Nationalism", In *The Germans – Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centururies, op. cit,* p. 155.

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explicação de Marx, sua emancipação social traduziria ao mesmo tempo a emancipação da sociedade inteira, na explicação de Arendt. Sobre este último ponto, é o caso de evocarmos o raciocínio sociológico de Nobert Elias, para quem o homem da *Bildung* correspondia a classe média em ascensão através da educação humanista, para quem a cultura representa a retirada e a liberdade das pressões do Estado que conferia a posição de segunda classe a cidadãos comparado a nobreza que negava à classe média o acesso as posições de liderança no Estado e suas responsabilidades, ao poder e prestígio associado a estas posições[16]. Este dilema da classe média, que, modernizando-se culturalmente através da educação, ao mesmo tempo permanecia atolada ainda no atraso alemão que perduraria ainda até o século XIX e XX, uma oposição que recobre desde o século XVIII a distinção entre cultura e civilização, na análise clássica de Elias, entre a classe média educada com seu sentido de acabamento e realização, e a civilização como símbolo dos príncipes e cortes das classes elevadas. Para os judeus, retornando ao livro 1 das OT, a sociedade exigia do judeu que ele se educasse o suficiente para não assemelhar-se aos judeus ordinários, ao mesmo tempo que somente os aceitava em razão da qualidade exótica dos judeus. Neste cenário de atraso a burguesia era incapaz de prover a cultura no sentido de uma formação (*Bildung*), não sendo gratuita a razão pela qual o romance de Goethe *Wilhelm Meister* tornou-se a expressão da educação do judeu e da educação do alemão de classe média: o herói do romance é formado por aristocratas e atores, e a educação equivalia a transformar o burguês no aristocrata. O que significava na verdade que os *Junkers* prussianos que não se interessavam de maneira alguma à cultura, empregavam na educação dos seus filhos preceptores burgueses geniais e mortos de fome vivendo na estreiteza de uma sociedade atrasada (Arantes, 2003). Educada por aristocratas e atores, as classes médias deveriam ser capazes de apresentar e representar sua personalidade. (Arendt, 2002c, p. 112 e pp. 226-227.) Para os judeus e a classe média, tal era a condição da sua aceitação social, a capacidade de expressar sua personalidade, e de jogar seu próprio papel, razão pela qual Arendt vai consagrar uma importante discussão sobre o salão de Berlim como protótipo deste modo de expressão do talento e da personalidade. (Arendt, 2002c, p. 113)[17]. Designa os tempos modernos de Berlim como sociedade burguesa, onde um lugar de conversação sobre temas literários e políticos vai passar a funcionar como expressão da cultura do moderno na Berlim do Segundo Império[18]. Era a sociabilidade na forma da arte, em que a sociabilidade repousa sobre as personalidades que exalam uma cultura subjetiva, no qual os indivíduos somente contam pelo que eles são espiritualmente, e onde o dinheiro não penetra na sociabilidade, espécie de último reduto da cultura face a uma sociedade civil burguesa em desenvolvimento. (idem)

Isto é, sobre os dilemas da emancipação social dos judeus, e também da sociedade alemã em geral, Arendt pensa a questão judaica tomando como referência o conceito de *Bildung* (formação), processo tipicamente alemão.[19] Na esfera da sociedade civil, a

[16] N. Elias, "History of Culture and 'Political History", *op. cit. p. 127*.

[17] Arendt põe o *Wilhelm Meister* de Goethe como exemplo de educação das classes médias, onde o jovem burguês é educado por aristocratas e atos. O jovem deve ser capaz de representar sua personalidade, e finalmente passar do estado de filho de burguês para aquele de aristocrata. *op. cit.* p. 112, reproduzindo assim, para seguir a análise de Benjamin, as condições de atraso em um país incapaz de encontrar uma burguesia que liderasse uma real mudança. Esta condição caracteriza o judeu e as classes médias na Alemanha, onde a educação era vista como forma de emancipação numa sociedade atrasada e não-nacional. A virada deste paradigma da Ilustração, "uma verdadeira virada", (Arendt, 2002c, p. 113), como diz Arendt, adveio com a derrota da Prússia em 1808 diante do Império Napoleônico, que concede aos judeus direitos cívicos mas não políticos aos judeus após os Tratados de Paz, tratados que na verdade legalizavam a condição de privilégio usufruída pelos judeus de Berlim, e cuja extensão com os editos de emancipação em 1812, seria finalmente sucedida pela sua revogação após a queda de Napoleão, quando a extensão dos direitos cívicos aos judeus pobres seria alcançada. Além da referência de Lucaks já evocada para as análises do Wilhelm Meister de Goethe como obra que retrata o conflito do herói com a realidade social na época do classicismo alemão, uma contradição cuja reconciliação se faz por tortuosos caminhos, (Lucaks, 2000, p. 139), ver ainda W. Benjamin, *Ensaios Reunidos: Escritos sobre Goethe,* São Paulo, Ed. 34, 2018, onde *Os anos de aprendizado de Wilhelm Meistter*, é caracterizado pela "permanência hesitante de Goethe nos vestíbulos do Idealismo, no humanismo alemão, que ele transpôe mais tarde na direção de um humanismo ecumênico. O ideal dos *Anos de aprendizado* – a formação – e o meio social do herói – os comediantes – estão na verdade intimamente interligados, são ambos expoentes daquele domínio intelectual especificamente alemão da 'bela aparência', que não tinha muito a dizer à burguesia ocidental em processo de ascensão ao poder." pp. 158-159.

[18] Para uma relação das personalidades que frequentavam os Salões de Berlim, assim como uma exposição de G. Simmel sobre os mesmos, ver L. Waizbort, *As Aventuras de Georg Simmel*, SP, Ed. 34, 2000, pp. 446-448. Entre os quais destaca-se naturalmente o Salão de Rahel, analisado por Arendt (Arendt, 2002c, p. 113). Sua formulação lapidar encontra-se em *Rahel Vanhagem – a vida de uma judia alemã na época do romantismo,* RJ, Relume Dumará, 2004. Um comentário desta obra com sua devida articulação com os trabalhos de Arendt sobre o classicismo alemão, "A questão judaica, sob a sua forma moderna, é contemporânea da Aufklarung", como diz Arendt, (Arendt, 2007, p. 117) pode ser encontrado em Paulo Arantes, "Uma irresistível vocação para cultivar a própria personalidade" (Parte I), Trans/Form/Ação, São Paulo, 26(1): 7-51, 2003 p. 9-13, que, de resto, possui comentários esclarecedores sobre os *Anos de aprendizado.*

[19] 19 L. Dumont remete o cerne desta relação aos contornos da formação alemã, onde o intelectual vira as costas para a sociedade civil, e, ao mesmo tempo, na sua vida interior, ele se pensa como um indivíduo e consagra todos os cuidados ao desenvolvimento da sua personalidade. O ideal da *Bildung* corresponde a este processo, antes de tudo dual, pois, antes de tudo, corresponde a um processo ideológico onde a sobrevivência do ideal de comunidade é

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hegemonia cultural era o modelo da *Bildung*, contra-face de um Estado dominado pelo código dos príncipes. O retorno ao classicismo alemão como era da Revolução Burguesa na Alemanha, como já foi identificado na pluma de Lukacs e Benjamin, oferece a matéria através da qual Arendt pensa os dilemas da emancipação social pela *Bildung* nas condições de miséria nacional. Quanto ao salão como símbolo desta configuração cultural, ele chegará ao fim em Berlim com a 1ª Guerra Mundial, assinalando a decadência da época clássica do individualismo e do "*Bildungsbergertum*" e o nascimento de uma sociedade de massas.

E chegado a este ponto do livro 1 das OT[20], já se mostra necessário recompor a base material e política nas quais proliferou aquele anti-semitismo que se tornou ideologia corrente após o surgimento do II Império e a crise de 1873 nas regiões de atraso alemão. (*op. cit*) Isto é, sem a compreensão da conjunção do surgimento do anti-semitismo como ideologia política e o nascimento dos movimentos imperialistas que sacudiram o logo liquidado Império Austro-Húngaro, a explicação não seria completa, pois pretende, justamente, dar conta dos aspectos ideológicos e político desta mudança histórica. Desta tarefa se ocupará o livro Imperialismo, livro 2 das OT, desenvolvendo para a análise do imperialismo alemão o pangermanismo como ideologia política, movimentos ideológico que deu nascimento ao III Reich, e cuja origem remonta às guerras Napoleônicas. Arendt confere um peso às ideologias políticas na época pós-Revolucionária cujo paralelo com Gramsci acerca do Ressurgimento Italiano é notável, (*op. Cit*). Para o caso da "ideologia alemã", este contorno político resulta da sobrevivência do Sacro Império Romano-Germânico, e sua reativação em condições modernas. Na pluma de Arendt, com o pangermanismo o patriota alemão reativa o sonho de domínio universal da Europa pela escravização das raças judias, espécie de ideologia do atraso em épocas de imperialismo.[21]

Mas aqui nós já adentramos na descrição do livro 2, cuja medula expositiva em torno da questão dos "fantasmas alemães" (Marx, 2002) fica para um próximo texto. O regime de historicidade recoberto pela análise de Arendt é o mesmo do livro 1, isto é, vai da Revolução Francesa até a 1º Guerra Mundial, sem deixar de passar pela referência de 1871 como data não somente do surgimento do anti-semitismo como ideologia política, mas também como base da superestrutura do anti-semitismo. A preocupação da autora será com o nexo da economia e da violência em escala mundial, fundamento material e político que serviu de base mundial para a proliferação dos discursos anti-semitas em escala mundial. Como vimos, o anti-semitismo como ideologia foi a sombra da modernização alemã, pois nasceu nas regiões da miséria alemã em resposta ao discurso da Revolução, até tornar-se moeda corrente quando esta condição se generalizou para o continente europeu.

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acompanhada do imperativo da obediência, e, de outro lado, o desenvolvimento interior de uma personalidade cultivada, traço característico dos intelectuais, principalmente os judeus. Fórmula típica da ideologia alemã, como explica Dumont, relacionada com a reação alemã aos desenvolvimentos da Luzes. A Revolução foi aceita somente no espírito, como atesta o famoso opusculo de Kant sobre o Iluminismo. Cf. *Homo aequalis, II, L'idéologia allemande – France-Allemagne et retour,* Paris, Gallimard, 1991, pp. 36-37.

[20] Deixarei de lado o capítulo consagrado ao caso Dreyfus, último do livro 1, visto que estou somente interessado em restituir o nexo histórico entre França e Alemanha na marcação conceitual e histórica do livro 1.

[21] Na importante obra Écrits juifs, *op. cit,* Arendt considera os destinos dos judeus no mundo contemporâneo analisando o conflito árabe-israelense com o propósito de mostrar a reversão perversa dos judeus com os árabes sob a batuta sucessiva do Imperialismo inglês e americano com a fundação do Estado de Israel. Sua duríssima crítica ao sionismo que comandou a fundação do Estado dos Judeus vai na direção de postular a existência de um Estado binacional cujo princípio federativo superaria o primado da violência que vai junto com a instituição de um Estado soberano. "O nacionalismo foi já muito nefasto quando ele fez exclusivamente confiança na força brutal da Nação. Mas um nacionalismo que dependente necessariamente, e de maneira confessa, da força de uma nação estrangeira é ainda pior. Tal é o destino que ameaça o nacionalismo judeu e o projeto de um Estado judeu que será inevitavelmente rodeado de Estados árabes e de povos árabes." *op. Cit.,* p. 511. Em E. Said, *A questão da Palestina,* São Paulo, Unesp, 2012, nós encontramos importantes esclarecimentos sobre o tema sob a ótica do desenvolvimento e do subdesenvolvimento. A Guerra desigual e combinada entre o Estado de Israel e a Palestina tornou a Faixa de Gaza a nova fronteira do apartheid colonial, desdobramento do apartheid da África do Sul na forma da opressão econômica e racial, e inclusive no que se refere a uma nova arquitetura colonial e o assalto permanente dos Campos de Assentados. Cf. A. Weyzmann, *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*, Verson, London, 2012. A. Mbembe, *Necropolítica - Biopoder, soberania, Estado de exceção, política da morte*, N-1 Ed, 2018, pp. 43-47.

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The Participation of Tunisian Women in the Construction of Peace: Relevant Participation in the Democratic Transition

By Faicel Chaabani

Abstract- A few months after obtaining the Independence the 20 of March of 1956, new rectifications were carried out in order to modernize and promote the foundations of the first republic, following European models, new rectifications that touch all sectors on all especially legislative sphere of the state, taking the example of the Tunisian constitution which inspired from the Western constitutions, social codes, penal codes ... among others. In the same year the Code of Personal Status was promulgated giving many rights to the women who remain, till now as the legislative platform the most revolutionary in the Arab and Muslim world.

This article proposes a documentary analysis of the participation of the Tunisian women in the construction of peace after the Arab Spring.

Keywords: *code of personal status, emancipation, arabic spring, democratic transition.*

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The Participation of Tunisian Women in the Construction of Peace: Relevant Participation in the Democratic Transition

La Participación de la Mujer Tunecina en la Construcción de la Paz: Participación Relevante en la Transición Democrática

Faicel Chaabani

Resumen- Pocos meses después de conseguir la Independencia del país el 20 de marzo de 1956 (Zeyneb Farhat: 2005), se llevó a cabo nuevas rectificaciones con el fin de modernizar y, fomentar las bases de la primera república siguiendo los modelos europeos. Nuevas rectificaciones que tocan todos los sectores sobre todo el ámbito legislativo del Estado, tal vez, la constitución inspirada de las constituciones occidentales, códigos sociales, penales… entre otros. En el mismo año se promulga el Código de Estatuto Personal que otorga muchos derechos para la mujer que sigue siendo, como plataforma legislativa la más revolucionaria en el mundo árabe y musulmán.

El presente artículo propone un análisis documental de la participación de la mujer tunecina en la construcción de la paz después de la primavera árabe.

Palabras clave: código de estatuto personal, emancipación, primavera árabe, transición democrática.

Abstract- A few months after obtaining the Independence the 20 of March of 1956, new rectifications were carried out in order to modernize and promote the foundations of the first republic, following European models, new rectifications that touch all sectors on all especially legislative sphere of the state, taking the example of the Tunisian constitution which inspired from the Western constitutions, social codes, penal codes ... among others. In the same year the Code of Personal Status was promulgated giving many rights to the women who remain, till now as the legislative platform the most revolutionary in the Arab and Muslim world.

This article proposes a documentary analysis of the participation of the Tunisian women in the construction of peace after the Arab Spring.

Keywords: code of personal status, emancipation, arabic spring, democratic transition.

I. Proceso de Emancipación de la Mujer Tunecina Hasta la Actualidad

De entrada, es bueno recordar que el actual Túnez, antes llamaba "Cartago" era uno de los países más potentes del Mediterráneo, fue fundado por una mujer que se llamaba "Alisa" (Kamel Sahli, 2001) que encabezó un grupo de comerciantes fenicios que se trasladaron del actual "Líbano" al norte de África construyendo el imperio en 814 antes de Cristo. Otra mujer, figura que enmarcó su presencia a lo largo de la historia, la más célebre en el país por sus hazañas, generosidad y su solidaridad con los colectivos desfavorecidos, fue la princesa Aziza Othmana (1606 – 1669), que según Kamel Sahli construyó un hospicio para los pobres y un refugio para los animales *"construyó un hospicio para los pobres y un refugio para los perros y gatos callejeros, adelantando así y con muchos siglos las modernas asociaciones de protección de los animales."* (Kamel Sahli, 2001)

En el mundo islámico en general y árabe en particular la situación de la mujer tunecina es diferente en muchos aspectos en comparación con el resto de mujeres del mundo árabe porque se benefició y sigue beneficiando de una plataforma legislativa que la permitió gozar de muchos derechos igual al hombre. En este contexto, ha habido otras circunstancias y personalidades y han influido en el proceso de emancipación. A mediados del siglo pasado se ha seguido una política emancipadora a favor de la mujer tunecina, el protagonista de esta política fue "Habib Burguiba" presidente del Estado tunecino desde 1956 hasta 1987.

Pero, ante todo, históricamente había otra figura más conocida en Túnez que era el escritor "Taher Haddad" que apeló a la emancipación de la mujer y, la escolarización de las niñas además de otras reivindicaciones a favor de la mujer. Tradujo estas ideas en un libro denominado "Nuestra Mujer en la Shariaa y la religión" que, tras ser publicado, levantó grandes críticas en contra por sus contenidos y, su interpretación del Corán.

La nueva posición de la mujer tunecina tiene que ver con este marco legislativo y, esta base popular tan extensa que llamó a su emancipación en un ámbito caracterizado por un retraso en la materia. La conciencia también del colectivo político se considera una de las bases relevantes para lograr dicho cambio que toca los sectores más sensibles del Estado en aquella época.

Cabe distinguir, que la mujer tunecina estaba entre dos posturas o tendencias muy diferentes, una

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clásica de los reformistas que seguía una línea protectora de la mujer contra las civilizaciones y culturas occidentales y, otra moderna, totalmente diferente que intentaba abrir lazos con occidente y, seguir este modelo en las libertades y derechos de la mujer para conseguir progresos. (Rosario Montoro Murillo, 1992).

Con el objetivo de promover la emancipación y la liberación de la mujer tunecina y llevar a cabo su participación en el desarrollo económico, social, político entre otros, se otorgó el Código de Estatuto Personal, que suponía un gran avance y un progreso importante en lograr los derechos de la mujer tunecina.

Este Código que ha sufrido 10 modificaciones desde su promulgación hasta la actualidad, estipulando puntos en algunos casos polémicos en referencia a la religión Islámica (derecho maliki), así como la abolición de la poligamia (art. 18), en esta condición la ley deja claro que la pareja debe estar libre en cualquier relación matrimonial y, en caso contrario se impone una sanción según la ley. En la misma línea se otorga el derecho al aborto (art. 35) que se puede practicar en ciertas condiciones durante los tres primeros meses, se permite sobre todo, por motivos de salud. La ley de aborto entró en vigor en 1973.

Otro asunto más polémico, que enmarca su presencia en el Código de Estatuto Personal, es el de la ley de herencia (art. 85) que se inspira en la ley coránica que otorga al hombre heredar el doble de la mujer y, en este marco se calcula la suma de ingresos y, de herencia en general dividiéndola entre los miembros de la familia, pero otorgando mayor cantidad a los hombres que a las mujeres.

Estos son los principales puntos del código aparte de otros derechos políticos, sociales, económicos, culturales… tales como, su seguridad social, derecho al divorcio (art. 30), acceso a la vida pública, derecho al voto, libertades personales, escolarización de la mujer, libertad de asociación y agrupación… entre otros.

Para llevar a cabo su participación en la vida social, económica, política y, promover su emancipación se han creado muchas asociaciones feministas desde la independencia hasta la actualidad como son: *"Union Nationale des Femmes de Tunisie (U.N.F.T.)"* (Unión Nacional de Mujeres de Túnez) creada en 1956 y presidida por Raddiya Haddad, su misión era consolidar la integración de la mujer en la sociedad. El principio asociativo de la mujer tunecina tuvo sus raíces a principios de los años treinta del pasado siglo, cuando se fundó en 1936 la "*Union Musulmane des Femmes de Tunisie* (U.M.F.T.)", (la Unión Musulmana de Mujeres de Túnez).

En este contexto y, durante los años siguientes dio lugar al surgimiento de otras asociaciones y organismos con el fin de promover y apoyar la participación de la mujer en los diferentes sectores del Estado, así como *"Asociación Democrática de Mujeres Tunecinas", "Asociación de las Mujeres Jueces"* que cuenta con un número tan elevado de jueces de sexo femenino que representan 60% de la totalidad de los jueces en el país. Además de otras asociaciones que tienen los mismos objetivos y principios que son la promoción de la participación de la mujer en la vida socio-política y, fomentar los derechos de sí misma, como el "*Centro de Investigación, documentación e información sobre la mujer*".

Más allá, en los años noventa del siglo pasado se creó el "*Ministerio de Mujeres y Asuntos Familiares",* con el fin de defender y apoyar los derechos de este colectivo y elaborar proyectos para mejorar la situación de la mujer.

II. Datos Significativos de la Presencia Feminista en Los Diferentes Sectores Del Estado

Esta plataforma legislativa favoreció un ambiente adecuado para que la mujer tunecina pudiera sumergirse y actuar en los diferentes sectores junto al hombre, participando tanto en la vida política como económica, encabezando los sectores tan sensibles del Estado, ocupando los puestos directivos de grandes empresas, ministerios y organizaciones. La emancipación de la mujer dio frutos a partir de los años setenta cuando se registró una tasa de escolarización que supera los 40% en comparación con la de los años sesenta que se limitaba en el 15% según la confirmación del autor, en el ámbito escolar la presencia femenina aumentó considerablemente en estos años *"En 1956 el alumnado femenino representaba el quince por ciento del conjunto de la población escolar y estudiantil, mientras que en 1975 representaba casi el cuarenta por ciento en primaria"* (Rosario Montoro Murillo, 1992).

Más allá, las recientes estadísticas del Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas de Túnez destacan que la tasa de analfabetismo de las mujeres disminuyó hasta el 31% en 2004 desde 1996 que había una tasa del 96%.

La misma fuente asegura que la tasa de analfabetismo en general bajó de 23,3% en 2004 a 18,8% en 2014, pero aseveró que la tasa de analfabetismo de las niñas es más alta con 25% mientras 12,4% de los varones.

En el campo laboral, el porcentaje de inserción de las mujeres en la vida activa ha aumentado y, han podido acceder al mercado laboral especialmente en sectores como la agricultura, industria, sanidad, transporte…. En 1960 la mujer solo representaba 5% de la población activa mientras en 1980 llegó a alcanzar el 20% de la población activa. (Rosario Montoro Murillo, 1992).

Catorce años después, este porcentaje ha aumentado de manera notable hasta llegar en 1994 a 25% de la población activa, distribuidas especialmente

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al sector de servicios. Se estima que 44% de las mujeres registradas trabajan en el sector agrícola, el mismo porcentaje, es decir 44% trabajan en sector industrial (textil) y 46.15% en el sector sanitario. Es bueno mencionar que, en verdad, estas estadísticas priorizan la situación de la mujer que ha marcado un gran avance en los últimos años evolucionando hacia una sociedad que da tanta importancia al sexo femenino como al masculino, convirtiendo a Túnez en uno de los países feministas en el mundo islámico y africano. Aun así, las estadísticas muestran que la mujer tunecina cuenta con muchas carencias todavía.

