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Considerations on the Sumerian Hieratic City-State

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Abstract. The essay deals with the emergence of priesthood and theocracy in Sumer, being useful for those interested in the study of prehistory and ancient history, orientalists and historians of religion, as well as sociologists and anthropologists who may identify elements of urban sociology or