Es interesante observar otras fuentes de opinión que tratan la situación de la mujer tunecina, donde se reflejan episodios de la participación feminista en la vida política y social del país (por ejemplo diarios de opinión como "El Mundo"). No se han notado muchos sesgos en los datos y porcentajes. En un artículo titulado *"Luces y sombras de la mujer tunecina*", publicado en "El Mundo", Paka Díaz, asevera que la situación jurídica de la mujer tunecina es excepcional en los países árabes. La creciente presencia de la mujer alcanza el 40% de los abogados y con porcentaje menor en los jueces, tan solo 29.9%, lo cual representa un tercio de de los mismos, aunque en 1969 se nombró a la primera jueza El sector sanitario registra un porcentaje alto de las farmacéuticas que supera el 72% y un porcentaje más modesto de periodistas pues tan solo representa 44%. En la vida universitaria el porcentaje de mujeres registradas es alrededor de 60%. Según la misma fuente, más de 1800 mujeres dirigen empresas. Estas cifras y otras determinan la imagen de la mujer y su presencia sustancial en los diferentes sectores vitales del Estado aunque escondan otra realidad la de la mujer rural, en un país que fue clasificado entre los países democráticos que reconocen los derechos humanos, así como los derechos de la mujer.

A pesar de estos logros realizados durante años y años como fruto de mucho esfuerzo y trabajo de varios grupos sociales que han mostrado su apoyo e impulso a favor de la emancipación de la mujer, este colectivo sufre situaciones de desigualdad y discriminación salarial. Cabe señalar que, en el sector privado, los activistas sociales y defensores de los derechos de los trabajadores han levantado numerosas críticas y denuncias contra los dueños de estas empresas a la Unión General de Trabajo Tunecina (UGTT). A pesar de que la ley tunecina estipula obviamente la igualdad salarial entre ambos sexos y que el Estado firmó en 1951 la convención que trata la igualdad de los sueldos de ambos sexos, las desigualdades salariales siguen existiendo sobre todo en los sectores agrícola e industrial, donde se ha registrado un bajo control por parte del Estado y sus instituciones legítimas.

III. Participación de la Mujer Tunecina en la Primavera Árabe

Desde el estallido de los levantamientos en varios países del Norte de África y Asia, se han producido muchas críticas contra los gobiernos y reivindicaciones, para el fomento de las libertades y los derechos de las personas sin distinción alguna, derrocar a los gobiernos y a los regímenes que habían estado en el poder desde hace décadas, mejorar la situación económica de los pueblos…entre otras. La mujer tunecina ha mostrado su interés en participar en dicha revolución, ha encabezado las protestas, se ha enfrentado con la policía luchando para conseguir sus propósitos y luchado contra las corrientes que anteriormente negaban su condición.

La mujer tunecina salió a la calle protestando y desfiló junto al hombre contra la dictadura de Ben Ali, considerando que la lucha es la única vía para obligar al régimen para que lleve a cabo reformas y rectificaciones a favor de la mujer. Ella misma ha estado en las calles, plazas, avenidas como la de Habib Burguiba (símbolo de la revolución) ubicada en el corazón de la capital Túnez. Ha mostrado presencia activa y masiva en la sociedad civil, confirmando que este colectivo goza desde hace décadas de libertad de expresión y de trabajo. Esta realidad se contradice con la afirmación de Jesus Mosterin, cuando expresa tan solo el ejemplo de la mujer egipcia. Así, dice que *"en el mundo islámico resulta casi imposible a las mujeres levantar la cabeza y criticar abiertamente la opresión que sufren, aunque alguna, como la feminista egipcia Nawal El Saadawi, lo ha intentado*" (Jesus Mosterin, 2012). En este ámbito la mujer tunecina ha sido pionera y, ha mostrado esta valentía durante décadas de lucha contra la tiranía y despotismo de los dictadores y, su inserción en la vida pública ha sido fruto de mucho trabajo y esfuerzo.

La mujer tunecina ha jugado una doble función, la primera consiste en la participación al mismo nivel que el hombre, por ejemplo en las protestas y manifestaciones organizadas contra el régimen aprovechando el ciberespacio para motivar a muchas otras para que saliesen a las calles. La segunda consiste en una función directiva, es decir, dirigir manifestaciones, elaborar estrategias, prestar ayuda a los manifestantes como la distribución de comida, medicamentos… (Randa Achmawi, 2011)

En Túnez, la presencia de la mujer fue alta, gracias a los medios de comunicación que a su vez se usaron como instrumentos para transmitir mensajes, fotos, imágenes, videos… al mundo entero sobre las manifestaciones y protestas ocurridas que han llamado la atención dentro y fuera del país contra la tiranía y la injusticia. Como se ha dicho anteriormente, por medio de las redes sociales se hizo más fácil la difusión y la circulación de los videos… lo que aceleró la caída del

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régimen. Una de las mujeres que protagonizó las manifestaciones fue "Lina Ben Mehenni" que compartió videos en los cuales apeló a los y las jóvenes a salir a las calles, difundiendo imágenes sobre los acontecimientos ocurridos en Túnez en aquel periodo.

Tanto durante la revolución como después, la mujer tunecina se ha implicado de manera directa o indirecta en el proceso de cambio del panorama político, no solo en el país sino también en otros países tanto vecinos como lejanos, ya que formaba parte de los sucesos ocurridos. Ha sido responsable de los cambios políticos como sociales en los países árabes. (Randa Achmawi, 2011).

IV. Participación Positiva de la Mujer Tunecina en la Fase de Posrevolución

El papel de la mujer tunecina durante y después de la sublevación de "Jasmin" ha sido esencial y más que evidente. Estuvo marcada por la presencia masiva de la mujer en las primeras filas de manifestaciones y protestas contra la injusticia y la corrupción. Aunque goza de muchos derechos sagrados desde hace siglos estipulados en el Código de Estatuto Personal, ha mostrado su interés en salir a las calles y defender sus derechos y trazar su nombre con letras de oro en estos momentos históricos.

Ante esta situación, la presencia femenina ha mostrado de nuevo la intención de la sociedad tunecina por conservar los logros realizados y, garantizar más su participación tanto en la vida política como social. Así, el 20 de abril de 2011 dio lugar a la adopción de un principio presentado por las asociaciones feministas que otorga la paridad de género en las elecciones de la Asamblea Constituyente del 24 de julio de 2011. (Randa Achmawi, 2011).

V. Participación Masiva de la Mujer en Las Elecciones

Consciente de su papel tan relevante antes y durante la revolución, la mujer quería dejar una huella en esta fase tan sensible, después de haber conseguido un éxito inesperado. Gracias a su participación, la sublevación ha triunfado y se ha convertido en un modelo democrático y estable a seguir en comparación con las demás revueltas surgidas en aquella época.

El despertar de 2011 dio lugar a una participación masiva de la mujer tanto en las calles como en los puestos directivos, y esto se explica por la base legislativa que otorgaba muchos derechos a la mujer desde hace décadas, ya que en este país se respetan. El 26 de enero de 2014 se aprobó una nueva constitución que reemplazó la antigua que fue aprobada en 1956, meses después de la independencia. Este texto se considera como uno de los textos más avanzados del mundo árabe, en él se garantiza entre otros, los derechos tanto personales como colectivos de las personas.

La mujer tunecina protagonizó la escena política durante los cinco años después de la revolución, la denominada "transición democrática", que ha contribuido en el desarrollo tanto de las elecciones legislativas como presidenciales que tuvieron lugar en nuestro país de dos formas, la primera como votante y la segunda como participante. Según las estadísticas del Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, la mujer alcanza el 47% de los inscritos en el registro de votantes, contra una participación moderada del hombre de 53%.

El 26 de octubre de 2014 tuvieron lugar las elecciones legislativas después de aprobar la nueva constitución de 2014. La Asamblea Nacional consta de 217 diputados entre ellos 149 hombres y 68 mujeres con porcentaje de 31%, casi el tercio. Este porcentaje ha aumentado en comparación con la participación de este género en 2011 después de la revolución. En aquel año, 59 mujeres han sido elegidas como diputadas de la Asamblea Constituyente para llevar a cabo la Constitución del país.

El número de mujeres elegidas se distribuye según el siguiente orden. En primer lugar viene el partido laico de "Nida Tounes" con 35 mujeres, en segundo lugar viene el partido islamista "Ennahdha" en español "Renacimiento" con 27 mujeres, seguido por dos partidos que son "La Unión Patriótica Libre" y "Frente Popular" con el mismo número: 2 mujeres cada uno. Y vienen en último lugar ambos partidos que son "Corriente democrática" y "Corriente de amor" con una mujer para cada partido.

En efecto, el partido de Nida Tounes surgió en 2012 como un movimiento de izquierdistas contra el gobierno de Troika que es una alianza de 3 partidos (Ennahdha, Coalición Democrática para el Trabajo y las Libertades y Congreso para la Republica) que gobernaron desde 2011 hasta 2014. Este partido pudo tener éxito en las elecciones tanto legislativas como presidenciales de 2014.

En comparación con los hombres, la presencia femenina en este dispositivo vital del Estado se considera muy baja, a pesar de que la ley electoral aprobada en la nueva constitución de 2014 se estipuló el principio de paridad entre ambos sexos.

El mismo informe elaborado en 2015, detalla también que la mujer ha participado como miembro de oficina de voto con un porcentaje del 49%, mientras que como presidenta de voto desciende al 30%. Y como candidata la mujer solo representa 26% frente al hombre con un 74%. En cuanto a su presencia como observadora durante el proceso electoral en organizaciones no gubernamentales, la mujer constituye 42.5% de los observadores según la misma fuente.

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Analizando esta relación de estadísticas de la presencia femenina durante el proceso electoral destacamos dos observaciones, la primera consiste en que la mujer cuenta con mayor presencia en la estructura global de las elecciones como votante, observadora… mientras que como presidenta de oficina o candidata solo representa el tercio de los participantes. La segunda consiste en que este retroceso en las estructuras directivas revela que a pesar de este avance legislativo, la mujer se ve relegada a segundo plano o que ella misma evita ese cargo.

En la esfera política la mujer encabezó muchos partidos políticos y puestos directivos que antes eran monopolizados por los hombres. De hecho, la presencia femenina en la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, alcanzó solo 26,7 % en 2011, mientras en 2014 y tras las elecciones legislativas este porcentaje ha subido hasta el 31,3% de los diputados (casi un tercio).

En este contexto según el Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, durante estos últimos cinco años después de la revolución tunecina, se ha registrado un número muy reducido de mujeres que han podido ocupar puestos ministeriales. Éstas han sido entre 2 y 3 mujeres cada año, excepto en 2015 y durante el mandato de Habib Essid donde la presencia de la mujer como ministra ha aumentado hasta llegar a 8 mujeres con un porcentaje de 19,5% del formato gubernamental. Aunque consideramos un porcentaje bajo es la primera vez que llega a este porcentaje.

A continuación, es bueno mencionar que estas estadísticas ilustran una presencia casi notable del sexo femenino en la transición democrática del país y un papel relevante durante todo el proceso transitorio después de la sublevación. Pero estas mismas fuentes ocultan una realidad y revelan diferencias flagrantes e injustas, sesgos en los porcentajes y a veces datos inexistentes.

VI. Conclusiones

Las fuentes consultadas en el presente trabajo, son de doble naturaleza. De un lado, hemos recurrido al Código del Estatuto Personal (CEP) texto promulgado a mediados del siglo pasado que regula la situación jurídica de la mujer y el derecho de la familia en general. La política emancipadora se basa en otro texto que es la Constitución de la República Tunecina, donde se estipula entre otras cuestiones, la igualdad ante la ley de hombres y mujeres. Añadir a ello, la nueva Constitución aprobada en 2014 que también, garantiza los derechos de género. Así pues, hemos comparado estadísticas de institutos tunecinos, las del Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE), y otras fuentes como la de la Organización de Naciones Unidas. De otro lado, hemos analizado los artículos escritos sobre este tema, y, otros trabajos escritos o libros, que estudian en general la situación de la mujer en el mundo islámico-árabe y, en particular en Túnez.

La mujer tunecina goza desde la independencia hasta la actualidad de una plataforma legislativa, el Estatuto Personal de 1956, la Constitución Tunecina de 1959, otras leyes a favor de la mujer, la Constitución de 2014 que le reconoce la igualdad ante la ley… entre otras. Que le permite gozar de sus derechos tanto civiles como políticos igual al hombre, como el derecho a voto, la abolición de la poligamia, la instauración del divorcio legal, aparte del derecho al aborto… entre otros.

El proceso emancipador de la mujer tunecina hubiera sido difícil sin la voluntad de la sociedad civil tunecina encabezada por el presidente Habib Bourguiba (1956-1987) que protagonizó esta política revolucionaria mediante una política moderna a favor de la mujer, promulgando leyes que aseguran su igualdad ante la ley. Otra figura, fue el pensador Taher Haddad 1930, quien también se alzó para reivindicar la emancipación de la mujer tunecina apelando a su libertad, mediante un discurso moderno, traduciendo estas ideas en un libro llamado "*Nuestra mujer: la legislación islámica y la sociedad*", en el cual apeló a la escolarización de la mujer y otras cuestiones.

A pesar de este análisis, existen carencias en las fuentes: en cuanto a continuidad, uniformidad, procedencia… pero presentan datos importantes de la participación feminista en la construcción del proceso democrático y, su presencia antes y después de la primavera árabe.

En el mismo contexto, la mujer tribal cuenta con muchas carencias y se siente desfavorecida, sobre todo las mujeres de las provincias interiores del país y que residan en las zonas fronterizas con Argelia, así como, el noroeste del país, provincias como Beja, Jendouba, Kef, Gasserine… entre otras. En estas zonas la tasa de alfabetismo registrada es muy elevada y, la inserción de la mujer en la vida pública es mucho menor.

Durante la transición democrática, la mujer tunecina ha mostrado su interés junto al hombre en mantener los objetivos de la sublevación, participando en la elaboración del borrador de la constitución, tanto en las elecciones legislativas presidenciales de 2014, como en la participación notable de una nueva construcción social. Estos hechos y otros le han convertido, sin lugar a dudas, en la protagonista de la primavera árabe de su época.

La mujer tunecina rompió todas las barreras sociales para alcanzar sus propósitos saliendo a las calles gritando y rechazando las políticas de tiranía y las injusticias del Estado. Una buena táctica, el coraje y la intuición de la mujer le han convertido en uno de los modelos a seguir en el mundo árabe y africano.

Como hemos visto durante el planteamiento de los datos, referidos a la participación de la mujer en los principales sectores del Estado tanto económico como

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político, este colectivo marca su presencia en grado muy alto. De hecho, el porcentaje de la inserción de la mujer tunecina en la vida activa según las últimas estadísticas es el más elevado en el mundo árabe.

A pesar de estos logros realizados desde hace décadas, la mujer tunecina sigue luchando para trazar su camino y su integración plena. Aunque que quedan cosas por hacer, está caminando para lograr la igualdad. Este proceso se opone a un antiguo dicho muy popular que considera que el verdadero lugar de la mujer es su hogar "las mujeres pertenecen solo a sus hogares y maridos", a lo largo de estos años la mujer tunecina ha mostrado su capacidad de romper estos estereotipos y borrar estas creencias.

Durante todo el proceso de emancipación hasta la actualidad la mujer tunecina ha mostrado su interés de liberarse, luchando contra muchas corrientes desagradables que la han relegado a un segundo plano, un proceso duro y complejo que la cuestiona para lograr muchos éxitos y que sin embargo le permitió protagonizar un papel feminista en el mundo árabe, privilegiada de derechos que garanticen su acceso a la vida pública.

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Hysteria as an Aesthetic Expression

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Abstract- This article introduces a new look at hysteria by examining hysterical phenomena from the perspective of Freudian-inspired aesthetics. We will discuss a new femininity brought about by the discovery of hysteria and celebrated by the surrealists as a means of artistic expression, and lastly, we will approach hysteria from the relational standpoint, that is, from the relationships that the hysterical subject establishes with the alterity.

Keywords: hysteria; sigmund freud; the uncanny; surrealists; psychoanalysis; aesthetics.

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Hysteria as an Aesthetic Expression

Fernanda Pereira Medina[1]

Abstract- **This article introduces a new look at hysteria by examining hysterical phenomena from the perspective of Freudian-inspired aesthetics. [1]We will discuss a new femininity brought about by the discovery of hysteria and celebrated by the surrealists as a means of artistic expression, and lastly, we will approach hysteria from the relational standpoint, that is, from the relationships that the hysterical subject establishes with the alterity.**

Keywords: hysteria; sigmund freud; the uncanny; surrealists; psychoanalysis; aesthetics.

Introduction

Within the perspective of Freudian-inspired aesthetics – which I have discussed earlier in an article entitled *Freud e a estética da estranheza* (*Freud and the aesthetics of strangeness*)[2] –, I propose an analysis of hysteria from the viewpoint of creation. It must be clear, first of all, that Freudian aesthetics does not relate to the sensitive representation of art – this is the object of consciousness. Freud's investigation in the realm of aesthetics concerns, first and foremost, the affective effect of the artwork on the viewer. And such affective effect refers to the mobilization of instinctual forces that are, by definition, unconscious.

The article *Das Unheimliche* (*The Uncanny*, in English), published in 1919 – a text in which the psychoanalyst looks into the short story *The Sandman* and the novel *The Devil's Elixirs*, both by writer E. T. A. Hoffmann –, served as a guiding thread to the development of all aesthetics inspired on psychoanalysis.

In the article, Freud discusses a specific genre of representation, capable of awakening in the reader a particular feeling of anguish, defined in German by the word *Unheimliche*. It must be stressed that *The Uncanny* is not merely a reflection on aesthetics. It announces the great theoretical revision of the 1920s that leads to a new theory of drives. At this time, Freud begins to reconsider the boundaries of the pleasure principle, until then deemed to be the dominant tendency of the psyche. Here, he recognizes the existence of an even more primitive type of pleasure, subjected to the repetition compulsion. From this point of view, it may be said that the uncanny reveals the instinctual dimension of the experience of art. The aesthetics that emerges from such theoretical revolution represents, thus, a perspective of creation stripped of the illusion of beauty, harmony and goodness. It is from such standpoint that hysteria may be regarded as a creation, as a representation of a passion whose "pathography" (in the sense of writing a *pathos*) and iconography (in the sense of a formal representation of passion) explicitly refer back to the painful and to the appalling, as explained by Freud in his 1919 article. This tragic character of hysteria was well explored by Charcot. The neurologist provided new meaning to quasi-religious ecstasy and demonic possession. But he also exhibited the hysteric, through a theatrical and surprising mise-en-scène, through hypnosis and exhibitions of the diseased – the famous *"Leçons du Mardi"* ("*Tuesday Lessons*"). The world discovered, with Charcot, what a hysterical body was capable of.

The discovery of hysteria opened up a world of possibilities for physicians such as Charcot and Freud, but for poets, writers and painters as well. "Beauty will be convulsive or it won't be at all[3]" was André Breton's tribute to Salpêtrière's hysterical women, with which he ended his narrative *Nadja*, published in 1928. In this work, Breton recounts the events involving himself and an "alienated" young woman he met in Paris on October 4, 1926, Léona Delcourt, alias "Nadja". It is a text – somewhat autobiographical – in which the author, identified with the insane woman, manages to fulfill his desire to write and to act out the convulsive beauty he had dreamed of while contemplating the iconography of the Salpetrière[4].

Convulsive, passionate and chaotic beauty, hysteria is claimed by the surrealists as an emblem of a new art. In the same year as that of the publication of *Nadja,* Louis Aragon and André Breton commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of hysteria, which they consider the great "poetic discovery" of the late 19th century,

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[2] MEDINA, F. P. Freud e a estética da estranheza. Literartes, *[S. l.]*, v. 1, no. 7, p. 285-297, 2017. Available at: https://www.revistas.usp.br/literartes/article/view/ 124456.

[3] "La beauté sera CONVULSIVE ou ne sera pas". (Breton, A. *Nadja,* Paris, Gallimard, 1963, p. 190).

[4] Roudinesco, E. *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France. 2, 1925-1985,* Paris, Fayard, 1994, p. 43.

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whose perfect type would be represented by Augustine[5]. Inspired by the Freudian discovery, the surrealists celebrate hysteria as a means of artistic expression – expression of pain and ecstasy that, gaining form and visibility, fascinates and frightens the viewer. Such horrible beauty is what seduces the surrealists.

We must insist on the word *visibility.* Let us note that the physical conversion of affects often arises as a response to an insufficiency of language. Through paralysis, anesthesia, convulsions, that is, through the symptoms, the affect that does not find expression in words becomes seeable in the body. Hysteria points, in a way, to a flaw in language as well as an insufficiency of scientific discourse, which mutes in the face of hysterical phenomena. No one can deny that before Charcot, modern science did not have much to say about hysteria. We may say that it is a type of Sphinx, of an object that raises questions – as the ready-made was to modern art. "Who am I?" – asks the hysteric to the wise, like the bicycle wheel to critics and art lovers. This question baffled the 20th century, as Gérard Wajcman points out in *L'Objet du Siècle* (*The Object of the Century*): "to say of this bicycle wheel that it is the Sphinx of art may encourage us to say that it is to the art of the century what hysteria was to Freud and psychoanalysis, the original and inexhaustible mystery, from which both drew the secret and splendor of their practice. The *Bicycle Wheel,* Anna O. or Dora of Modern Art[6]".

The surrealists inaugurate a new representation of the feminine: the woman who rebels, the criminal, paranoid, homosexual woman who is no longer the miserable and slave of her symptoms to become the heroine of a new modernity. Paying homage to Violette Nozière[7], prostitute, mythomaniac and parricide, the surrealists celebrate death, suicide, sex, the murderous drive and the passionate madness. The young Lacan feeds on this new look at femininity for his narrative of the case "Aimée", alias Marguerite Anzieu[8]. A failed criminal, Aimée joins Augustine of the Salpetrière, Violette, Nadja and all these passionate, disturbed and demonic women from mythology.

Let us call demonic the femininity around which we recognize, for example, the myth of Lilith, Satan's accursed wife – according to Jewish tradition, a somber and nocturnal creature who, seducing men in their sleep, conceived with them devilish children, and then devoured them. Almost absent from Christian texts, Lilith appears in Jewish texts and exegesis as the first wife of Adam, created, according to the Alphabet of Ben Sirah (11th century), from the same material as the latter and equally in the image and likeness of God[9]. Lilith refused to submit to the usual sexual position, that is, underneath the man. Or, in other words, she refused male supremacy. Without giving in to Adam, she fled the Garden of Eden. Lilith would be cursed by the Father and all her offspring would die at birth. Her fate should be to wander endlessly, devouring other women's newborns. In some versions, Lilith is represented by the serpent that tempts Eve.

From ancient times, it is to this diabolic or possessed woman that the image of the hysteric is identified. The term hysteria comes from the Greek word *hystera* (matrix). According to Plato, the matrix or uterus is an animal whose aptitude is to make children; when it remains for a long period without bearing fruit, this animal becomes impatient and withstands this state badly; it then proceeds to wander erratically all over the body, obstructing the air passages, restricting breathing, and causing extreme anguish and diseases of all sorts[10].

In the Middle Ages, the convulsions, the spasms, the screams, the paralysis, in short, all expressions and postures immortalized by the famous Salpetrière iconography were construed as an expression of sexual pleasure and, thus, of a sin. These manifestations were attributed to the intervention of the manipulative devil, able to deceive, simulate illnesses and enter women's bodies to possess them[11]. And the woman possessed would become the witch, cast out by the Church in the 15th and 16th centuries.

These images, however laden with beliefs and superstitions, clearly signals the plasticity expressed in the hysterical phenomena and the sexual fantasy that resides at the origin of the illness. In a way, we may say that the hysterical symptom is the substitutive expression of orgasm. However, this pleasure proves to be infantile and incomplete, since the sexuality of the hysterical subject is always paradoxical: a wholly eroticized body that contrasts with an anesthetized erogenous zone, in the same way as a tendency to eroticize any social relationship opposes an aversion to the sexual intercourse itself.

[5] Didi-Huberman, *in Invention de l'hysterie. Charcot et l'iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* Paris, Macula, 1982, p. 147.

[6] Wajcman, *L'objet du siècle,* Lagrasse, Éditions Verdier, 1998, p. 89.

[7] Eighteen-year-old French young woman who, on the night of August 21, 1933, poisons her parents.

[8] Aimée is the pseudonym under which Jacques Lacan presents, in his doctoral thesis, the case of Marguerite Anzieu, a paranoid woman who, on April 18, 1931, unsuccessfully tries to stab actress Huguette Duflosse.

[9] Laraia, R. de B. (1997). Jardim do Éden revisitado. *Revista De Antropologia*, *40*(1), 149-164. Avaiable at https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-77011997000100005.

[10] Nasio, *L'hystérie ou l'enfant magnifique de la psychanalyse,* Paris, Éditions Payot et Rivages, 1995, p.85.

[11] Roudinesco et Plon, *Dictionaire de la psychanalyse,* Paris, Fayard, 2006, p. 487.

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When Freud, in his 1919 article *Das Unheimliche*, asks himself about people, things and situations capable of awakening in us this feeling of strangeness – which we agree to associate with the aesthetic experience –, he evokes a series of examples such as the intellectual uncertainty facing an automaton, that is, whether a character is alive or dead (definition proposed by E. Jentsch); the astonishment caused by fits of madness or epilepsy; the belief in superstitions – which meets the magical thinking of children and certain neurotics –; situations connected to the universe of animism, magic, witchcraft and death; and several situations in which the barrier separating reality from fantasy has faded[12].

The image of witchcraft and demonic possession that surrounds hysteria thus accounts in large part for the disquieting feeling of strangeness that relates, on the one hand, to the recognition of insanity in the deepest SELF and, on the other, to what there is of primitive and childish in every neurotic. Freud emphasizes, in 1919, that "the infantile elements in this, which also dominates the minds of neurotics, is the over-accentuation of psychic reality in comparison with material reality – a feature closely allied to the belief in the omnipotence of thoughts."[13] The infantile and the primitive resist in the depths of our souls, and the feeling of strangeness linked to the superstitions, the magical thoughts, the intuitions, the hidden forces, and the beliefs in the return of the dead – conditions assumed by our ancestors as real and indisputable – continue to live within us, in what remains of primitive in us.

The discovery of hysteria allowed the construction of a new look at the feminine. Yet, one must not assume that hysteria is a disease of women. However, the hysterical subject–male or female – always wonders what it is to be a woman. "Who am I?" is the question with which Breton's narrative, *Nadja,* begins. It is also the question of Dora, alias Ida Bauer[14]. What is a woman? How to become a desirable woman in a man's eyes (in the father's eyes)? At the same time, the hysterical man wonders what a woman wants – a question that makes the feminine always obscure and frightening.

This harrowing experience of the man before the woman appears constantly in analytical work and also in literature. In Hoffman's tale *The Sandman,* as well as in Jensen's novel *Gradiva* – the latter, analyzed by Freud in 1906 –, we see how protagonists Nathanaël and Norbert abdicate the real woman in favor of an amorous relationship with the idealized, "fantasized" woman. In Norbert's spirit, "'the female gender had until then been [...] nothing but a concept made of marble or bronze, and he had never given the slightest attention to those who were, to him, the contemporary representatives of such gender'"[15]. Norbert, fully immersed in his science and away from mundane pleasures, had transferred his interest in the living woman to the stone woman. The love of his youth had turned into a bas-relief – a beautiful example of the sublimation of desire. His dream, which shows the transformation of the walking Gradiva into a stone image, is the metaphor, Freud emphasizes, of this process of repression through which erotic love becomes "forgotten". The oneiric contents, which should remain unconscious, try, however, to bring this stone image back into a living woman. Dreams thus become harrowing and frightening, since they touch on the issue of a carefully repressed libidinal fantasy. The young man, whose keen interest in science contrasts with a sexual inhibition, flees as soon as he notices, even unknowingly of why, the threatening signs of Zoé's proximity.

In Hoffman's tale, things happen similarly. Nathanaël believed having found in the eyes of the doll Olympia the flame of an eternal love: "– Sensitive and profound soul!" cried Nathanaël as he entered his room, "You alone, you alone in the world know how to understand me!" He shivered with happiness, dreaming of the intellectual exchanges that existed between Olympia and him and that grew each day."[16]

The young man had completely forgotten about his bride, whom he had once loved. Clara, in her serenity and her silent, lucid nature, seemed now, in Nathanaël's eyes, cold and indifferent. He thus let the real woman, the erotic love, escape for the benefit of the idealized woman – the fate of which is an inescapably unsatisfactory relationship –, just like the neurotic's childish attitude towards the impasses of sexual difference and the enigma of the feminine.

These diabolical, possessed and passionate women of the past have become the emblematic figures of psychoanalysis. It is true that the neuroses of our

[12] Freud, *The Uncanny*, in. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Translated from the german by James Strachey. Volume XVII (1917 – 1919). London: The Hogarth Press. P. 226 – 245.

[13] Freud, *The Uncanny, op. cit.* p. 244

[14] A young woman affected by hysterical symptoms who became the emblematic case of hysteria in Freudian teaching, the famous case of Dora.

[15] Freud, *Le délire et les rêves dans la "Gradiva" de W. Jensen, in The Oeuvres complètes de psychanalyse,* vol. VIII, translated from German by Janine Altounian, Pascale Haller and Daniel Hartmann, Paris, PUF, 2007, p. 47.

[16] Hoffmann, *L'homme au sable, in Contes fantastiques II,* translation by Loève-Veimars, Paris, Flammarion, 1980, p. 248.

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times no longer show themselves with the same spectacular face as that of the hysteria of yesteryear. Convulsive beauty, expression of an overflowing affect, takes on other more discreet, less explicit, less visible forms. Actually, we analyze modern hysteria less for its observable symptoms than for the bonds that the subject establishes with the alterity. The hysterical subject eroticizes the relationships, the human expressions, the words and the silences of the other; he projects his desire onto the other; he turns objective reality into "fantasized" reality. We may say that the hysterical subject – male or female – "hysterizes" reality. He addresses to the other his limitless demand for love, expecting not satisfaction but the no response – because the hysterical subject can only live dissatisfied and frustrated. Its permanent and painful position is one of dissatisfaction and complaint.

In order to fantasize or "hysterize" reality, the subject gets lost in a game of imaginary identifications with different characters. In her infinite malleability, the hysteric is capable of expanding from the deepest to the most external of herself, blurring the edges, in a semi-real, semi-fantastic reality – a phenomenon that blurs the boundary between the familiar and the alien, understandably unsettling, to be faithful to the Freudian thinking that has conducted this whole analysis of the aesthetic feeling present in hysteria.

If the 19th-century hysteric and the modern-day hysteric live their suffering differently, the disquieting feeling described by Freud in his 1919 article, *Das Unheimlich*, is still there, in the heart of the neurotic's fantasy – because this fantasy is closely linked to the threat of castration, to the childhood anxiety of castration, which is at the origin of all neurosis. It is the seat of the conflict between desire – whose possibility of fulfillment becomes unbearable for the subject – and repression. So, the neurotic has to create, create fantasies, create doubles, create hysterical symptoms, which have the effect of a work of art, in the sense of giving dramatic form and figure to the desiring tension.

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Zbyněk Zbyslav Stránský's Museological Impact on Spain

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Abstract- Analyzing the trajectory of Z. Z. Stránský's museological thinking and his commitment to the scientific character of museology allows us to assess the importance of his museological legacy.[1] It is not surprising that his contributions have served as a point of reference for many museologists worldwide. The direct contact Stránský had with Spanish museologists, established through the debates held at ICOFOM and the ISSOM courses, makes it important to consider his influence on Spanish museology. Moreover, the study of the philosophical-scientific context, which is the basis of the entire concept of metamuseology, has served as a stimulus for Spanish museologists to direct their research work towards new museological currents. Indeed, they have done so in the conviction that they are providing a way of conceiving museology that is more in line with the needs of contemporary museums.

Keywords: z. z. stránský, museological theory, scientific discipline, spanish museologists, museological education.

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Zbyněk Zbyslav Stránský's Museological Impact on Spain

Francisca Hernández Hernández[1]

Abstract- **Analyzing the trajectory of Z. Z. Stránský's museological thinking and his commitment to the scientific character of museology allows us to assess the importance of his museological legacy.[1] It is not surprising that his contributions have served as a point of reference for many museologists worldwide. The direct contact Stránský had with Spanish museologists, established through the debates held at ICOFOM and the ISSOM courses, makes it important to consider his influence on Spanish museology. Moreover, the study of the philosophical-scientific context, which is the basis of the entire concept of metamuseology, has served as a stimulus for Spanish museologists to direct their research work towards new museological currents. Indeed, they have done so in the conviction that they are providing a way of conceiving museology that is more in line with the needs of contemporary museums.**

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Introduction

A study of the figure of Zbyněk Z. Stránský allows us to become better acquainted with the considerable work he produced during his academic and research life, he combined his knowledge of history, philosophy, archaeology, music theory, and museology. His production has enriched the scientific field and contributed to the deepening of humanistic values in European society. Indeed, Stránský's ideas have had a significant impact on many museology scholars, in Eastern Europe, in other European countries as well as in Latin America, who benefited from his courses at the International Summer School of Museology (ISSOM) and from his theoretical contributions to the International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM) during the 1980s.

Some people wonder whether Stránský's museological thinking is still relevant today and whether it can provide solutions to the questions that contemporary museums are asking themselves to face the challenges when it comes to museums' *raison d'être*.

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As is usually the case in all areas of theoretical reflection, Stránský had his followers and detractors. By some, he was considered as the creator of scientific museology by formulating and explaining the theoretical foundations of this discipline, while others criticized him because he focused too much on museological theory and, according to them, ignored the practice of museums, devoting himself to "Byzantine questions" that had nothing to do with the problems of contemporary society. However, Stránský never separated theory from practice in his study of museology if he was interested in anything, it was precisely in training museum professionals so that they could carry out their work with the guarantee of a theoretical basis (Stránský 1983: 76; 1987: 289).

This article aims to highlight his contributions to the field of museology, to which he devoted much of his time and effort. In addition, it will analyze the impact on the development of Spanish museology of the man who, without doubt, can be considered the most important promoter of Czech museology during the second half of the 20th century (Dolák and Varíková 2006) as well as the creator and promoter of scientific museology.

I. Stránský and the need to Rethink Museology

From the beginning of his research, Stránský (1981: 73) is convinced that it was necessary to rethink museology, trying to create a theoretical framework that would provide the consistency to become an authentic science. However, like any science, it needs to be based on philosophical principles that consider the ontological nature of its object, the epistemological dimension as a necessary instrument to understand the reality within a museum context, the aesthetic component as a way of discovering the creative capacity of human beings and the ethical requirement based on respect for the freedom of others and for those who are different (Carta de Coro 1999). To this end, he decided to apply systems theory to museology.

Stránský, starting from his solid philosophical background, tried to lay the theoretical foundations of museology as an independent scientific discipline. He was aware that museum theory is presented "as a specific area of human intellectual activities, having certain characteristics of pure theory, with trends towards separating this theory and constituting it as a

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scientific discipline" (Stránský 1980: 43). Moreover, museological science can only exist and develop if it can respond to the concrete needs of today's society. Therefore, the term museology or museum theory refers to a field of specific knowledge and investigation oriented towards the museum phenomenon (*Ibid*. 44). However, this idea was not readily accepted by all because some considered that it was not easy to determine the object of a discipline that did not yet have a perfectly consolidated definition, nor would it be possible to succeed in defining a discipline whose object is not sufficiently known (Deloche 2001: 106). However, with time, we must acknowledge that many researchers have applied his philosophical principles to the field of museology and recognize Stránský's creative ability to elaborate a museological discourse based on scientific principles.

In any case, we can observe the approach is given to museological thought by Stránský, as a representative of Eastern Europe, and his commitment to the defense of his line of research on the independence of museology from the museum, is of capital importance. Why? Because it opened the doors for his museological investigation to be known in the rest of Europe, having been translated, for the most part, into English and, to a lesser extent, into other languages. However, when talking about Stránský, we must also mention two other museologists from the East who, together with him, worked in the field of museology. All three of them belonged to a group of thinkers from communist bloc countries who showed us the characteristics of a historical moment in which Marxist ideology was still in force. They are Klaus Schreiner, Director of the Agrarhistorisches Museum (Museum of Agraricam History) in Alt Schwerin in the German Democratic Republic, and Anna Gregorová, Research Assistant at the Ústredná správa múzei a galérií (Central Office of Museums and Picture Galleries) in Bratislava (Czechoslovakia).

These authors recount their experiences in the museological field, within a very singular spatial-temporal framework. How they tried to answer the question of whether museology was science or just practical museum work. This was the question posed in the first issue of Museological Working Papers to be debated with the other members of ICOFOM (Stránský 1980). When discussing the topic of interdisciplinarity in museology, each author attempted to analyse objectively what criteria could be used to define museology as a scientific discipline and what its object of study is as well as giving their views on the subject. These theoretical discussions in the field of museology led to philosophical reflections, which have given rise to metamuseology and have favored the theorization of museological concepts. If there is one thing we have Stránský to thank for; it is precisely for having offered us the possibility of considering museology as a genuine museological theory.

There is no doubt that studying Stránský's museological thinking, analyzing his concepts, and the theory of knowledge applied to museology is an important task if one wishes to go deeper into the development of museological theory. We must bear in mind that he represents a line of thought that has served as a point of reference for other scholars from countries such as France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Latin America, who have continued to closely investigate his museological orientations and methodology.

II. Stránský's Contributions through his Most Significant Works

Although his publications on museology are numerous, we will focus on two of his most important publications, which best summarise the whole scientific structure of his museological thinking: *Introduction to the Study of Museology* (1995) and *Archeologie a muzeologie* (Museology and Archaeology) (2005).

If we analyze the course of museology throughout its history, we discover that there are different ways in which authors have conceived and approached it from an academic point of view. This fact does not impoverish any encounter with the discipline but rather offers us a vision of the vicissitudes it has undergone throughout its formative process. This is what Stránský tries to explain in his Introduction. According to the author (1995: 5), the current state of museology is none other than the result of how specialists have tried to approach the fundamental questions of gnoseology, methodology, terminology, and the system used. However, we must bear in mind that museology can only be understood in close relation to the evolution that other sciences, as well as culture and philosophy, have undergone regarding their vision of humankind and their *raison d'être* in the world. To forget this would prevent us from situating museological research in its context, where it is called upon to fulfill not only a scientific but also a humanizing mission. In other words, museology is not only there to manage a museum in one way or another but also to give reasons why it is decided that an object is museum-worthy, why we monitor natural changes and disappearances, and why certain components of reality are preserved and not others.

The reason for the existence of museology, as a specific discipline, is therefore not to be found in the choice of an exhibit or a particular means of conservation, but in a "specific relationship between man and reality, which manifests itself in the cultural appropriation of the latter" *(Ibid.: 6)*. It is, therefore necessary to provide an overview of what characterizes museology, underlining the decisive lines that make museology a science. It is, essential to outline the

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structure of its gnoseological system and its specificity, as well as to motivate newcomers to the field to discover the theoretical and practical reasons why it is necessary to study museology.

Stránský's wisdom in publishing his *Introduction* makes us reflect on why it is necessary for the different specialists working in museums - geologists, botanists, historians, art historians, etc., - to study and learn museology. His justification is that, although the disciplines applied in museums constitute an excellent gnoseological input for all those who work in museums, they do not include the museum aspect. The author (*Ibid*.: 9) thinks that, although each discipline involved in museum work can decide, within its gnoseological context, on the identification of a given object, it cannot, on its own, decide on the *'museality'* of what it considers only as a source of knowledge. However, if these sciences cannot provide answers to the problems of the museum phenomenon, museums must seek help from philosophy, sociology, psychology, and pedagogy. In this way, museology proposes, as an essential task, to promote the professionalisation of museum work. Stránský is convinced that this is the best strategy for specialized museologists to defend, with all the necessary guarantees, the future of contemporary museums.

In his book *Museology and Archaeology*, Stránský (2005) offers an overview of museums and the functions they are called upon to perform from the moment of their creation to the legitimization of their heritage legacy by society. He analyses the museum phenomenon and the importance of the creating of collections. He examines the objective of museology, specifying what he understands by museography, pre-museology, museology, and neo-museology. He devotes a specific chapter, due to its length, to the system of museology. He explains the fundamentals of theoretical museology - selection, storage, presentation - and applied museology or museography - the institutionalisation of museums, settings, communication, preservation, exhibition, relationship with the public. He also distinguishes the diachronic dimension of historical museology and the synchronism of contemporary museology. When referring to historical museology, he studies its autonomy, genesis, and periodization. When he focuses on contemporary museology, he highlights the importance of musealization, the cultural policy of museums, and their future.

Could not miss a chapter dedicated to analyzing the confrontation of museology with the post-modern world, its fields of knowledge, natural and cultural heritage, and the archaeology of monuments. About these, there is a need for close collaboration with other disciplines, which is why he pays special attention to archaeological and museological studies, and the importance to archaeological museums. He also devotes a chapter to metamuseology, where he analyses its philosophical-scientific context, its logical composition, its field of knowledge, its methodology, terminology, and position in the system of sciences. We can affirm that in this book, he summarises the main lines of his thinking set out in his many publications. Thus, anyone wishing to gain first-hand knowledge of Stránský's museological career must take these two works into account.

III. The Contribution of Spanish Museologists to International Museological Discourse

Until well into the 1960s, the Spanish presence in the International Council of Museums was non-existent. It was not until the appointment, in 1974, of Luis Monreal Tejada as Secretary-General of ICOM that Spain began to gain prominence. At the 11th General Conference and 12th General Assembly in 1977, the museologists Xavier de Salas Bosch, María Luisa Herrera, and Consuelo Sanz Pastor were present on various committees (Bellido Blanco 2005: 333).

The same happened with the presence of Spanish museologists in the debates on museological theory promoted by ICOFOM from 1978 onwards. It should be noted that from 1981, several Spanish academics began to participate in ICOFOM, including Rosario Carrillo, a painter, and lecturer in Technical Drawing at the Faculty of Physics in Madrid. They collaborated actively and was elected to the Executive Board in 1984 with 28 votes. In 1986, she stood for re-election for the 1987-1989 term and was re-elected, at the same time as Eulalia Morral i Romeu was elected for the first time for the same period. In 1980, no Spaniards took part in the first issue of Museological Working Papers, as was the case for the second. It was Domènec Miquel i Serra, member of the Advisory Commission of the Museums Service of Catalonia, and Eulàlia Morral i Romeu, Director of the Textile Museum of Terrassa, who, as members of the so-called "*Grup Tècnic de Museologia*", recently created within the *Associació de Treballadors de Museus de Catalunya*, contributed for the first time to the debate on interdisciplinarity (Hernández and Lorente 2016: 37).

Thereafter, other participants included Jaume Terradas, professor of Ecology at the Faculty of Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Dolors Forrelad i Doménech, Director of the Museum of Art of Sabadell, Carmen G. Viejo Álvarez, museologist, María A. Mezquinz Irujo, Director of the Museum of Navarre, Eloisa García de Wattenberg, Director of the National Sculpture Museum of Valladolid, Teresa González i Vedaguer, of the Museu d'art de Catalunya, Palau Nacional and Parc de Montjuic, Joan Mayné Amat, of the Museum of Badalona, Andrea García

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Sastre, museologist, and Xabier Ballbé, Director of the European Heritage Centre Foundation of Barcelona.

All of them were members of ICOFOM, and some of them took an active part in the debates and had a direct relationship with Stránský, with whom they exchanged ideas and opinions on the concept of museology and on the situation of museums in Spain and the rest of the world at that time. However, despite their continued presence for a decade, there was little acknowledgement of these meetings in Spain, and the Spanish ICOM itself did not report on them. Among other reasons, this was because Spanish museologists were more focused on the practical work of museums, which required urgent intervention, and did not see the need to dwell on the theoretical analysis of museums, nor were people aware of Stránský's epistemological proposals because his writings had hardly been translated from Czech. Moreover, Stránský's proposals on museology involved a great effort of reflection and research that was not easy to carry out. This fact meant a delay in incorporating Spanish museologists into museological study within the international sphere, preventing such theories, which were being developed throughout Europe, from being known, studied, and shared within Spain.

From 1994 onwards, there were no Spanish museologists present at the ICOFOM debates until 2002, when we had the sole and brief intervention of Silvia Ventosa Muñoz (2002), curator of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Barcelona. It was from 2006 onwards that Francisca Hernández, professor of museology at the Complutense University of Madrid, joined the debate and publicized in Spain an work carried out by members of ICOFOM (Hernández 2006, 2006 a). Since then, Spanish participation has become increasingly continuous and diverse. The work of ICOFOM and of all the theoreticians of museology, among whom Stránský occupies a prominent position, is now justly well known and acknowledged. Among other Spanish museologists who have joined the ICOFOM colloquia is Jesús Pedro Lorente. It is worth highlighting his intervention in the conference given in 2015 on New Trends in Museology (2016). Mikel Asensio and his research team also participated in the ICOFOM Study Series on Empowering the Visitor: Process, Progress, Protest (2012). The latest contributions have been made by Gloria Romanello (2015, 2017), from the University of Barcelona, Sara Pérez López (2015), Olaia Fontal Merillas and Sofía Marín Cepeda (2015) and Silvia García Ceballos (2015) from the University of Valladolid, Conxa Rodà (2015) from the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Francisca Hernández (2016) and Óscar Navajas (2017), from the University of Alcalá de Henares, on the current state of museology in Spain. During these years, the above Spanish museologists collaborated on different issues in the dialogues organized by ICOFOM. They presented their ideas on museology and contributed to enriching the museological debate. The following are the topics they dealt with and their main contributions and interrelations with Stránský.

a) Methodology and Interdisciplinarity in Museology

One of Stránský's (1981:71) questions is whether museology can become an independent scientific discipline. However, he considers that it is first necessary to know whether it has the characteristics of a science. This fact implies that systems theory must be used as one of the determining characteristics of science since it is through this theory that students can be equipped with the knowledge and methodology that will enable them to solve any museological problem they may encounter (*Ibid*. 76). In addition, from a philosophical-methodological point of view, for knowledge to be adequate to its object and to show its content, it must be developed based on a theoretical and systematic plan in the form of a theory (*Ibid*. 74). Thus, museology must have a solid base for positioning itself regarding its relationship with other disciplines.

In this respect, Rosario Carrillo (1983: 52), starting from the hypothesis that museology is a science in making, has highlighted the need to specify the evolutionary stages that have taken place from the perspectives of museological historiography, epistemology, and history. For this reason, there is a need for communication between different branches of science. Indeed, she considers it very positive that museologists give their own opinions, despite the disparity in museological criteria and approaches. She highlights the interdisciplinary nature of the methodology used in exhibitions, one that considers general systems theory, theories of communication and decision-making, semiotic analysis, group dynamics, network theory, or aspects related to ecology and economics. This has helped enrich the scientific and museological vocabulary with a proliferation of new terms that have become part of museological science.

According to the same author (*Ibid*.: 54), the debates at the London Colloquium in 1983 showed how different participants tried to redefine the concept of museology or museological knowledge from a personal point of view. This was the most obvious sign that the idea of scientific museology had not yet been consolidated. Moreover, there was no unity of criteria regarding the method, system structure, and object of museological science. When referring to museology, participants were aware that there is theoretical museology and practical museology or museography, but each one approached them from different perspectives.

Stránský sees the difference in criteria as a natural consequence of the current stage of the practical application of museology and considers that museological science needs a different level evident on

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an epistemological level. For museology, once freed from methodological constraint, can claim its independence based on its scientific knowledge and not because of the method employed. What is important is that both theoretical and practical knowledge serve to modify the reality of the museum, and Carrillo fully shares this view (*Ibid*.: 55). Moreover, she is particularly interested in semiotic analysis, because, for her, museological science must move towards methodological independence by making use not only of such study but also of other methods that could help it, occasionally, to serve its objectives. Based on her readings of some of Stránský's publications, she defends, like him, methodological plurality, distinguishing between the museological method or system of methods and didactic methods (*Ibid*.: 57). Additionally, regarding the importance given to the synchronic and diachronic study of museology, she believes that both can define the museum as a historical fact (*Ibid*.: 61).

Dolors Forrellad i Domènech (1984: 26) stated, following Ellis Burcaw, that museum professionals have shown little interest in the study of museology, perhaps because they have considered it a complex subject. For this reason, they have preferred to focus their efforts on the day-to-day aspects of the museum, which do not require too much complicated theoretical elaboration or exhaustive analytical study. However, she sees the need to delimit and mark out the path to be followed to define museology as a science laying the necessary foundations for its further study and evolution.

One of the themes of Museological Working Paper (MuWop) No. 2 was interdisciplinarity in museology. In the discussions, which took place in 1981, the philosophical foundations of the museological theory were laid, offering museologists the opportunity to think about museums and museology from an international perspective, based on the reflections of Stránský and other Eastern European museologists. They contributed concepts that, until then, had not been used but which soon became familiar to other museologists, such as museum fact, museality, musealia, the museistic, etc. With these concepts, changes that were taking place in museums could be made clear. In this way, museums began to be considered as social phenomena that are in a continuous process of renewal. As our experiences change our way of conceiving the world, we can see the reality surrounding us and situate ourselves in a different way. Museums, therefore, will be affected by being seen from perspectives that differ essentially from those that previously served as references. Thus, museology, becomes a true social science.

Domènec Miquel i Serra and Eulàlia Morral i Romeu (1981: 43-45) took part in this debate. From an eminently nationalist view of the Catalan reality, they analyze museological development and proliferation of museums to affirm the cultural personality of Catalonia. Dolors Forrellad (1984: 124) confirms and supports this same opinion. For these authors, multi-disciplinarity has contributed to creating an image of the local museum as a group of small, specialized museums located in the same building, without any relationship between them, therefore, lacking a philosophy that defines the why and wherefore of their existence. The result of this situation could not be other than the realization of the beginning of a profound crisis in Catalan museums. But this crisis has given rise to a movement of renewal within museums, which are questioning their *raison d'être*, leaving aside a merely collector's vision and opening to the new perspectives offered by interdisciplinarity as a complementary reality to multidisciplinarity. The publication of the *Llibre Blanc dels Museus* (1979), directed by M. Luis Monreal Tejada, then Secretary-General of ICOM, Els *Museus de Catalunya. Aproximació a la seva problemática* (1981) and Els *Museus de Catalunya. Criteris per a l´organizatciò del patrimonio museistic del país* (1984), commissioned by the *Comisión Técnica de Museos Locales y Comarcales* contributed to this. Museums should no longer be considered as mere repositories of collections but as true centers of culture. However, all museums must have a systematic and multidisciplinary methodology that favors a close relationship between museology and the other human sciences.

b) Museums Facing Ecological and Environmental Issues

Society is becoming increasingly aware of the need to protect the environment, so it is not surprising that museums are called upon to play an active role in promoting ecology. For this purpose, they use exhibitions as a medium in which the values of nature and society can be integrated. According to Stránský (1983: 30 ff.), it is urgent to consider exhibitions on an ecological basis, bearing in mind that any museum activity must be oriented towards reality, and concern for ecology is part of this. This means that museums must create the methodological conditions necessary to meet ecological requirements when collecting, documenting, and exhibiting their collections. From there, museums must work to use an ecological approach by the demands of scientific knowledge and the sensitivities of contemporary society. However, this will require differentiation in museum typology between the concept of the ecological museum, which documents and presents the themes of ecology as a specific branch, and the concept of an ecomuseum, which refers specifically to territorial or regional museums and those of a local character.

The Spanish contribution to ecology and museums has been dealt with by several scholars. Jaume A. Terradas (1983: 8-14), after pointing out the importance of ecology in analyzing the relationship

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between humans and nature, emphasized the importance of the scientific study of the environment. Furthermore, he strongly recommended that ecological and environmental education should be provided, as has been done in Anglo-Saxon and French-speaking countries. The aim is to increase knowledge of the environment and make individuals and society aware of the need to protect it. Like Stránský, he points out that it is necessary to follow a methodology centered on direct contact with reality, active participation and an interdisciplinary approach, which museums must adopt. Terradas is convinced that all museums, whether recently created, such as ecomuseums, or with a long history, have great potential. They understand the message of museological education and contribute to the renewal of their functions and language, making use of intermuseum programs. It should never be forgotten that museums should never be conceived as just exhibition centers, but as centers of initiatives that are concerned not only with visitors but also with offering the keys of interpretation for the observation of the environment.

Another person who dealt with the subject of ecomuseums was Dolors Forrellad (1984: 28) who, commenting on the contributions of Mathilde Bellaigue, points out that curators of ecomuseums should be closely linked to the territory. She refers to several experiences in Catalonia which confirmed this statement and suggested that all the people, who work in museums should be fully committed to the work they do and to the place where the museums are located, as this way they will be in more direct contact with the public.

c) The Collection of Objects and Selection Criteria

Domènec Miquel *et al*. (1984: 5-7), based on the experience of the recently created *Grup Tècnic de Museologia*, within the *Associació de Treballadors de Museus de Catalunya*, presented their reflections on museum objects traditionally considered as "material testimonies." Given that we are surrounded by new technologies capable of fixing the intangible through videos and audio, they believe that it is necessary to go beyond the materiality of the museum object as a differential element and focus more on the concept of testimony. Objects are no longer considered as mere material testimonies. In this way, all natural elements, material or immaterial, which form the environment in which we live, become testimonies, regardless of their physical condition. All testimonies require subjects that recognize them and can access them – via a museum- and, at the same time, these testimonies can be sent to another subject that receives and uses these testimonies, i.e., the public. During this process, three elements need to be present: the reading through which testimony is interpreted as a document, the document or product of the reading made by the museum and offered to the public, and the added value that is given to it, whether cultural, economic or political. From that moment on, the object is susceptible to being selected and musealised. Without forgetting that today we collect those objects that represent the relatively recent past, leaving for tomorrow, the collection of our present by the existing conception of museological.

When discussing original and substitute objects in museums, Miquel and Morral (1985: 135 ff.) point out that objects in museums can be viewed from different perspectives, either as material elements or as emotional elements that transmit contextualized information about them. From the moment we contemplate an object, this contemplation is mediated by the distance factor, which may be temporal or cultural and interposes an additional value between the visitor and the surrounding object, which may distort the authentic information it offers. When we speak of a substitute, on the other hand, this value does not exist because the distance is not present. Therefore, the substitute produces a feeling of disillusionment in the spectator. And even when the material used may coincide with that of the original object, there is no coincidence as far as the contextual impression is concerned. When a substitute enters a museum, it can be used as a reference to an original - replacing its physical presence - but also to reinstate the memory - replacing the documentary value of the original.

Regarding substitute objects and their implications for museum work, Dolors Forrellad (1985: 169 ff.) raises the question of whether copies can serve as substitutes for originals that have disappeared or are in danger of disappearing, or as a complement that explains objects, and processes that are not evident. From a museological point of view, they can never be compared to the original. They are only useful when the original does not exist or is difficult to preserve. And the public must be warned, especially in the case of little-known works.

d) Museology and Identity Preservation

Commenting on the topic of museology and identity, Stránský (1986: 49) stated that, in analysing the relationship between identity and the social situation in developing and Latin American countries, participants' approach to a topic was one-sided, relying only on European social history. Thus, they only dealt with the cultural aspect and its ethnological, sociological, and historical connotations but did not touch upon the essential museological approach, nor did they realize the importance of the relationship that identity has with the terms: "development" and "memory".

In their contribution to the colloquium, Miquel and Morral (1986: 211) emphasize that the problem of uniformity appears when a collective model is mythologized, and the individual renounces their own rules to adopt, artificially, those of the proposed model.

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Furthermore, sometimes, people have tried to dominate others, giving rise to a different identity, yet with persistent traces of the original. However, a situation of domination does not always imply assimilation. Acculturation implies an absence of internal group cohesion and the lack of a model with which to identify because it is not possible to identify with a dominator. However, this situation can also occur in the case of immigrants who, faced with two different worlds, the one they come from and the one they find when they arrive in another country, are forced to create a new mixed-race identity.

Crises and acculturation lead to situations of anxiety when a new culture does not meet expectations. In this situation, museums can contribute to satisfying the socio-cultural needs of people by preserving the signs of identity from the past in which people can still find aspects that they recognize about themselves. Museums, thus, become a means of preserving identity and can be a valid model for conserving collective memory, offering elements that allow people to identify themselves as members of a given human group. On the other hand, they can be used to destroy certain identities, presenting unreal models that leave the individual defenseless in the face of deculturation or colonization aggression. Indeed, museums must be committed to defending marginalized and socially excluded populations, if only as a gesture of reparation for the time they spent pandering to the tastes of certain elitist minorities that often dominated museum institutions (Miquel and Morral 1987: 54).

The same authors (1986: 41ff) also speak of identity as a dynamic concept, always evolving and transforming, involving differences, comprising conscious and unconscious aspects, made up of different ingredients, a cultural product, which can be diverse. Museums were an inseparable part of Western cultural identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are part of our consciousness, a social passage and self-affirmation representing our need for admiration, as well as a market mechanism. Stránský (1986: 50) highlights the ideas of these authors that identity a relationship between the "model", and "reality". The model is created from memory, which serves for identification. Still, it should be borne, in mind that in intellectual memory, everyone creates their model, whereas in objectual memory, it is the museum that creates the model and presents it to the public. On the other hand, Stránský, following Tereza Scheiner's idea, insists on the need to study the identity of the museum by relating both memories because this would result in a new orientation in the development of museums and museology, as well as in the activities to be carried out by museology professionals by their own identity.

e) Museology, Museums and Social Development

At the symposium on *Museology and Museums*, Stránský (1987: 287ff.) asked whether museology as a consequence of the existence of museums, or whether museology already existed before museums were created. Are museums the subject of museology or should they rather be seen as a means of bringing museology closer to reality? Does museology encompass museums and their fruit, or does museology go beyond museums given its objectives? Finally, it is necessary to ask whether museums can exist without museology and whether museology can exist without museums. The answer to these questions is that the theoretical approach to museums is closely linked to museum practice in such a way that the former precedes, penetrates, and succeeds the latter. Moreover, the object of museology cannot be just the museum, as it is something material, an objective element of reality created by humans with the purpose of satisfying certain social needs. Therefore, a museum needs the supervision, criticism, and involvement of museology. But we must not forget that the museum is not an end, but a means and one of the possible ways of realizing humans' approach to reality. Finally, Stránský believes that both contemporary museums and those to be created in the future cannot exist without museology as a science, just as museology cannot exist without museums, because any theory without practice loses its meaning and its social function.

In this respect, Miquel and Morral (1987: 53-55) point out how in 1980, the members of ICOFOM placed museums at the center of the debate: museology exists because there are museums. They stated that the scientific field should not be confused with experimental sites. Stránský ironically commented on the fact that everyone must discover for themselves that the museum is not the centre of the world. Our relationship with the material testimonies of the past can be questioned according to the needs of the ever-changing present. The museum, as Stránský says, is a solution to a problem posed in its twofold spatial-temporal dimension, but not the only one, nor the best possible one, but it is the real one. On the other hand, we must recognize that the heterodox highlights the crisis of the theoretical system but does not overcome it.

For Dolors Forrellad (1987: 105 ff.), the museum has projected itself into the community to fulfill its functions. Museum-society interaction has come about thanks to the efforts made by museums in the field of dissemination. It has ceased to be a repository of testimonies, offered only to some sectors of society, and has become a source of information and research for the whole of society. Many museums have inherited collections as their starting point, which often have nothing to do with the goals they have set for themselves to serve the community. Museum science needs to make itself better known, to define itself more

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concretely, and to work on theorization, but within a framework of action that allows it to project itself in its experiences, methods, and systems.

Eulalia Morral (1987: 133-135), for her part, summarizes the different opinions on museums and development. She considers that nobody doubts that museums have evolved in fact they have been under strong pressure to transform themselves. This situation divides authors so that while some protect themselves behind the official definition and close themselves to other options, others open their doors so that they can renew themselves and adapt to new realities. We Europeans are used to seeing the museum as an element of our history. However, this makes us forget its colonizing role that, more or less explicitly, it has played in the social framework. Outside of Europe, the museum has been considered as an imposition and as a symbol of the interference suffered due to the intrusion of a foreign culture. But when these countries regained their freedom, they did not close the museums because they continued to be useful to the new dominant minority, in the process of westernization that seemed irreversible. For this reason, Morral insists, the museum is not an innocent creation but is under pressure from different bodies, which it must face up to and respond with answers arising from the new concept of heritage.

Rosario Carrillo (1988: 105ff.) deals with museology and its use in and by developing countries. She commented that, as early as 1982, on the occasion of the International Seminar for the Financing of Culture, a study was presented on "Museums, an investment for development". It proposed that there was a correlation between a country's level of development and its museum development. This is shown by the relationship between the number of inhabitants and the number of museums, or the value given to cultural heritage, which shows that, while in industrialized countries there are on average 983 museums per country, in African countries there are only eight museums. For the author, the application of museology of practical problems is a part of basic museology. But this application today naturally responds to the need to apply resources - the specific field of scientific knowledge - within a global context.

Within the context of the work of the *Sociedad de Sistemas Generales de Madrid* carried out in 1983, Carrillo (*Ibid*. 110) proposes a development option which she calls "Museological notes for integrated experimental development." This makes use of a "Museological Unit" conceived as "an elementary practical-functional cell at the service of specific plans for local - zonal - integrated development." This cell comprises a minimum of human and material elements that can be adjusted to the zonal development team in which museological study and the subsequent modeling of a global plan of action cannot be absent. It is designed to act in an inter-and meta-disciplinary manner, benefiting from the technology applied to global development, and is integrated into management bodies. It can drive development and lead to the creation of a community museum. It is an evolutionary process. It is based on local identity. This process makes an internal and external valuation of its functioning, gives importance to group participation, as it must be open to reflection and criticism. It is distinguished by its capacity for mobility and adaptation to the environment. In this way, museology can be applied to solve practical problems, one of the fundamental aspects of scientific museology.

The last participation of some of the Spanish museologists in ICOFOM was related to the theme of "Forecasting-A Museological Tool? Museology and Futurology". Among the key papers, Stránský (1989: 297) presented his idea of the importance of science without forgetting that science has its limits, which means that the future of museums cannot be approached from the point of view of science or futurology alone. He believes that only with the help of gnoseological and methodological contributions to science can we discover the future of museums, not only to know what we should do but also to understand what museums' evolution and trends will be. But it is not enough to rely on daily practice; we need the counterweight of planning and knowledge. One of the tasks entrusted to museology is to explain the evolution and current state of museums' approaches to reality and to foresee their further development. The ability to integrate the past, the present, and the future are therefore very important from a methodological point of view to answer the questions about the future of museums. On the other hand, the nature of the museum phenomenon is reflected in museum practice, which is manifested in museums' presentation, i.e., their artistic dimension. This helps us to understand reality in its entirety and to integrate scientific knowledge.

Domèneq Miquel (1989: 179 ff.) reflects on how museology and museums can contribute to change. In his presentation, he highlighted how, as early as 1987, van Mensch proposed a twofold way of reflection. On the one hand, the analysis of the basic characteristics of museum development and, on the other hand, the realization that, in the face of this development, there are different theoretical positions that can provide different answers. Today, no one doubts that museums are institutions in continuous development. Museums at the beginning of the century were very different from those of today, both conceptually and physically. Society is also increasingly diverse. For this reason, it is necessary to overcome Western ethnocentrism and stop considering museums as belonging to one culture, which is supposed to be the only valid one. Indeed, there are other cultures that have different visions and solutions to the conservation and use of heritage unrelated to museology, which is better adapted to their needs. Nevertheless, we still tend to think that the

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museum is the only valid institution when, in reality, we know that it has difficulty keeping pace with society and adapting to new needs beyond the simple management of collections. Museums must be at the service of society and be open to the changes that society is experiencing. Moreover, some believe that museums are the only possible institution, albeit with different typologies. In contrast while others feel that it is temporary and transitory, evolving and changing, and not the only way to relate to heritage. In other words, a museum is no longer the master of public management, and other alternatives have appeared which, although they use museum techniques for their realization, are not strictly speaking museums. Nevertheless, museology can become an "instrument for building the future if it directs its interest to the relationship between man and his heritage, be it a museum or non-museum, cultural or not, material or intangible" (*Ibid*. 183).

Eulàlia Morral (1989: 185), in her reflections on the future of museology, questions whether we will ever be able to foresee the future if we have not yet managed to draw up scientific statements or objective laws that would provide a basis for the development of human relationships with heritage throughout history and the different cultural movements. The same author points out that heritage is the bearer of memory to recognize a collective identity. Thus, we go from heritage to memory and from memory to identity. However, on the one hand, it is doubtful that heritage is equivalent to memory because its preservation is the result of a contingency or a subjective choice. On the other hand, although in 1986, it was claimed that identity is established by process of differentiation, it can often drift into the aesthetic and folkloric fields. But today, the difference is not fashionable, and, through the media, we are inculcated with unique, delocalized models. Memory thus becomes boring and anachronistic. That is why she wonders whether heritage is still of any use, given that we live in a society in which we have two ways of experiencing heritage, one tangible and the other intangible. We know that today real heritage has no validity if it does not become an image since it is the image that gives the original its *raison d'être*. It seems that societies without memory move forward more freely and that the future belongs to the a-cultural generations.

IV. Stránský and his Commitment to the Teaching of Museology at Universities

From his early days as a professor, Stránský saw the need for museology to be recognized as an autonomous, scientific discipline that could be taught within universities with all the guarantees of any other discipline. However, he witnessed how his efforts to introduce museology studies in universities were considered by museum professionals as a product of a certain 'intellectual immaturity' (Stránský, 1993: 127). Even though, as early as 1923, Jaraslav Helfert, Director of the Moravian Museum, had already created the post of lecturer in museology at the University of Masaryk, where he remained until 1948. In 1963, however, Jan Jelinek established a Department of Museology at the University of Masaryk, although Stránský took over all the management and supervisory work. It should not be forgotten that Jelinek was also the founder of the ICTOP Committee in 1968 and ICOFOM in 1976.

In 1990, after the fall of the communist regime, the University in Brno, which since 1960 had been named after the Czech botanist Jan Evangelista Purkynê, regained its original name, becoming Masaryk University, and the Department of Museology was restored within the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy. Of particular importance were the organization and development, in cooperation with UNESCO, of the International Summer School of Museology (ISSOM) courses for students, taught and directed by Stránský from 1986 to 1996.

Certainly, Spanish museologists were aware of these; they had heard about the courses given in the summer and were interested in how they worked. As early as 1994, the *International Summer Courses in Museology* (ISSOM), directed by Stránský, were announced in an Andalusian journal (S/A 1994: 20). It should be noted that this journal, since its beginnings in 1992, has systematically reported on all the courses and conferences on museology and heritage held in Spain and abroad, thus promoting the dissemination and knowledge of these courses and encouraging participation in them. The participation in these courses of more than twenty Spanish museum professionals has influenced, together with their doctoral theses and publications, the development of museological discourse in Spain.

In 1994, both Masaryk University and the International Summer School in Brno were very interested in establishing a chair in museology, so they applied for permission from UNESCO, who granted it through the UNITWIN program, giving it the title of Chair of Museology and World Heritage, to be directed by Vinos Sofka (2002: 41). Between 1997 and 2002, Stránský held the Chair of Ecomuseology at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the University of Mateja Bela, Branská Bystrica (Slovakia).

It can be said that it was the museologists from Eastern European countries who have been the most committed to the establishment of museology as an autonomous discipline so that it could be taught in their universities without any problem, given the political regime in the countries that signed the Warsaw Pact. The figure of Jan Jelínek, Director of the Anthropos Museum in Brno and President of the Consultative Committee of ICOM, as well as its president between 1971 and 1977, is worth highlighting because he

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contributed very actively to the creation of the International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM). This took place in 1977, with the aim of promoting research and encouraging theoretical reflection on museology. Subsequently, figures such as Vinôs Sofka, who gave extraordinary dynamism to ICOFOM's research, and was its president from 1981 to 1989, or Avram Razgan, Klaus Schreiner, Jiri Neustupny, Joseph Benes, Wejciech Gluzinski and Stránský, himself, all gave great impetus to museological studies.They attracted large numbers of museologists from other European countries to join their activities, especially Georges Henri Rivière and André Desvallées from France. All of them contributed to give museology a scientific character, reflecting on the different museological conceptions existing in the world.

In 1993, the ICOFOM Study Series devoted one of its sections to the theme "From Theory to Practice: Museum Training in Europe," where the different courses and master's degrees that were being taught at that time at the Reinwardt Academy of Amsterdam, the Department of Museums Studies at the University of Leicester, L'École Nationale du Patrimoine of Paris, the University of Basel, the Faculty of Arts of the University of Masaryk in Brno and the European Heritage School in Barcelona were presented. This debate was enriched by contributions from different countries defining the general lines being followed about the academic teaching of museology.

On the Spanish side, it was Xavier Ballbé (1993:125-126) who, in dealing with cultural assets and the new museum professional, explained the experience of the European School of Barcelona, which he had created. According to this author, museological training should be integrated into the renovating currents and committed to presenting cultural assets as an important sector of activity. For this reason, the European School put all its efforts into preparing new experts and offering programs for professionals in the sector. This training was based on an integral conception of cultural property. One that covered the different historical, archaeological, ethnographic, and artistic aspects, considered from an interdisciplinary perspective. It was possible to see museography, archiving, monument management and natural parks as interrelated. Based on the analysis and evaluation of the new professions and demands arising in cultural heritage, the European School established a training program adapted to the specific needs of universities, cultural organizations and different public administrations. Furthermore, the School, which did not last for long, collaborated with other European centers that promoted training programs aimed at the management, and dissemination of cultural and environmental assets, specifying the different models and levels of professional qualifications existing in each of the countries.

However, we must admit that it was a pity that no mention was made at the symposium of the fact that museology was already arousing great interest within the Spanish university environment. In fact, in 1989, a Master's in Museology had begun to be taught at the Complutense University of Madrid. Subsequently, a Postgraduate Diploma in Museology was organized at the University of the Basque Country, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Museum Educators at the University of Zaragoza. In 1992, the *Antonio Camuñas* Foundation offered a Master's in Museography, and Exhibition Techniques and, in 1995, the Faculty of Fine Arts of Madrid started a Master's in Museography and Exhibitions. From this moment on, numerous universities in the most important cities in Spain, such as Barcelona, Gerona, Granada, Valladolid and Santiago de Compostela, have been offering different postgraduate courses or master's degrees, either face-to-face or virtual, overlapping with each other and causing some to disappear with new ones appearing (Lorente 2010: 75). Even though many museum curators took part in these courses, it was clear that there was little collaboration between museums and universities. The competent administrations in museums did not allow students to carry out internships in state museums. For all these reasons, many of us think that today we need to have a school and even a chair of museology, as is the case in Brno, Paris or Rio de Janeiro.

Although for a long time, the relationship between Spanish museologists and Stranský, through ICOFOM, was quite close, we must acknowledge that in Spain, we do not have well-defined museological currents that would have made it possible to create our schools of research. Rather, we can affirm that the development of Spanish museological research has been based on the Mediterranean and French-speaking sources and, through them, the currents of thought proposed by ICOFOM, Stránský, and the museologists of East European countries have been approached.

It should be noted that some specialists in contemporary art museums have had to rely on Anglo-Saxon sources. Authors such as Jesús-Pedro Lorente (2003) and Javier Gómez Martínez (2006) have paid much attention to Anglo-Saxon and North American situations. These countries have opted for art museums as museums of the future. Spanish museologists believe that there is no point in arguing about who initiated the museological renovation, nor in asking for explanations for the contradictions that can occur in practical applications within museums. On the contrary, these authors are convinced that all initiatives that arise should be accepted and that every effort should be made to ensure that museological knowledge reaches the whole of society. Without a doubt, Spanish museology has tried to find its way and intends to face the challenges of the 21st century.

Today, we can see how Spanish researchers and museologists devote their time and effort to promoting museological research, whether it be the

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study of the history of museological documentation (Marín 1999), new museology (Alonso 1999), the history of museology (Lorente 2012), cultural and historical heritage (Hernández 2002; VV. AA. 2010), house museums and intangible heritage (Pérez Mateo, 2014), museology courses (Zubiaur 2005), heritage didactics (Calaf 2009) or heritage education (Fontal, 2003), among many others. They do so as a way of enriching knowledge of the human and cultural reality of our society, following in the wake of the teachings of ICOFOM and Stránský. Additionally, they have extended the study of museology to the study of heritage to show that not only can museums preserve material testimonies, but other institutions can also do so. Some authors, when dealing with the theoretical framework of museology, have tried to approach it from the point of view of the close relationship that exists between museums and the heritage. Thus, they highlight the need to approach museology from the perspective of cultural heritage, given that a museum's main objective is to preserve heritage and pass it on to future generations. It is a question of managing museum practices differently, giving them a new meaning more in line with the demands of the new times in which we live. Specifically, in the Master's in Education and Museums: Heritage, Identity and Cultural Mediation, taught at the University of Murcia during the 2011-2012 academic year, one of the activities related to the contents of Block 1 (Theme 1) on Introduction to Museology was precisely the debate of Zbynek Stránský versus Tomislav Sola.

The two authors differ in their approach to the study of museology and cannot agree. While Stránský (1980) considers museology as "an independent, specific scientific discipline whose object of study is the specific attitude of man to reality," Tomislav Sola (1982: 7) states that for him, it makes no difference whether the theory of museums is to be called museology or museography, as long as the content of the discipline is established. Hence, he uses the term *heritology* (patrimoniology) and asks why not call such a broad concept as museology, a discipline that is no longer centered on museums, by the names of "*heritology* and *mnemosophy*" (Sola 1997, 2015). He considers these terms to be the most appropriate to express the central concept of heritage in its full breadth, asserting that the concept implies the relationship between theory and practice without requiring the existence of science. Against the objections of Stránský, who defends museology as a science, Sola points out that his proposal, formulated as early as the 1980s, is an attempt to question the very existence of museology with the express desire to scandalize and encourage museologists to continue researching.

Sola himself (2015: 16-17) states that if he sets out to abandon the term museology, he considers it 'unproductive and confusing.' Moreover, the English, French, Germans and Americans all reject it because they think the term is linguistically inaccurate, and lacks relevance to the museum profession. However, he notes that since the birth of patrimoniology, many different terms have emerged - new museology, ecomuseology, economuseology, social museology, general heritage theory, etc. - reflecting the frustration that has been experienced with museology. This debate is mentioned here, but we cannot expand on it in this article.

Finally, the study of emerging museologies - interdisciplinary, critical, gender, dialogic and radical - is a task of great interest because it offers the possibility of applying new museographies to very different heritage realities. This proves that Spanish museology is in good health and has a promising future. Indeed, many museologists are committed to a serious, scientific, and critical study of museology to put it at the service of society. In the figure of Stránský and his scientific-philosophical thinking on museology, we find an example that shows us one of the many possible paths to follow.

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Sports and School Involvement and Performance: Perception of Student-Athletes

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Abstract- The aim of this study was to identify the level of influence of the engagement and personal support of social agents in sports and in the study, perceived by athletes from training categories in the city of Florianopolis (SC/Brazil). The study included 396 athletes of both sexes, aged between 13 and 18 years.[1] In data collection, two instruments were applied: Perceived Influences in Sport and Study Scale (EIPE); and Identification form for athletes in sports modalities. In the statistical analysis, descriptive (simple and percentage frequency) and inferential (Spearman correlation, chi-square) tests were used. The results showed positive levels of influence of personal engagement and support from social agents in sport and in the study. In turn, there were slightly higher levels of positive influence for the sport, especially in relation to personal and coach influences. Family members had slightly higher levels of positive influences for the study compared to other social actors, while teammates had lower levels of positive influences and higher levels of indifferent (neutral) influence on the study.

Keywords: athletes; youth sports; students; schools; academic performance.

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Sports and School Involvement and Performance: Perception of Student-Athletes

Larissa Fernanda Porto Maciel [α], Mônica Cristina Flach [σ], Larissa Cerignoni Benites [ρ], Viviane Preichardt Duek [ω], Gelcemar Oliveira Farias [¥] & Alexandra Folle [§]

Abstract- The aim of this study was to identify the level of influence of the engagement and personal support of social agents in sports and in the study, perceived by athletes from training categories in the city of Florianopolis (SC/Brazil). The study included 396 athletes of both sexes, aged between 13 and 18 years.[1] In data collection, two instruments were applied: Perceived Influences in Sport and Study Scale (EIPE); and Identification form for athletes in sports modalities. In the statistical analysis, descriptive (simple and percentage frequency) and inferential (Spearman correlation, chi-square) tests were used. The results showed positive levels of influence of personal engagement and support from social agents in sport and in the study. In turn, there were slightly higher levels of positive influence for the sport, especially in relation to personal and coach influences. Family members had slightly higher levels of positive influences for the study compared to other social actors, while teammates had lower levels of positive influences and higher levels of indifferent (neutral) influence on the study. It is concluded that the sport-study relationship is positive, as in addition to providing support to student-athletes, family members, coaches and teammates share similar beliefs and expectations regarding sports practice and study, to guide and support this double journey, especially during youth.

Keywords: athletes; youth sports; students; schools; academic performance.

I. Introduction

The acquisition of personal and social skills depends on the active involvement of the student-athlete in the pursuit of their goals and on the positive relationship established between sport and school education (Soares, Antunes, & Aguiar, 2015). Personal engagement has been investigated as a one-dimensional construct determined by the youth's pleasure in performing a certain activity, while social support, more recently complemented, as a multidimensional and fundamental determinant of athlete engagement (Scanlan, Russell, Wilson, & Scanlan, 2003), both in sport and in study.

Scientific literature on the subject has advanced over the years (Ress & Sabia, 2010). However, despite the studies developed, there is still incipient research focusing on the perception of student-athletes about the involvement and sports and school performance, jointly, using specific instruments that can provide greater coherence in the discussion of the results in the different contexts investigated. Studies have predominantly focused on the athlete's career (Dunn, Dorsch, King, & Rothlisberger, 2016; Knight, Hadwood, & Sellars, 2018), or even looking at personal engagement and the influence of social agents only in sport (Sheridan, Coffee, & Lavallee, 2014; Coutinho, Mesquita, & Fonseca, 2018), without considering academic training.

Personal engagement and social support represent distinct but interrelated experiences, which together have the potential to impact the athletes' perception of their well-being and their continuity in the sport (Defrese & Smith, 2014) and study. Negative social experiences and interactions, marked by undesirable, intrusive, and insensitive behavior (Newsom, Rook, Nishishiba, Sorkin, & Mahan, 2005) represent a negative experience for the student-athlete, which may lead to the abandonment of sports and, possibly, of school activities.

The dedication and effort to sports practice often make academic training compromised, as student-athletes cannot keep pace with other students. However, measures to support student-athletes should not only be economic or infrastructure, but also academic and orientation, enabling the adaptation of the training process to the peculiar conditions and situations of these young people with specific educational needs. Without proper help, counseling, and appropriate support, many of them can be subjected to situations of stress and failure, which can lead to dropouts that will mark their personal and professional future (Pérez, Álvarez, & Aguilar, 2014).

In contrast, some studies have shown that the best school performances have been obtained by students who have more frequent and intense involvement with sport (Lindner, 1999; Peserico, Kravchychyn, & Oliveira, 2015, Dobersek & Arellano, 2017), noting that failure school is slightly higher for students who are not athletes (Soares, Antunes, & Aguiar, 2015). In addition, university student-athletes have higher graduation rates when compared to

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students who do not play sports (Lumpkin & Favor, 2015; Scott, Paskus, Miranda, Petr, & McArdle., 2008). Such findings may mean that difficulties exist, but when there is support and support for these young people to deal with both backgrounds, career development tends to be positive and favorable.

In this context, young people maintain multiple social relationships (Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006), among which, family members, coaches, and teammates stand out as the three most influential social relationships for the athlete's engagement in the sport (Sheridan, Coffee, & Lavallee, 2014; Côté, Turnnidge, & Vierimaa, 2016) and in the study. The multidimensional aspect of social support is presented in different ways and one of them is the way student-athletes perceive it. That is, while one young person may understand support as acceptable and even positive, another may have the same type of support, but perceive it as a source of stress and see it as negative (Wuerth, Lee, & Alfermann, 2004).

From this perspective, considering that the impact of personal and social influences is totally dependent on the perception of the young person, as well as their positive and/or negative perceptions are contextually relevant and have a unique potential to impact sports and school involvement and performance, the objective of this study was to identify the level of influence of the personal engagement and support of social agents in sports and in study, perceived by athletes from training categories in the city of Florianopolis (SC).

That said, the following hypotheses were formulated for this study: (a) the perception of influences of personal engagement and social agents, both in sport and in the study, are predominantly positive; (b) the influences of personal engagement are mainly positive for sport; (c) the influences of family members are more positively directed towards the study; (d) the influences of coaches and teammates are mostly positive for the sport and indifferent to the study.

II. Methods

a) Design

This study is characterized as descriptive, cross-sectional, and quantitative approach to data (Ato, López, & Benavente, 2013).

b) Participants

The study included 396 student-athletes, aged between 13 and 18 years, practitioners of team sports (basketball, soccer, futsal, handball, volleyball) and individual sports (artistic gymnastics, judo, karate, swimming, taekwondo, tennis, tennis table, chess), linked to the Municipal Sports Foundation of Florianopolis, Santa Catarina (Brazil). The inclusion criteria for the study were: athletes of both sexes; from 13 to 18 years old; of collective and individual sports modalities; of training categories; and who were students of Basic Education.

c) Measuring Instruments

To collect the information, two instruments were used: (a) Perceived Influences in Sports and Study Scale (EIPE); and (b) Identification form for athletes of sports modalities.

(a) The EIPE is composed of 49 items, divided into two factors (involvement with sports training and performance in sports competitions and involvement with studies and school performance) and four dimensions (personal engagement, family influences, coaches, and teammates influences), measured from an ordinal scale from one to five (1 = very negative; 2 = negative; 3 = no influence; 4 = positive; 5 = very positive) to classify the perception of influences. The Scale went through the steps of content validation (0.90), clarity of language (0.95), construct validity ($\chi 2/gl=1.751$; GFI=0.85; AGFI=0.82; CFI=0, 90; SRMR=0.059; RMR=0.046; RMSEA=0.042; CFI=0.90; TLI=0.89), internal consistency ($\alpha<0.70$) and temporal validity (0.61-0.80), in which reached validity indices that conferred satisfactory scientific quality and validity. The classification of athletes was performed by grouping perceptions into three categories (negative, indifferent, positive) about the level of influence of family members, coaches, and teammates in the sport and in the study.

(b) The identification form was used to collect the characteristics of the student-athletes, consisting of 30 closed items distributed in four topics: (1) Personal data (03 items); (2) Study data (10 items); (3) Sports data (16 items); and (4) Frequency of study, sport and leisure (20 sub-items). In the present study, the variables (gender and date of birth) of topic 1, (year and school period) of topic 2 and (modality, training period and level of competitions) of topic 3 were analyzed.

d) Data Collection Procedures

To carry out the study, preliminarily, contact was made with the Secretary of Sports of Florianopolis to clarify the objectives and procedures of the research, as well as to request data regarding the sports teams. Soon after acceptance of participation in the research, the project was submitted and approved by the Ethics Committee for Research with Human Beings (CEPSH) of the State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC), under opinion nº 2667.499/2018.

The participation of athletes in the research was effected after signing the Informed Consent Form (TCLE) by parents and/or guardians and by athletes over 18 years of age and by signing the Consent Term by athletes up to 17 years of age. Data collection was carried out between September and December 2018,

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moments before or immediately after the training and competitions of each modality, as previously agreed with the technician responsible for each team. At that moment, the athletes answered the instruments individually and had the help of the researchers to solve any doubts that arose when filling out the instruments.

e) Statistical Analysis

For data analysis, an electronic spreadsheet was first created in Microsoft Excel program to categorize the variables: gender (female, male); type of school (private, public); school shift (morning, afternoon); teaching stage (Elementary School, High School); sports modalities (collective, individual); sports training shift (morning, afternoon); and level of disputed competitions (regional and/or state, national and/or international), considering the response made by the athletes.

As for the stage of sports development (13 to 15 years - sports specialization and +16 years - sports investment), a grouping was carried out based on the age of the athletes, according to the Developmental Model of Sport Participation (DMSP), suggested by Côté, Baker and Abernethy (2003). Regarding the level of influence of personal engagement and support from family members, coaches, and teammates in the sport and in the study (negative, indifferent, positive), the EIPE weighting calculations were used to transform and classify the scores (<114 – negative, between 115 and 180 – indifferent, >181 – positive). After categorizing the data, descriptive statistical resources (simple frequency and percentage) were used with the help of online MedCalc to analyze the characteristics and perception of personal engagement and influences of social agents from the student-athletes.

III. Results

The analysis of the characteristics of the 396 athletes from teams linked to the FME in Florianopolis showed homogeneity in the distribution of students from public and private schools, as well as a predominance of male athletes, in the sports specialization stage, practitioners of collective sports and with experience sport at the regional and/or state level. In addition, it was revealed that most study in the morning shift and in Elementary School (Table 1).

Table 1: Characterization of student-athletes participating in the study.

Variables	Categories	Total (n%)	p
Gender	Female	123 (31,1)	<0,001
	Male	273 (68,9)	
Development stage	Specialization (13 to 15 years)	237 (59,8)	0,001
	Investment (16 to 18 years)	159 (40,2)	
Type of sport	Collective	309 (78,0)	<0,001
	Individuals	87 (22,0)	
Training shifts	1 shift	278 (70,2)	<0,001
	More than 1 shift	118 (29,8)	
Level of competitions played	Regional and/or State	284 (71,7)	<0,001
	National and/or International	112 (28,3)	
Type of school	Private	211 (53,3)	0,190
	Public	185 (46,7)	
School shift	Morning	278 (70,2)	<0,001
	Evening	118 (29,8)	
Teaching step	Elementary School	229 (57,8)	0,002
	High school	167 (42,2)	

Legend: p≤0,05.
Source: Study data, 2021.

The identification of the perception of the level of influences of personal engagement and the support of social agents of student-athletes showed that athletes perceive, in general, higher levels of positive influences for their involvement and performance, both in sports and in the study. Furthermore, despite the observation of a positive perception in the different dimensions of influences for sport and for the study, there were slightly higher levels of positive influence for sport, compared to the study, especially in relation to the level of influences of personal engagement and the support of coaches. The dimension related to teammates was the one that showed lower levels of positive influences and higher levels of indifferent (neutral) perception of influence in the study, while family members showed slightly higher levels of positive influences for the study, compared to the other agents (Table 2).

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Table 2: Perception of influences of personal engagement and support from social agents of student-athletes.

Personal and social influences	Sport	Study
	n (%)	n (%)
Personal		
Negative	00 (0,0)	04 (1,0)
Indifferent	20 (05,1)	61 (15,4)
Positive	376 (94,9)	331 (83,6)
Family		
Negative	00 (00,0)	04 (1,0)
Indifferent	44 (11,1)	45 (11,4)
Positive	352 (88,9)	347 (87,6)
Coaches		
Negative	00 (00,0)	03 (08,0)
Indifferent	39 (9,8)	90 (22,7)
Positive	357 (90,2)	303 (76,5)
Teammates		
Negative	00 (00,0)	21 (5,3)
Indifferent	43 (10,9)	161 (40,7)
Positive	353 (89,1)	214 (54,0)
General		
Negative	00 (00,0)	03 (8,0)
Indifferent	22 (5,6)	64 (16,2)
Positive	374 (94,4)	329 (83,1)

Source: Study data, 2021.

IV. Discussion

Evidence showed that most of the student-athletes surveyed are male, noting their greater presence in sports practice in clubs and sports training programs (Leite & Sampaio, 2013). This finding reinforces the idea that boys have a higher frequency and level of sports practice than girls (Bastos, Reis, Aranha, & Garrido, 2015). Furthermore, according to Salles (1993), the average practice of physical activity decreases 2.7% with age in boys and 7.4% in girls.

In the literature, it is verified that girls aged up to 16 years have moderate involvement with the practice of sports, but there is a decrease thereafter, while in boys aged 12 to 19 years, there is a balance of levels of sports practice (Vasconcelos & Maia, 2001). From a practical point of view, these findings seem to indicate that sports poles are more attractive and aimed at young male athletes. Perhaps, sports for female athletes need to be better planned, aiming to increase the development of skills that allow girls/women to feel a sense of competence and affiliation, making them more likely to participate and stay in sport (Rottenesteiner, 2013).

In this study, it was possible to notice the predominant existence of athletes in the sports specialization stage (13 to 15 years old), a phase in which there is an increase in commitment to the sport and concentration on improving skills and techniques, with more frequent competitions (Côté et al., 2003; Wuerth et al., 2004). Who knows, as this is an initial period of contact with the competitiveness of the chosen sport, this stage has been more attractive to athletes than the sport investment stage, because in this last stage athletes need to demonstrate greater responsibility and independence, participating of a greater number of competitions (Côté et al., 2003; Wuerth et al., 2004; Côté et al., 2016) and make more time and shifts available for training.

One of the fundamental aspects that deserve to be highlighted in the sports career development model (Côté et al., 2003; Côté et al., 2016) is the transition from one phase to another (Wuerth et al., 2004). That is, whenever athletes are about to progress, for example, from the specialization stage to the investment stage, they are obliged to meet specific sporting demands. Swimmers, for example, need to pass qualifying times to reach higher levels of competition to rise to a competitive level. Therefore, due to the growing demands, athletes must deal with more demands, stress, and time restrictions, leading them to the likely end of their sports career during the transition phases from one stage to another (Wuerth et al., 2004).

Parallel to the sports specialization stage, the student-athletes in this study were in the final years of Elementary School, a school period marked by an increase in school tasks and tests, compared to the initial years. Academic performance is typically assessed through tests, assignments, and exams, which most often contribute to stressful and anxiety-provoking experiences in students. This situation is analogous to what an athlete experiences during the

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competition (Dobersek & Arellano, 2017). Given these similarities, it can be speculated that student-athletes are able to transfer skills learned through sport (emotional control, concentration, resilience) to academic performance.

It is possible, however, that the skills that student-athletes acquire in sport are not transferred or interfere negatively in other areas of life unless they are intentionally taught and promoted through sport (Gould & Carson, 2008). Many studies report that involvement in sports activities has positive effects on student-athletes (Maciel, Folle, Souza, Vaz, & Salles, 2017), such as healthier lifestyle, academic performance (Lipscomb, 2007), and even improvement of behaviors (Davis & Menard, 2013). However, not every researcher supports these findings, as the relationship between athletic and academic success has been a complex issue (Kelley, Soboroff, Katayama, Pfeiffer & Lovaglia, 2018).

Student-athletes have many goals and time limitations that involve academic, social, and sporting demands (Scott & Castles, 2017) and fatigue or difficulty in managing these activities have a negative impact on the motivation of young people who choose to drop out to alleviate the pressure and stress caused by involvement in sport and study (Alahmed, Yusof, & Shah, 2016). Thus, the lack of time to meet the requirements of the two contexts has been the main reason for abandoning sports practice (Macarro, Romero, & Torres, 2010) and studying among young people.

The number of students who are unable to complete their studies or who are unable to satisfactorily integrate into the dynamics of academic life is high. And the causes for this situation are numerous: difficulties in meeting the demands of the sports and/or school education process; psychological problems; lack of resources; lack of support and motivation; and difficulties in reconciling time (González, Pérez, Pérez, & Benítez, 2007). Thus, the lack of harmony between the two formations, unfortunately, leads many young student-athletes to failure and abandoning one or another formation (Pérez et al., 2014).

The results showed a greater number of student-athletes participating in team sports, demonstrating greater acceptability for team sports, especially in adolescence (Azevedo Junior, Araújo, & Pereira, 2006). Team sports require players in a group to communicate, collaborate and work as a unit in pursuit of common goals (Dobersek & Arellano, 2017). However, it is thought that individual sports modalities have greater acceptance among girls (Corbin, 2002), perhaps explaining the smaller number of female athletes in the study, as well as practitioners of individual sports modalities. Individual sports athletes tend to be more organized, methodical, and disciplined in their studies compared to athletes who play team sports, who are less self-disciplined and more interested in competition (Lee, Whitehead, & Balchin, 2000; Gonçalves, Silva, & Cruz, 2007).

About the first objective of this study, the information obtained showed that athletes perceive, in general, higher levels of positive influences for their involvement and performance, both sports and school, supporting the first hypothesis proposed for this study. This result brings us to evidence that personal influences and social agents tend to be more favorable and positive for young people than unfavorable.

In this context, it is understood that as they become more and more involved with sport and with the advancement of school years, there is a need for young people to develop skills that can help them in their careers in a positive way (Holt & Dunn, 2004). The personal engagement of student-athletes, characterized by their motivation, commitment, discipline, and resilience when conducting their activities, seems to be governed by relationships that have favored their development, especially in sports.

Possibly, in addition to personal engagement, the main contributors to these perceptions are the behaviors, attitudes, and support of socializing agents (Bhalla & Weiss, 2010), specifically, family members, coaches, and teammates (Côté, 1999; Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavallee, 2009). Family members are a global and ubiquitous influence, while coaches and teammates exert influences both in context (usually in sport, but very little in school or at home) and situational levels (specific instances at a given point in time , such as training and competitions) (Vallerand, 1997).

From this point of view, it is reflected that the student-athletes in this study perceive slightly higher levels of positive influences for the sport, compared to the study. In turn, in addition to the superiority of positive influences in the study, there was a significant number of indifferent perceptions in all dimensions, in addition to negative perceptions arising from coaches and teammates in the study.

The family plays a significant role in shaping the success expectations, task values, and behaviors of young people in areas such as sport (Keegan et al., 2009) and school (Bhalla & Weiss, 2010). Involved, warm, and supportive families are associated with young student-athletes with higher levels of competence, self-esteem, and enjoyment of studying and playing sports (Maniam, 2017).

In this investigation, family members showed slightly higher levels of positive influences for the study, compared to other agents. However, they presented higher levels of influence for the sport, refuting the third hypothesis of this study. Perhaps, family members are exerting a more positive influence on their children's involvement in sports, due to the beginning of sports competitiveness.

The behavior of coaches is also fundamental for the participation of young athletes in the sport, as this

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character provides opportunities for athletes to relate and socialize, in addition to stimulating cooperation among teammates (Rottenesteiner, 2013) and involvement with the studies. However, approximately one-third of all athletes who drop out of youth sports are influenced by the coach (Armentrout & Kamphoff, 2011). Perhaps, this is due to the negative aspects coming from this character, including issues such as excessive control, negative feedback, in addition to the extensive scheduling of the season, which is why young athletes often end their participation (Weinberg & Gould, 2010).

Some coaches believe that the best way to produce athletes is to make them play just one sport practically all year, but this dedication often includes social isolation, overdependence, burnout, increased risk of injury and sport abandonment, and especially, of studies. However, this investigation found evidence that coaches have had a greater positive influence on the sport, which means that they are being effective in their role of encouraging and helping athletes in their sports training (Lumpkin & Favor, 2015). Such information partially supports the fourth hypothesis of this study since a greater positive influence on the study was also found.

As they become involved with the sport, young people tend to have greater interaction and involvement with their teammates. What makes this social agent a relevant source of influence, since athletes who perceive encouragement and receive feedback from teammates, to help them develop and promote feelings of belonging, become more likely to prolong their sports involvement (Vazou, Ntoumanis, & Duda, 2006). However, corroborating the ideas of Vallerand (1997) and confirming the fourth hypothesis of this study, about the influence of teammates, high levels of a positive influence of these agents in specific situations in sport were evidenced. In turn, there were lower levels of positive influences and higher levels of indifferent (neutral) perception in the study, perhaps because they are not part of the same school context, which is leading young people to have this perception.

The second objective of this study was to correlate the influences of personal engagement and the influence of family members, coaches, and teammates in the sport and in the study. Evidence confirmed the existence of moderately significant correlations between sport and study and a strong significant correlation between the sport and study dimensions themselves. These findings corroborate the studies that have shown a positive relationship between sport and study (Soares et al., 2015; Bailey, Armour, Kirk, Jess, Pickup, & Sandford, 2009; Alahmed et al., 2016) and the academic success of young athletes (Lindner, 1999; Donnelly, Gibson, Sullivan, Hansen, Hillman, Mayo, Smith, Lambourne, Herrman, Scudder, Betts, Honas, & Washburn, 2013).

In this sense, perhaps the difficulties encountered by young people in reconciling both contexts are reflecting the absence of a strong relationship between them, since young people are forced to associate two roles that are compatible with a cost: that of athlete and that of the student. Training and competition commitments seriously impinge on the role of the student, hindering academic engagement and performance, as well as the educational qualifications that are sought after (Borggrefe & Cachay, 2012). However, despite the difficulties experienced, it is clear from the view of student-athletes that the positive aspects arising from sports participation in parallel with studies are greater and more beneficial than the adversities experienced, leading them to develop skills and competencies that enable them to overcome obstacles and maintaining a dual career for as long as it takes.

The healthy and positive relationship between the three main influencing social agents (Keegan et al., 2009) can lead young people to feel supported and perceive levels of influence that facilitate and strengthen their dual career. Nevertheless, the observation of the influence of social agents is still recent, as research that addresses multiple social influences is relatively less common than research that emphasizes a social agent (Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006). However, existing investigations in the literature reinforce that athletes' social perceptions are contextually relevant and have a unique potential to impact their development. In this way, social support can minimize the symptoms of stress and burnout over time (Defrese & Smith, 2014).

Social support in this context can be understood as the help provided and perceived by individuals who make up the social network (Martinez-Hernaez, Canceller-Maicas, DiGiacomo, & Ariste, 2016) of the student-athlete. From this perspective, it is reflected that, in addition to the engagement and support of social agents, sports participation and academic life can be possible by changing the attitude of young people, that is, a student who wants to practice and get involved with the competitive sport should strive more to obtain better academic performance, aiming to reconcile and provide its participation in both contexts (Alahmed et al., 2016).

Despite exploring the level of personal engagement and social agents in sports and study and correlating the influences of personal engagement and the influence of family members, coaches, and teammates in sport and in the study, a theme little explored in both Brazilian and international literature, the present investigation presented as main limitations the fact that it did not analyze the perception of all members of the student-athletes social network and the types of support provided by each social agent (emotional, informative, tangible), as well as not considering the

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analysis of influences at other times in the sports season and school calendar.

In this sense, the elaboration of investigations on the subject is recommended, not only for its contribution to the sport and study of student-athletes, but above all for the understanding of the role of family members, coaches, and teammates in the conciliation between sport and school. Finally, it is believed that the production of evidence in this regard will help in sports and school education, in which both family members, coaches, and teammates are able to work in a collaborative way, aiming at the participation of student-athletes in both contexts for them to develop positively and pleasantly through sport and study.

V. Conclusions

In summary, the results of this study showed high levels of positive influences in sport and in the study. In turn, there were slightly higher levels of positive influence for the sport, especially in relation to personal engagement and coach influences, while family members had slightly higher levels of positive influence for the study, compared to other agents and levels lowest for positive influences and highest for the indifferent (neutral) perception of influence in the study, in teammates dimension.

Future research is needed to qualitatively investigate the reasons why athletes maintain this perception. Additionally, longitudinal, and experimental studies would demonstrate the nature and mechanisms of how involvement and sports performance contribute or not to the involvement and school performance of young athletes. Finally, looking at different moments of the sporting season and school year, as well as analyzing the perception of all social agents involved (family, coaches, teammates, teachers, entrepreneurs, directors) and the type of support provided and perceived arising of each social agent (emotional, informative, tangible), could support a greater understanding of the involvement and sports and school performance of young athletes.

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The Indian Theory of Drama

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Abstract- The source of the Indian theory of drama is the N**ā**tya**śā**stra of the sage Bharata, an encyclopedic treatise on all the aspects of dramaturgy. Bharata the instaurator and codifier of the Indian tradition of drama postulates theories of drama, music, dance, and poetry, construction of stage, the concept of rasa and the mimetic role of drama, etc. While neither Aristotle nor Plato applies to any form of Western dance style, in India, everyone goes back to N**ā**tya**śā**stra to find the source of various styles of Indian classical and regional dances and music. Metaphysically, the Indian theory of drama is based on Karma unlike the Greek theory of drama based on fate.

At the outset, the present paper shall explore and discuss the origin of the N**ā**tya**śā**stra, and will analyze some of its most significant aspects.

*Keywords: k**ā**vya; n**ā**tya**śā**stra; veda; brahma; bharata; aristotle; asuar**ā**s; deva; r**ū**paka; rasa; bh**ā**vanukirtanm; lokdharmī; natyadharmī; artaud; brecht; sahridya; neta (character); abhinaya; saussure; schechner; howard gardener; **ś**āstra (theory) and prayoga (praxis); vastu (plot); da**ś**a r**ū**paka (ten types of drama); dance; karma; avasthas (stages); sandhis.*

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The Indian Theory of Drama

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At the outset, the present paper shall explore and discuss the origin of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and will analyze some of its most significant aspects.[1]

Keywords: kāvya; nātyaśāstra; veda; brahma; bharata; aristotle; asuarās; deva; rūpaka; rasa; bhāvanukirtanm; lokdharmī; natyadharmī; artaud; brecht; sahridya; neta (character); abhinaya; saussure; schechner; howard gardener; śāstra (theory) and prayoga (praxis); vastu (plot); daśa rūpaka (ten types of drama); dance; karma; avasthas (stages); sandhis.

I.

The term *Kāvya*, literarily 'poetry', stands as in Aristotle, for entire imaginative literature, whether in prose or verse. *Kāvya* is, in Indian literary tradition, divided into two categories: *Drisya Kāvya* (visible poetry-poetry that is seen with eyes or performed) and *Śrvya Kāvya* (literally audible poetry-poetry that is to be heard with ears). This is off course a simplistic division, for *Driśya Kāvya* is both seen and heard. They are intended to refer to *Nātya* and narrative and stanzaic poetry respectively. *Nātya* has been considered the supreme form of *Kāvya*. The significance of *Nātya* is often highlighted as the most charming genre. (*"Kāvyeşu Nāṭkam ramyaṁ").* Of all poetry, drama is the most delightful).

Both forms of *Kāvya* have their separate *Śāstras* (scientific treatises) for their understanding and evaluation. The former, called *Nātya-śāstra*, is the oldest discipline, beginning with Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra* (500 B.C.), and including such works as *Bhāva Prakāshanam* of Shardatanya, *Nātak Lakshan Ratna Kosha* of Sagaranandin, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Ramchandra Gunachandra, *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyanatha, *Sangitaratnākar* of Śārṅgadeva, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha, *Agnipurāna, Vishnudharmottara Purān*, etc. This tradition is further enriched by the commentaries on Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra* by Śankuka, Bhattalolaka, Bhattanayaka, and Abhinavgupta. The discipline related to narrative poetry is called *Alankār-śāstra*. It started much later in the 7th century A. D., with Bhāmaha's *Kāvyălamkāra* and Daṇḍin *Kāvyādarśa* and continued till Pandit Raj Jagnnath's *Rasagaṅgādharaḥ* in the 17th century.

II.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is probably one of the earliest and certainly one of the best and most comprehensive unique encyclopedic compendiums on Indian Dramaturgy. A highly codified system drawn from earlier traditions of dramaturgy, interlinking text, and gestural language, the sole authority on Indian Dramaturgy, was described as the fifth Veda. "*Nātya* was created by Brahma" for the people "goaded by greed and avarice, and jealously and anger, [who] took to uncivilized (vulgar) way of life," with an aim to "not only teach" them "but be pleasing to eyes and ear" (Rangacharya 1996 1). Thus *Nātya*, created by Brahma, was to be accessible to all the varnas, including Śūdra, who were prohibited from listening to (learning from) the Vedas. Like all creations, the creation of *Nātya* is a fittingly tribute to divine ingenuity. The creator of the world and the supreme creator of everything, Brahma created drama also, on the exceptional requisition of the gods. He took words from *Ṛgveda*, music from *Sāmveda*, movements and make-up from *Yajurveda,* and emotional acting from *Ātharvaveda* to create an additional Veda (which consists of around 6000 verses structured into 36 chapters).[1] In addition to music and dance, the subjects dealt with are semantics, morphology, the various dialects, and their phonology, play-writing, play-construction, production, rehearsal, acting, dramatic criticism, drama-audience, producer, and many allied crafts. (Rangacharya 1966 2)

When Brahma asked Indra to compose plays, he modestly refused because that neither gods were competent enough nor was it proper for them to act in plays. The responsibility should be carried by the learned sages, and hence Brahma chose sage Bharat and his hundred sons to learn the dramatic art and to prepare the first performance. Assisted by Svāti (employed to play musical instruments), Nārada

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[1] I am grateful to Professor M. S.Kushwaha (Former Head, Department of English and Modern European Languages, University of Lucknow) and Professor Radhavallabh Tripathi (Former Professor of Sanskrit, Sagar University & Former Vice Chancellor, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi) for their suggestions and critical reading of this article.

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(engaged in singing songs) and newly created Apsaras by Brahma, the occasion of the celebration of the Banner Festival[2] (which consists of the victory of Indra on Daitya and Dānvas) was chosen for the first show. This first performance was foiled by the *Asuras* because the story showed the defeat of *Asuras* by the gods. Uninvited Daitya and Dānvas instigated the *Vighnas* (malevolent spirits) with Virūpākṣa as their leader, who said, "Come forward, we shall not tolerate this dramatic performance" (Ghosh 1951 10). Though they were routed, still the play could not be performed— the Daitya and Dānvas decided to repeat the obstruction. To protect the performance Vishwakarma constructed a theatre structure but the conflict was resolved only when Brahma called a meeting of both the parties and explained the characteristics of drama. Assuring them that drama was not propaganda and no one should feel hurt because, Brahma said, "The drama will thus be instructive to all, through actions and states depicted in it, and through sentiments, arising out of it." (Ghosh 15) The Great Grand Father further explained that drama is not meant to represent one individual exclusively. "It will [also] give relief to unlucky persons who are afflicted with sorrow and grief or [over] work, and will be conducive to the observance of duty as well as fame, long life, intellect, and general good, and will educate people. There is no wise maxim, no learning, no art or craft, no device, no action that is not found in drama." (Ghosh 15) Thus Brahma pacified Daitya and Dānvas: "You should not have any anger towards the gods; for a mimicry of the world with seven Divisions (*sapta dvīpa*) has been made a rule of, in the drama." (Ghosh 16)

This traditional legend of the origin of drama and theatre gives us a wealth of practical information. Yet at the very outset, the purpose of the fifth Veda, a discourse of knowledge, is the promotion of the commonly accepted ends of life; "a knowledge text as it mediates between philosophy and ordinary people who need the ideas of philosophy but cannot access them" (Kapoor 13). Unlike the four Vedas, it is not confined to the realm of wisdom alone; it provides entertainment too. Further, its form and structure are bound to be sacred as it is composed out of sanctified materials. Finally, it is to be performed by specialists, who belong to upper-class people, trained in various arts, especially of theatre (drama, music, recitation, and rituals). As it claims to take all the knowledge to be its province, it is also an encyclopedia of the language of gestures, steps, poses, movements of all the Indian classical dances. Entertainment is given priority as the aim of drama is to attract ordinary people. Just as Panini standardized the classical form of Sanskrit, so Bharata standardized classical form of Drama.

There is no indication of the existence of fully established theatrical tradition and its theory prior to Bharata, however there were stage-shows, called *rūpaka* and Bharata acknowledges hundreds of them. Most of these dealt with *śringara* or low humor. (Rangacharya 1966 6) In Indus valley civilization there are hints of the existence of dance, which might be part of rituals and festivals of the people of that civilization. There had been a long tradition of *Nat-Sūtrās* (dialogues) from ancient times and the earliest evidence is *Shailalak* in Ṛgveda. (Mishra 41) In Ṛgveda we find several forms of dialogues (*Samvādsūkt*), for example the dialogue of Pururava and Urvashi, Vishvamitra and Nadi, Yam and Yami etc. and rituals[3], but they do not appear to have developed into theatre. The earliest hint of a dramatic performance can be ascribed to Lava and Kuśa (hence called *Kuśilavah*, means actors) who performed the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in the court of Rama. A further hint of the development of the *Nātya* tradition can be traced in *Mahabharata* where the words *Nat*[4] and *Shaileshu* for actors are used. From the earliest Sanskrit dramas of Śudraka, Bhāsa, Aśvaghosa follow most of the dictates of the *Nātyaśāstra*. Early Buddhist literature provides the earliest evidence for the existence of Indian theatre. My submission is that before *Nātyaśāstra* we don't find an accepted Indian theory of Drama which is fully established. Sharadatanaya in his *Bhav Prakash* mentions the old Bharata who composed *Nātyavedāġam* (which had twelve thousand shlokas). Later Bharata abbreviated it in six thousand shlokas and composed the *Nātyaśāstra*. It is worth mentioning here that Bharata was not a single person. Most probably the *Natas*, who were dancers and actors, started telling themselves Bharata and thus they established the tradition of Bharatas. We cannot be sure how many experts, in how many centuries, of the Bharata tradition would have composed the *Nātyaśāstra*? That is why *Nātyaśāstra* is also known as *Bharata-śāstra*.

a) Subject Matter and Style of representation

Nātyaśāstra proposes that *Nātya* is a representation of not any particular individual but of the entire three worlds, whether of gods or asuras, and their ways. No motive should be attributed to the dramatist because he intends to give good advice through entertainment (I.107). With a clear perception of theatre-world relationships, *Nātyaśāstra* emphasizes pleasure as the primary aim of drama. What is to be noted here is that the subject of representation is not action but the recreation of *bhāva* or emotional states (*Bhāvanukirtanm*) because actions are individual, emotions are universal, and the emphasis is to represent every universal *bhāva* of human life. Brahma says that "*Nātya* is the representation (*anukarana*) of the ways of the world involving these various emotions and differing circumstances" (Rangacharya 1996 4). This theory of mimesis receives its authority from Aristotle as well. Bharat enumerates two modes of representation: *Lokadharmī* and *Nātyadharmī*, variously translated as realistic and stylized or dramatic, mimetic and conventional, worldly and theatrical modes. Under

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chapter XIV entitled "Regional Styles and Nature of Plays," Bharat describes

> *Lokadharmī*: A play in which men and women, in their own nature, without any change (*avikṛta*), without any gestures, behave naturally is *Lokadharmī*.
>
> *Nātyadharmī*: A play in which speech is artificial and exaggerated, actions unusually emotional, gestures graceful, is Nātyadharmī, (dramatic). That also is *Nātyadharmī* in which voice and costumes are not from common use.
>
> When a well-known theme is dramatized, investing characters with emotions, it becomes *Nātyadharmī*.
>
> When characters are side by side and the speech of one is supposed not to be heard by the other, it is Nātyadharmī. ….
>
> A drama must always be produced as *Nātyadharmī,* because without bodily gestures, there can be no drama. (Rangacharya 115)

Though Bharata describes different dramatic modes here, he asserts that only in the *Nātyadharmī* mode of representation, the subject matter of a drama can be well presented.

To represent the universal *bhāvas* (subject matter) of human life, well-known stories are to be chosen. Here Puranas play a vital role in the selection of stories that are to be recreated on the stage. These stories are fitting subject matters to serve the purpose of *Nātya. Nātyaśāstra* informs that the first performance, presented by Bharata, celebrates the event (*Devasur Sangram*) in which Indra, with the help of a host of gods, had destroyed asuras and danvas. The exploits of the hero are restricted to his success, whether in love or war, and this success is represented in *Nātyadharmī* style to make an everlasting impact on the spectator[5]. A story of defeat, or being captured by the enemy or the flight of the hero cannot be the subject matter of a drama.

Nātyaśastra is a compendium of an integrated art of music, dance, action, and poetry where all information on the various arts is brought together. It is the boast of the book (and it is often repeated) that there is no knowledge, no craft, no love, no art, no technique, and no activity that one does not find in *Nātyaśāstra*. Here it would be appropriate to make a slight comparison between the western concept of drama and the *Nātyaśāstra.* Artaud who has grasped the main feature of *Nātyaśāstra,* eulogies the Eastern theatre in his *The Theatre and its Double*:

> Our theatre has never grasped this gestured metaphysics nor known how to make use of music for so direct, so concrete, dramatic purposes. Our purely verbal theatre, unaware of the sum total of theatre, that is, of everything that exists spatially, that is measured and circumscribed in space, having spatial density — I mean: movements, forms, colours, vibrations, postures, shouts —, that theatre of ours could learn a lesson in spirituality from the Balinese theatre with regard to what is indeterminable and depends on the mind's suggestive power. (Bansat-Boudon 56)

Artaud conceives theatre in its totality which any Western theory fails, and he openly condemns Western theories which more or less remains theories of either tragedies or of comedies. Even Brecht "in his search for artistic impulse, which bridged centuries and continents, did not fail to notice the attractions of Indian Classical drama." (Lutze 101)

b) Characters

Since the emphasis is on the universal, therefore characters are types rather than individuals. There may be differences in shades only. The *śāstras* have often conceived them in terms of the binary opposition of noble (*Divya*) or ignoble (*Adivya*). There is another type where they are not necessarily noble or ignoble but a mixture of both (*Divyādivya*). *Nātyaśāstra* (XXXIV 1-5) defines three varieties of male and female characters. They are *Uttama* (superior), *Adhama* (inferior) and *Madhyam* (middling). Heroes (superior characters) are classified primarily by their character and temperament as four types (another classification is based on one or more wives): Gods are taken as *Dhiroddhata* (firm and brave), Kings as *Dhiralalita* (firm and sportive), chiefs of army and ministers as *Dhirodatta* (firm and noble), and Brahmins and merchants as *Dhiraprasanta* (firm and calm). (XXXIV 16-18) 'Firmness' is the most important factor in the character of all these heroes, and by these standards an infirm character like Hamlet or King Lear can never be a hero in Indian Drama. Corresponding to these are four types of jesters: Sannyasins, Brahmins, other twice-born castes, and disciples.

There are also four types of heroines based on their characteristics: They are *Dhira* (steady), *Lalita* (charming), *Udātta* (noble), and *Nibhrata* (quiet), but the actual types are "celestial women, queens, high born women, and courtesans. Celestial women and queens will have all the four characteristics. But a woman born in a good family (or high family) has only two, viz., nobility and quietness, while a courtesan, being an artist, has nobility, light-heartedness, charm, and expertise in dance, music, and other arts. Sage Bharata describes various roles and types of character; at the same time he also speaks how to choose the right actor for a role. (XXXIV 24-29)

These qualities or characteristics are called *sattva* or *Sāttvika* quality of characters who pass through spiritual suffering during the Drama. Intension is to bring wisdom of Vedas to be passed to the audience through the elevation of characters. The emphasis is on spiritual evolution (*Sādhnaparak*) where characters are moulded and they emerge as mature and polite or *Sahridya*. The ego of the character, even highest in status, is to be dissolved to become a *Sahridya*.

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(*Abhijnana Śakuntalam* is a sublime example of the Indian theory of Drama).

c) Abhinaya

Here drama is conceived only that one can represent on stage; it is not simply which is found in the text: that simply a written text is called script. Along with text, *Nātya* includes so many other things, especially drama, dance, music, both vocal and instrumental, and *Abhinaya* (derived from the root *nī means* to take or carry +*abhi* means towards= to carry performance towards spectators). It is not simply 'acting,' but other things that go to make up the medium of expression. Bharata provides the most sophisticated and detailed description of abhinaya which consists of The Gestures of The Head (chapter VIII), The Gestures of the Hands (chapter IX), The Gestures of other Limbs (chapter X), The Cāri Movements (of the limbs like feet, shanks, thighs and lips) (chapter XI), The Maṇḍala Movements for the discharge of weapons (chapter XII), The Different Gaits (chapter XIII), Generic Representation (chapter XXIV), The Arts of Courtesans (chapter XXV), and The Special Representation or *Cītrābhīnaya* (chapter XXVI). These description are mind blowing and unmatched in its style and subtleties. The limited scope of this paper does not allow me to go into details. I would like to acquaint the readers with a general idea of abhinaya.

Here *Abhinaya* means transferor of meaning, and its multi-channeled world has taken over whether in language theories (Saussure onwards), performance studies (Schechner onwards), and recently even in psychology and education (Howard Gardener). (Gupta X)

Abhinaya with all its sub-varieties of physical gestures is of four kinds (see chapter VIII),: the first is *Āṅgika* or physical abhinaya (Expression of the limbs); the second is *Vācika* or verbal abhinaya (Expression of speech); the third is *Āhārya* or non-verbal abhinaya (Costume, make-up, and scene); and the fourth is *Sāttvika* or emotional abhinaya (True expression), which is a manipulation of *Bhāva*. These four types of countenances lead spectators towards experiencing *rasa.*

Āṅgika and *Vācika* need some elaborations here. *Āṅgika* or "bodily acting" should be seen under three heads: (1) physical gesture (six main limbs-hands, chest, sides or hips, waist, and feet), (2) facial expression (conveyed by eyes, eyebrows, nose, lips, cheeks, and chin) and (3) posture or movements *Cesta* there are thirteen kinds of movements, each conveying a meaning). The *Āṅgikabhinaya* chapters have to be understood as body-language in contemporary language and not merely as gesticulation, poses, and postures, as has often been done. (Vatsyayan 59)

The next *Vācika* concerns more with voice-control (as in Body acting, body control is more important) than speaking or language. The author of *Nātyaśāstra* says that in drama, speech-language is of four varieties by the social standing of the character on the one hand and the part of the country to which he belongs. Thus there is *atibhasa* (grandiloquent language), *Aryabhasa* (the refined speech of kings and aristocracy), *Jatibhasa* (mother tongue of ordinary folk), and the *Mlechabhasa* (the corrupt language of foreigners and low born). (Rangacharya 1996 31)

As for as actors are concerned, along with intelligence, strength, and physical beauty, they are supposed to have considerable knowledge of everything required on the stage. The physical strength in the actor is a universally accepted concept, be it theatre or in movies. In Artaud's imagination, as might indicate, for example his notion of the actor is as an "affective athlete," the basis of whose performance is breath control. (Lyne Bansat-Boudon 56) Instructed by gods and sages, the actors should possess knowledge of time and tempo, appreciation of sentiments and emotions, experts in rituals, flawless recitation, a retentive memory, knowledge of music, dance and other arts, etc., for they are to be judged by critics for the merits and demerits of their works. They should also avoid the following faults: Unnaturalness in acting, incorrect movement, unsuitability for a role, forgetfulness, improper use of gestures, defect in costume and ornaments, defect in the rhythm of execution, improper projection, and excessive laughter or weeping.

The strength of their actions lies in their equal emphasis on theory and praxis, which is a general principle of the *Nātyaśāstra*. Kapila Vatsyayan points out this aspect: "*Nātya-śāstra* does not consider *śāstra* and *prayoga* (theory and praxis) as antonyms or in opposition. Instead Bharata asserts at the very outset that he is writing a *prayoga śāstra"* (41-42).

d) Types of Drama

Indian dramaturgy does not recognize any classification based on the end of the drama, and there is no such thing as a happy or a sad ending. A drama, therefore, in Indian tradition does not convey any conflict. The western theory of drama, derived and conditioned by Aristotle, is essentially the theory of tragedy. M. S. Kushwaha draws our attention to the fundamental difference between the Western and Indian theories of drama that while the Greek concept of tragedy is based on the tragic sense of life, "Such conception of drama… is alien to Bharat's view, which is based on the Indian theory of *karma*". This fundamental difference "determines their respective approaches to drama." (9) The western classification of drama as tragedy and comedy, based on a dialectical view of nature, is inconceivable in the holistic pattern of Indian thinking. Kushwaha further illuminates:

> Though Bharata, too, speaks of ten kinds of plays, his classification is totally of a different order. It is based purely

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on the differences in the styles (*vṛiti*) of composition and has nothing to do with naturalistic considerations. The drama, as Bharata takes it, represents human nature "with its joy and sorrows (1.121)". Both tears and laughter play an integral part in his conception of drama. If it resembles anything in Western dramatic literature, it is tragicomedy like Shakespeare's *As You Like It* or *The Merchant of Venice*. (10)

In this context Indian concept of drama, unlike the Greek concept, discards the fictional unity of action, time and space. It is the unity of impression which has to be carefully calculated before it is produced. (Ghosh xlv). The emphasis is not to present too many incidents. Drama is the imitation of a situation (*avasthanukriti natyam*), and it is called a show (*rūpa*) because it is seen (*rūpam drsyatayocyte*). To standardize the existing primitive forms of drama (which was not considered literature in this sense), Bharata evolved new forms. Bharat speaks about ten kinds (daśa *rūpaka*) of plays in chapter XX. These *daśa-rūpakas* are major forms of drama; there are some minor forms of drama which are called *up-rūpakas*. These *daśa-rūpakas* are traditionally associated with certain modes of representation or style of representations or *vṛttis*. Bharata recognizes four *vṛttis*; (a) *bharati*, i.e. verbal-duel, (b) *sāttvati*, i.e. grand and noble deportment, (c) *kaisiki,* i.e. graceful and lyrical, and (d) *ārabhatī*, i. e. strong and energetic. The *Vṛttis* are the ways of rendering a scene; or, the acting styles and the use of language, diction that different characters adopt in a play, depending upon the nature or the Bhāva that relates to the character. (Sreenivasarao)

The root cause of ten types of drama lies in the *Vastu* (plot), *Neta* (character) and *Rasa* (वास्तु, नेता रसस्तेषां भेदक:). Rasa is the foremost component, and the manifestation of Rasa is the main criterion of poet's success. Following are the names of ten types of plays, their names, (1) the Nataka, (2) the Prakarana, (3) the Anka, (4) the Vyayoga, (5) the Bhana, (6) Samavakra, (7) the Veethee, (8) the Prahasan, (9) the Dima and (10) The Ihamriga. Dhanik-Dhananjay in their treatise *Daśrūpaka* explains that these forms are based on the ten Rasa (sentiments). The following table is quite useful to understand these forms and their characteristics (serialization and some of the appropriate examples, here, are based on Radhavallabh Tripathi's lecture on YouTube):

Sr. no.	Form of Drama	Number of Acts/ characters	Protagonist	Prominent Rasa	Associated vṛttis	Nature of story and scenes	Examples
1.	The Nataka (regarded as the best, most important and complete form of *Rupa*)	Five to ten/ Not more than five or six characters should have useful roles.	Royal sage, noble hero or *Dhīroddhātta and Dhīralalita*/ Great heroines of celestial natures	Śṛṅgāra (love) or *vira* (heroic) (All rasa may be present.)	Presents all four vṛttis for depicting different types of diverse situations. (*Kaiśiki* and *Sāttvati* are more suitable)	Well-known story in idealized form with supernatural and noble sentiments; fierce scenes or scenes bordering on vulgarity are prohibited.	*Abhijñānaśākuntalam Uttararāmacarita*
2.	The Prakarana	Same as above	Brahmin or a minister or a merchant or a soldier (*Dhiraprasanta*)or even a social parasite (*Vita*)/ A courtesan could also be the heroine	Śṛṅgāra (love) (All rasa may be present.)	Same as above	Fictitious story, invented by the poet; realistic, deals with the affairs of the social classes coming from a mixed milieu,	*Mṛcchakaṭikā*
3.	The Samavakra	Three acts/ twelve heroes	Exalted Gods and asuras *Dhīroddhātta* and *Dhīrodātta*	*Vira* and raudra (Śṛṅgāra can also be there)	*Ārabhatī* and *Sāttvati*	Well-known story; triple structure/ action oriented; three Aṅkas, three Kapatas (deception), three Vidravas (flights), three Śṛṅgāras (dharmaśṛṅgāra or righteous love, Arthaśṛṅgāra or love with financial motivation, and kāmaśṛṅgāra or	*Amrit-Manthan*

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						love with sensual desires).	
4.	The Ḍima	Four acts/ sixteen heroes	Gods and asuras *Dhīroddhātta* and *Dhīrodātta*	six rasa-s (i.e. except śṛṅgāra and Hāsya)	*Sāttvati* and *Ārabhatī*	Well-known action oriented story of fight and agitation, more ferocious than the Samavakra	*Tripura Dahana*
5.	The Īhāmṛga	One act	Man/damsels	Any rasa except *hāsya* (mirth, laughter) and śṛṅgāra	*Sāttvati* and *Ārabhatī*	Mixed story of gods and men; action oriented, agitation, flight, encounter, kidnapping and ravaging of women, fights on account of celestial damsels (the hero relentlessly pursues a woman who is as elusive as a swiftly flying gazelle (mṛga); and, it is very difficult to get her.)	*Rukmaaniharan by* Vatsaraj
6.	The Vyayoga	One act, a sort of an extension of the Ḍimaḥ	*Dhīroddhātta* and *Dhīrodātta*: A well-known divine being or a royal sage with limited numbers of women characters	Any rasa except *hāsya* (mirth, laughter) and śṛṅgāra	*Sāttvati* and *Ārabhatī*	Well-known story, coincident, Incidents of fight, wrestling, altercation, pushing, pulling, etc.	*The Victory of Paraśurama*; *Madhyam Vyayoga* by Bhasa (Story of Ghatotkach)
7.	The Anka: (Also called Utsṛṣṛikāṅka)	One act	Noble hero/ *Dhīralalita*, Ordinary man, but no divine character/ women characters	Karūnā (compassion).	*Bharati*	well known or not known story; characters turning back from fierce fight, tragic, wailing of women	*Urubhanga* by Bhasa
8.	The Prahasan (Farce) Two types, pure (*Śuddha*) and mixed (*Saṅkīrṇ*)	A burlesque, one or two-Act-skit	*Śuddha* Prahasan/ low character:: *Saṅkīrṇ* Prahasan/ courtesans, menial servants, eunuchs, rogues and gallants	*Hāsya*	*Bharati*	In Śuddha Prahasan satire on gurus, ascetics, Buddhist monks, learned Brahmins, etc. by ridiculing (atīhāsa) them. In saṅkīrṇ Prahasan distorted characters appear in immodest dress and make openly (obscene) gestures.	*Bhagavadajjukam* of Bodhayana (6th - 7th century AD) and *Mattavilasa Prahasana* by Pallava King Mahendravarman I (571– 630 CE)
9.	The Bhana	One act monologue narrated by a single actor	A rogue, a parasite or Vita, not a hero but fills the stage	śṛṅgāra or *vira*	*Bharati* and *Kaiśiki*	A satirical performance put on by a single actor, talking to himself, making	*Ubhaya-abhisarika* of Vararuchi; *Padma-rabhrthaka* of Sudraka; *Dhurta-Vita-*

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						conversation with the imaginary persons, imitating the other characters and chastening the high-class by lampooning their licentious ways. (Sreenivasarao)	*samvada* of Isvaradatta; and *Pada-taditaka* of Syamalika.
10.	The Vīthī, (among the earliest forms of Sanskrit Drama)	One act	Noble (*Dhīralalita*), middle or low type of male hero/chaste woman (kulapālikā), a common woman (sāmānyā) or of the other type (parakīyā)	Endowed with all the Rasas (*Sarva-rasa-lakṣaṇāaḍhy ā yuktā*), but śṛṅgāra is the main rasa.	*Bharati*, Dhananjaya classified it under *Kaiśiki* Vrtti (Sreenivasarao)	Story built by the dramatist or the episodes culled out of mythologies and popular tales were narrated by use of clever and inventive witty dialogues, might have originated from the ancient Samvada -Suktas of the Rig-veda.	*Līlāvatī Vīthī* of Rāmapāṇivāda

(NS XX 10-113)

The Samavakar, the Ḍima, the Īhāmṛga, and the Vyayoga were the four oldest kinds of *rūpaka.* They bear out the assumption of a long pre-literary development and belonged to the energetic type, battle genre and were pantomimes. Bharata makes it clear that plays of the Vīthī, the Samavakra, the Īhāmṛga, the Anka, the Vyayoga, the Bhana, the Prahasan, and the Ḍima classes should be made devoid of the Graceful style. (XX 8-9). V. Raghwan opines that these eight classes are minor specimens, the imperfect ones while the other two, Nātaka and Prahasan are major forms and the perfect ones. Raghwan's observation is worth citing here:

> From another point of view these ten kinds fall into two classes, the heroic and the social. Now two of the ten varieties are major specimens--the nataka in which the heroic trend reaches its perfection, and the *prakarana* in which the social trend attains its full scope of development. Among the lesser varieties under the heroic are the *samavakara*, *dimā*, *vyāyoga*, *anka* and *ihamriga*; and under the social type are the *prahasana*, *bhana* and *vithi*. The heroic category portrays actions of gods or epic heroes, their fights and the consequences thereof, types which probably still survive in Java and Bali in the dramatic *baris*. The social type depicts the life and love affairs of common men. The former presents before us the example of supermen, while the latter holds up the mirror to the world. (17)

e) Dance

Dance is a very important element in all these types of dramas. Bharata has explained the subtle movements as well as nuances of both classical and regional dance forms. In the tradition of *Nātyaśāstra,* the regional forms of dance and drama are classified as nṛttaprabadhas, nṛtyas, deśirūpaka, geyarūpaka, anyarūpaka, saṁkrinarūpaka and uparūpaka. It is important to remember that Bharata dexterously transformed and incorporated *nṛtta* (dance) — an ancient well-schematized formal non-representational art— into the larger scheme of *Nātya* (Chapter IV). Described and explained by God Shiva's disciple Tandu (hence called *tāndava*), the long manual of dance, which was initially incorporated into *nātya* as part of its prologue (*purvaranga*), *nṛtta* was later orchestrated into *nātya* through *abhinaya*. By enriching the "language of gestures," *nṛtta* adds another dimension to *anūkarana* based *abhinaya*. Rendered with the grace of dance, ordinary gestures (borrowed or reproduced from *Loka*) were heightened by incorporating many *nṛtta*-gestures impregnated with meanings. When absorbed with *abhinaya*, *nṛtta* not only acquires and produces meanings beyond itself, but it is also significantly re-contextualized to help to produce *rasa*. In Bharata's conception *anūkarana* is not a replica of the world. It aims at transforming the real world, through imagination, in a stylized form which he calls *nātyadharmi* (having traits peculiar to *nātya*).

f) Music

Similarly, Bharata (in Chapter XXXII, Unni's translation) transforms the spirit of *gāndharva*. This chapter on music (called *gāndharva*) lays down the foundation of the various forms of Indian classical music, which are still in practice. The classical form of *gāndharva* was based on *svara* (scales), *tāla* (musical meter), *sthāna* (base note or various registers—low, medium, high), *tāna* (note-sequence elaboration), *ālāp* (yodel) and syllables and *pada* was auxiliary to *svara* and *tāla*. This form of music, which tended to overpower the linguistic purport totally, was not appropriate for ordinary folks, because this musical form was not dominated by *pada* (lyric or the sung text) or linguistic

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purport to convey precise meanings; therefore the need was to recreate it into *gāna* or *Dhruva* —theatrical songs. Only then they could be able to express any sentiment or evoke *rasa* by making *svara* and *tāla* auxiliaries to *pada;* "they were there to lend the power of melody and rhythm to the sentiments expressed in the sung text." (Lath 8) Bharata's experiment in giving a theory of music is so perfect and eternal, that even today no one could add an eighth *svara*.

g) Plot of Nātya

In a very meticulous tone, Bharata gives a prescription of *Itivṛtta* or drama-building (plot construction), which is mainly based on the theory of *Karma* (*NS* XXI). Bharata enumerates two kinds of plot, viz, the one as *Ādhikārika*- the principal one and the other as *Prāsaṅgika*- the subsidiary one. He explains that which is conceived as resulting in fruition forms the principal one while the other is to be known as the subsidiary. (*NS* XXI 2-3) In any action that a man undertakes to achieve an object, Bharata explains, in bringing off the final results proceeds in regular order by five stages or *avasthas.* The five stages of the development of story are described as five *sandhis* (joining, combining) and each sandhi means the joining of an outward circumstances (*arth-prakriti*) with a voluntary action of the hero. The five *avasthās*, the corresponding five *arth-prakritis*, and the five *sandhis are* as follows:

Sr. No.	The five *avasthas* (stages)	The five *arth-prakritis* (elements of the plot)	The five *sandhis* (juncture)
1.	*Ārambha* (begining),	*Beeja* (seed; sown in limited measure)	*Mukha* or the original cause (opening one, joining *ārambha* and *beeja*)
2.	*Praytna* (Making effort)	*Bindu* (contributory incident; prolongs the plot)	*Pratimukha* or progression (raising hopes and combining *ytna* and *bindu*)
3.	*Praptayasa* or prapti-sambhav (meeting of obstacles and possibility of achievement)	*Pataka* (major sub-plot)	*Garbha* or development (raising doubt in which *praptayasa* and *patāka* joins)
4.	*Niyatapati* (removal of obstacle and certainty of achievement)	*Prakari* (minor sub-plot or stray incidents; forrms the part of the main plot)	*Vīmarśa* or pause (situation under control, here are joined *niyatapati* and *prakari*)
5.	*Phalagam* (final achievement or denouement)	*Kārya* (denouement; fruition of the effort is enunciated)	*Nīrvahaṇa* (conclusion *phalāgam* and *kārya* are combined)

(*NS* XXI 6-40)

Bharata talks about the organic development of drama which first sprouts, then grows, and finally, there is fruition. It is worth noting that he sets yardstick of linear time scale, and point, and line in general geometrical terms. Vatsyayan elaborates its further

> Bharata explores 'time' multidimensional through a tripartite module of the notions of *avastha*, *arth-prakriti,* and *sandhi*, employing consistently the metaphor of *bīja* (seed), *bindu* (point) and suggesting *Purusa* as an unspoken term of reference through the notion of *mukha, pratimuka, garbh* etc.
>
> In the first, ie. *avastha* (states), the movement is from the point of view of the hero, the chief protagonist. This is clear enough in the names of the five stages… This suggests a clear linear order of progression. (75-76)

Bharata prescribed coalescing of these five stages into a single unit, without violating their proper sequence, to bring forth the desired ultimate fruit. In some cases, as warranted by specific reasons, one or two junctures may be dropped. (*NS* XXI 17-18) Apart from these subtle enumerations, Bharata delves deeper to speak about the theoretical arrangement of these junctures and their further division into twenty one special junctures. No treaties in world offers such systematic and scientific elaboration of the plot construction of drama. Aristotle, who considers the plot as the most significant of six elements of drama, seems rudimentary if compared to Bharata's conceptions.

III.

Certain indispensable concepts and stylizations, borrowed directly or indirectly from *Nātyaśāstra,* are universally accepted in almost all the regional theatres in India. It has an everlasting influence of the theatrical tradition of many other Asian countries. Tripathy observes that "in India, various concepts-fundamental philosophy of art- have percolated so deeply through various forms of dance and drama that despite all geographical, social and anthropological differences, this single unique text of Bharatamuni has served the cause of sustenance of and synthesis between the diverse regional theatrical traditions of India." (5)

It is not so much the story of the hero or the heroine; Bharata affirms the fabrication of the story as a primal postulate. Bharata has made deliberate efforts to see that a drama and a dramatic performance must first be a work of art and then literature, our friend,

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philosopher and guide. It is the type of entertainment that would capture the people's hearts of different tastes, and the spectator must appreciate the artistic point of the dramatists show. Hence Bharata has also evolved a well-defined and well-categorized theory of Rasa (eight in numbers, *Śṛṅgāra*, *Hāsya*, *Karuṇa*, *Raudra*, *Vīra*, *Bhayānaka*, *Bībhatsa*, and *Adbhuta*) and makes it explicit that there is no Nātya without rasa. He explains that rasa is the cumulative result of vibhāva (stimulus), anubhāva (involuntary reaction), and Vyabhicārī bhāva (voluntary action) (Rangacharya 1996 55). The aim is to provide instruction through entertainment and the emphasis is on recreation of bhāvas (भावानुकीर्तनं). The theory includes various forms of the show, necessitates music with instructions for actors to perfect subtle nuances of acting with the minutest of details. Bharata also gives clear-cut directions to build the structure of theatre. Radhaballabh Tripathi makes a very significant comment that "Bharatamuni stands as a Vyāsa in the Indian theatrical universe and like Vyāsa his *Nātyaśāstra* has remained with us as a *Saṁhita* (compendium) with a systematic presentation of the conceptual framework as well as the theories of practices of theatre…" (2014 1)

Nātyaśastra is theatre oriented rather than text-oriented, and Bharata not only differentiates *Lokdharmī* and *Nātyadharmī* but also asserts that drama should be presented in the *Nātyadharmī* style. Bharata seems to be a step ahead of Aristotle by defining the subtle difference between two modes. The concept of Nātyadharmi anticipates subtle nuances of the present-day theatre. Narayanan makes a valuable observation

> Bharata's exposition on *Nātyadharmī* implies the fundamental principle that every object, action, and area of the stage—what more, the stage itself—is a sign. The theatrical communication works less through a world reproducing mimesis than through a process of differential semiosis, established through practice and convention. Inscribed in Bharata's postulation of the possibilities of *Nātyadharmī*, are such principles which, in the terminology of modern day theatre semiotics, may be phrased as the constitutiveness of all the sensory possibilities of performance, the arbitrary relationship between the theatrical signifiers and signifieds, the transferability of the signs, etc. (137)

The classical theory of drama remained a source of inspiration for later *ācāryas* for thousands of years. Western thought, the groundwork of which began with the rise of Renaissance and the *Poetics*, with other Greek and roman texts, was revived after thousands of years. The continuity of tradition which *Nātyaśāstra* enjoyed and was enriched is missing in the West. Bharata's treatise has received numerous commentaries and is still relevant. We may call it an integral multidisciplinary approach, an ocean, and assuredly a confluence (Vatsyayan 45). It was no accident that Artaud, the Absurdists, and several other dramatists abandoned the lexis-centered (word/dialogue centered) theatre and adopted the semiotic, gestured and music based Eastern models that relied upon none other than the tradition of *Nātyaśāstra*. (Gupt ix)The evident fact is that like today's cinema *Nātya* is a composite art in Indian tradition with principle of *Karma* at its center. Therefore we have a tradition of tragic-comedy and the idea of tragedy was never a part of the Indian Drama. But alas the English departments of Indian universities (except a few) do not include any aspect of *Nātyaśāstra* except the rasa theory and that too under Indian poetics. There are talks on decolonizing the syllabus, but when it comes to preparing it, nobody cares about any Indian *Śāstra,* forget about *Nātyaśāstra*

My humble submission here is that instead of exclusive and persistent devotion to the Western theories, we need to turn from Anglomania to *metanoia*. India's deep-rooted wisdom, a long intellectual and cultural tradition, is still capable of illuminating the world. As for as the Indian scenario is concerned, the western theories partially help us, while the most important western theories (since Eliot), like formalism, structuralism and deconstruction owe a great deal to the Indian intellectual tradition. As for as *Nātyaśāstra* is concerned, it is par excellence. I have exposed and analyzed some of the important aspects to let the readers be acquainted with the stature of the text. The Western insights and speculation can further enrich the text. Bharata Gupt rightly observes that *Nātyaśāstra* becomes a cardinal text for all kinds of communication skills and art forms and has to be revisited with deep regards for its value, more so by us in India to where it belongs but whose elite classes are overburdened with Euro-American paradigms. (x)

Notes:

1. The tradition believes that the text had 12000 verses, but only 6000 survived. In some versions there are 37 or 38 chapters. Most of the verses are in *Anushtup* metre (4x8, or exactly 32 syllables in every *Śloka*), some verses are in *Arya* metre, and some are in prose (especially chapter 6, 7, and 28).
2. Banner Festival: This festival occurred on the twelfth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of *Bhādra*. It was a very popular festival in India. (Ghosh 9)
3. The complex Vedic rituals and ceremonies with elaborate rites and symbolic gestures, and physical actions could have served as the foundation for the emergence of theatre.
4. In later history, the word *Nata* was used to describe dancers and pantomimists, as well as actors.
5. The importance of the play lies in its representation and critical appreciation, as the plays are to be essentially 'spectacle' (*prekśa*) or 'things' to be visualized; hence persons attending the performance of a play were referred to (XXVII. 48-57) as 'spectators' or 'Observers' (*prekṣaka*) and

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never audience (*śrotā*), however there was always the speech element in it, which was a thing to be heard.

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Differences in Style in the Plots of the Song Poetry of the Volga Turks

By Mikhail Kondratyev

Abstract- Chuvash and Tatars are two Turkic-speaking peoples formed in the Volga region. The commonality of their folklore traditions has deep historical and genetic roots. This concerns, in particular, the typology of the song plot, described through the concept of short-plot as a kind of Eastern poetic aphoristics. The main difference between the Chuvash and Tatar plots lies in the poetic style. In the Chuvash, it is communal, due to the content of the rites. The archaic ritual culture of the Volga Tatars underwent cardinal transformations under the influence of Islam. This explains the emphasized personal, sometimes intimate-exquisite style of their song plot.

A comparison of Chuvash and Tatar subjects shows that their differences lie outside the common cultural and genetic "heritage" of the ancestors of the two neighboring peoples. Ritualism, introduced by Islamic preachers, for centuries in the culture of the Volga Tatars replaced the primordial local carnival style. As a result, the genre nature and style of folk song poetry have changed.

Keywords: chuvash, volga tatars, commonality and difference of folklore traditions, song plot, style of folk song poetry, ritual culture, heritage of ancestors, influence of islam.

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Differences in Style in the Plots of the Song Poetry of the Volga Turks

Стилевые различия сюжетики песенной поэзии тюрков Поволжья

Mikhail Kondratyev

Аннотация- **Чуваши и татары – два тюркоязычных народа, сформировавшиеся в Поволжье. Общность их фольклорных традиций имеет глубокие историко-генетические корни. Это касается, в частности, типологии песенного сюжетосложения, описываемой через понятие краткосюжетности как разновидности восточной поэтической афористики. Главное различие чувашской и татарской сюжетики заключено в поэтическом стиле. У чувашей он общинный, обусловленный содержанием обрядов. Архаичная обрядовая культура волжских татар претерпела кардинальные трансформации под влиянием ислама. Этим объясняется подчёркнуто личностный, местами интимно-изысканный стиль их песенной сюжетики.**

Сравнение чувашских и татарских сюжетов показывает, что их различия лежат за пределами общего культурно-генетического «наследства» предков двух соседящих народов. Обрядность, привнесенная исламскими проповедниками, в течение столетий в культуре волжских татар заменила исконную местную карнавальность. Вследствие этого изменились жанровая природа и стиль народно-песенной поэзии.

Ключевые слова: чуваши, волжские татары, общность и различие фольклорных традиций, песенное сюжетосложение, стиль народно-песенной поэзии, обрядовая культура, наследие предков, влияние ислама.

Abstract- Chuvash and Tatars are two Turkic-speaking peoples formed in the Volga region. The commonality of their folklore traditions has deep historical and genetic roots. This concerns, in particular, the typology of the song plot, described through the concept of short-plot as a kind of Eastern poetic aphoristics. The main difference between the Chuvash and Tatar plots lies in the poetic style. In the Chuvash, it is communal, due to the content of the rites. The archaic ritual culture of the Volga Tatars underwent cardinal transformations under the influence of Islam. This explains the emphasized personal, sometimes intimate-exquisite style of their song plot.

A comparison of Chuvash and Tatar subjects shows that their differences lie outside the common cultural and genetic "heritage" of the ancestors of the two neighboring peoples. Ritualism, introduced by Islamic preachers, for centuries in the culture of the Volga Tatars replaced the primordial local carnival style. As a result, the genre nature and style of folk song poetry have changed.

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Introduction

Более тысячи лет в Поволжье бок о бок проживают два крупных тюркоязычных народа – чуваши и татары. Их самобытные культурные традиции имеют много общего. Родственные по языку (чуваши – представители булгарской ветви, татары – булгаро-кыпчакской ветви), они различаются в религиозном отношении – многовековом мусульманстве у татар, православии у чувашей. Общность традиций – и результат длительного соседства в пространстве сменявших друг друга государственных образований (Волжской Булгарии, Золотой орды, Казанского ханства, Российской империи), и наследие предков, связанного с их доисламским и дохристианским прошлым. По этому поводу уместно вспомнить, слова классика татарской поэзии Габдуллы Тукая: «Булгарские города с их оригинальной архитектурой и булгарские деревни исчезли без следа, разрушились, будто их не было. А наше драгоценное наследие – народные песни – и пушки не разбили, и стрелы не пронзили. Пережив многие беды и напасти, они вопреки всем невзгодам сохранились в памяти народа».[1] Сходным образом и чуваши, пережив на этой территории те же эпохи, сберегли устное музыкально-поэтическое наследие предков.

Под этим углом зрения автор настоящей статьи изучал чувашскую и татарскую народно-песенную сюжетику, решая задачу выявления следов генетического «субстрата». Общность поэтических традиций чувашей и волжских татар в работах 1990-х годов была показана через понятие краткосюжетности как разновидности восточной поэтической афористики[2]. В монографии «Чувашская *çавра юрă* и ее татарские параллели» сказанное аргументировалось сотней примеров полных или частичных совпадений поэтических

[1] *Тукай Г.* Избранное. М.: Советская Россия, 1975. С. 139.

[2] См., например: *Кондратьев М.Г.* Краткосюжетность как типологическое свойство чувашской и татарской народно-песенной поэзии // Языки, духовная культура и история тюрков: традиции и современность. Труды международной конференции в 3-х томах. 9-13 июня 1992, г. Казань. Т. II. – М.: Инсан, 1997. – С. 185-187.

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строф чувашского и татарского фольклора[3]. В связи с поставленной задачей в этих публикациях были указаны лишь некоторые частные различия поэтических традиций двух народов, обусловленные разнонаправленной эволюцией исходной общности.

В предлагаемой статье ставится противоположная задача – вскрыть различия в традиционной фольклорной сюжетике, лежащие за пределами общего генетического «наследства».

Главное отличие, ощутимое при самом поверхностном знакомстве с текстами, – поэтический стиль. У чувашей он общинный, связанный с канонами обрядов. Показательно, что даже в своих любовных излияниях чувашские девушки нередко используют местоимения во множественном числе *пирĕн* (наш) вместо *манăн* (мой):

Хĕреслĕ тенкĕ тӳнтерле,
Çакайрасчĕ пиччĕн май.
Пирĕнех савни тӳнтерле те.
Çаврайрасчĕ хамăр май.

Крестообразное монисто завернулось,
Перевесить бы лицевой стороной;
От нас же возлюбленный отвернулся да,
Возвратить бы [его] к себе[4].

Поэтический стиль татарских песен – подчёркнуто индивидуальный, личностный, местами интимно-изысканный. Любовные сюжеты полны чувства восхищения красотой девушки, выражаемого через по-восточному цветистые метафоры и сравнения:

Су өстендә ак күбек тә,
Җомарлаган май кебек;
Аwзый уймак, бите каймак,
Теле эчкәч – бал кебек.

Сигез җаннәт ишеге ачылыр микән
Без кавышкан атна кичләрдә?

На поверхности воды – белая пена,
Как сбитое масло.
Ротик у неё – напёрсток, личико – сметана,
Язык как мёд.

Откроются ли восемь врат рая,
Когда в четверг мы соединимся?[5]

Контраст такому любовному обожанию красавиц в чувашских сюжетах составляет ритуальное охаивание девушек чужой деревни в так называемых «корильных» (т.е. величальных «наоборот») песнях женихова поезда:

Çакă яла килтĕмĕр –
Ни сар хĕр çук, çыр хĕр çук;
Хури куçран каймарĕ –
Тапса утма пулмарĕ[6].

В эту деревню заехали –
Ни блондинок нет, ни шатенок нет;
Чернявые всё перед глазами –
Проходу не давали.

Подобным образом происходит осмеивание девушек соседней улицы или деревни и в весенних хороводах.

Стилевую разницу двух этнокультурных поэтических традиций едва ли не наиболее отчётливо демонстрируют сюжетные мотивы, связанные с эросом.

Эротика в фольклоре – вещь традиционная. В той или иной степени она присуща обрядовым и карнавальным-праздничным традициям любого народа. В обыденном общении эротические мотивы вуалируются или табуируются как непристойность. Но в сакральном контексте они обнажаются. Такое обнажение мы видим, например, у чувашей в песнях свадебного обряда. *Туй нукĕрĕсем* (дружки жениха) дерзко обращаются к подружкам невесты *хĕрçумĕсем*:

Айта, аки, яра пар,
Йолашкине пире пар —
Ик чĕччине мăкăртса,
Копарчине каçăртса.
Таш[ă] та лайăх полсассăн,
Хамăр инке тăвăпăр.
Хамăр инке полмасан,
Хамăр арăм тăвăпăр[7].

Давай, сестрёнка, начинай [плясать],
Концовку нам отдай —
Обе груди выставляя,
Ягодицы поднимая.
Если пляска будет хороша,
Своей снохой сделаем.
Если снохой не станешь,
Своей женой сделаем.

Исполняя ритуальный плач невесты *хĕр йĕрри* даже девушка не избегает обсценной лексики:

Атте парсан — каяс пуль,
Хĕве хупсан — парас пуль.
Пӳрнеске пек пĕстеме
Алса туль пек тăвайчĕ[8].

[3] Кондратьев М.Г. Чувашская çаврa юрă и ее татарские параллели. – Чебоксары, 1993. – 80 с.

[4] Парамонов Т.П. Чувашские народные песни. Чебоксары: ЧГИГН, 2012. № 73. Здесь и далее подстрочные переводы дакются курсивом.

[5] *Мошков В.А.* Мелодии Волго-Камья / В.А. Мошков [под ред. М.Г. Кондратьева и Н.Ю. Альмеевой]. – Чебоксары: Чувашское книжное издательство, 2011. – С. 257, 265.

[6] Ираида Вдовина юрлакан чăваш халăх юррисем А.А. Осипов пухса хатĕрленĕ. Шупашкар: Чăваш кĕнеке изд-ви, 1985. – С. 23.

[7] *Мошков В.А.* Мелодии Волго-Камья / В.А. Мошков [под ред. М.Г. Кондратьева и Н.Ю. Альмеевой]. – Чебоксары: Чувашское книжное издательство, 2011. – С. 101.

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Если отец выдаст — пойти придется,
В амбар закроют — отдаться придется.
С наперсток п...
С варежку смог сделать.

Провокационные упоминания предметов, в повседневной жизни не называемых, нередки и в песнях календарных обрядов. Например, в песнях праздника проводов зимы *çăварни* (масленицы), представляющего собой восточноевропейский аналог карнавалов, распространённых в католических странах. Их исполняют парни, зовущие подружек покататься:

Инке икерч пĕçерет
Çупа пуçса çитерет.
Вуник икерч – пĕр çăкăр,
хĕрсен чĕччи тăр-тăр-тăр.
Катаччи! Катаччия![9]

Тётка блины печёт,
В масло обмакнув, угощает.
Дюжина блинов – один каравай,
У девок груди трепыхаются.
Кататься! На катанье!

Во время весенних хороводов, водимых холостой молодёжью, эрос представлен непристойными намёками:

Улăм ури куçас пек,
ĕне пырса выртас пек;
Наçтаç вырăн сарас пек,
Ринах пырса выртас пек[10].

Соломенный скирд сдвинется, похоже,
Корова, придя, ляжет, похоже;
Настасья ложе застелет, похоже,
Иринарх, придя, ляжет, похоже.

Подобные примеры можно умножить, образцы встречаются во многих фольклорных изданиях. В частности, специально они подобраны в сборнике «Чувашский мерекке: анекдоты, шутки, юморески, дразнилки, иронии, эротический фольклор»[11].

***

В татарском фольклоре эротические сюжеты встречаются не реже, чем у соседних народов, но они имеют другой характер. Это связано с тем, что обрядовая культура волжских татар претерпела кардинальные трансформации под влиянием ислама, который «с X в. стал государственной религией Булгарии… сделался основным стержнем ее этнокультуры»[12] и впоследствии глубоко укоренился в татарской культуре. Соответствующим образом комментируется отсутствие специальных песен, приуроченных к свадебному обряду: «Исследователи быта казанских татар конца XIX и нач. XX в. отмечали, что на их свадьбах мало веселья, редко услышишь пение, пляску и игру на музыкальных инструментах… Отсутствие, а вернее, исчезновение указанных песен у казанских татар объясняется прежде всего тем, что с XIX в. резко усиливается влияние на народные массы ислама и его блюстителей»[13]. Аналогичны замечания исследователей и о содержании календарных праздников. Например: «Если к играм и состязаниям [в день праздника сабантуй] … мусульманское духовенство относилось более или менее лояльно, иногда даже муллы присутствовали на майдане, то к совместным гуляниям и развлечениям молодежи духовенство относилось резко отрицательно»[14].

Это не значит, что в песенном фольклоре волжских татар эротические сюжеты попали под запрет. Вытесненный из обряда эрос нашёл себе место в лирике, приобретя интимно-личностный характер. Примеры многочисленны:

Бадыйан сиптем йөрүгән йолыңай,
Чиш биленне, керәйем койнуңа(й).

Ал да беткән, гөл дә беткән
Шул Зәйнәпнең битенә.
Арпа сатып алган акча
Китте Зәйнәп күтенә.

Урам буйлап берәү килә,
Кулларында пирчәткә;
Дәртсез кызлар дәртләнер
Кулың салсаң имчәккә.

Ак каенның ботагын
Төбен-астын сындырдым; .
Син дә булдын, мин дә булдым.
Шул матурны берг'үптек. .

Бийек кенә таунын башында
Аппак, аппак җиләк чәчәге;
Акча гына бирсән, бир кызларга,
Ак шалкандай булыр имчәге.

[8] *Мошков В.А.* Мелодии Волго-Камья / В.А. Мошков [под ред. М.Г. Кондратьева и Н.Ю. Альмеевой]. – Чебоксары: Чувашское книжное издательство, 2011. – С. 135.

[9] Песни средненизовых чувашей. Чебоксары: ЧГИГН, 1993. С. 216. №157.

[10] Песни средненизовых чувашей. Чебоксары: ЧГИГН, 1993. С. 228. №172.

[11] Ендеров В.А., Метин П.Н., Одюков И.И. Чăвашмерекки / Чувашский мерекке: анекдоты, шутки, юморески, дразнилки, иронии, эротический фольклор. – Чебоксары: ЧОУ Центр «Интеллект», 2017. 420 с.

[12] Татары. – М.: Наука, 2001. С. 79.

[13] *Нигмедзянов М.Н.* Народные песни волжских татар. М.: Советский композитор, 1982. С. 49.

[14] Татары среднего Поволжья и Приуралья. Отв. ред. Н.И. Воробьев и Г.М. Хисамутдинов. М.: Наука, 1967. С. 299.

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Посеял я (растение) бадьян на дороги, где ты ходишь
Распояшься (за это), – я хочу залезти к тебе в пазуху.

И алое, и розовое
Ушло на лицо Зайнап.
Все деньги от продажи ячменя
Ушли на утехи (букв. в зад) с Зайнап.

Вдоль по улице идёт человек,
Руки в перчатках.
Даже холодные девушки вспыхнут,
Если руку положишь им на грудь.

Ветви берёзы
Обломал я снизу
И ты был, и я был,
Целовали мы вместе эту красавицу.

На вершине высокой горы
Белый-пребелый ягод цвет.
Если уж давать кому деньги, то девушкам,
[Увидишь, что] у них груди белы, как репа[15].

Кыз куйына керся хай тик жатма,
Кыз сатыр кійлярен бик сакла...

Апак диляр бик мактиляр
Алм´агасның сисяген;
Юмры диляр юмшак диляр
Кыз баланың имсяген.

Если к девице за пазуху попадёшь, ох, даром не лежи;
Девичью невинность очень береги.

Они называют белыми и хвалят
Цветы яблони;
Они называют круглыми и мягкими
Груди девиц.

В полог, вытканный узорами,
Я тайком забрался:
Девушка внизу, я – наверху,
И дивное дело совершили[16].

Источником любовно-эротических сюжетов в татарском фольклоре стала поэзия тюркоязычных народов Центральной Азии, распространявшаяся в городах Булгарии и Казанского ханства. Исследователями отмечается, что «поэтический язык татарских любовно-лирических песен перекликается с восточной лирикой, с лексикой любовно-лирических песен народов Средней Азии. Это результат тесных культурных связей татар со Средней Азией, с Востоком…»[17]. Проникая в простонародную среду, утонченные книжные сюжеты трансформировались, нередко опрощаясь и вульгаризируясь. В таких песнях обнажается индивидуальная чувственность, высказываются необузданные, неодолимые, сладострастные желания. Собиратель XIX века комментировал, что в них «дело доходит часто до неудобных откровений и реализма»[18].

Сравнение приведенных четверостиший с чувашскими показывает, что их различия лежат за пределами общего культурно-генетического «наследства» предков двух соседящих народов. В обрядовых песнях, сохранённых чувашами с древних времён, эрос присутствует как бы «коллективно-обобщённо» – главным образом в устах обезличенных участников обрядового действа, персонажей игры. Такова сущность смеховой карнавальной культуры, целью которой является врéменное – в рамках обрядово-праздничной обстановки – освобождение от регламентированных форм обычного социального поведения. В культуре волжских татар обрядность, привнесенная исламскими проповедниками, в течение столетий заменила исконную местную карнавальность. Вследствие этого изменились жанровая природа и стиль народно-песенной поэзии.

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Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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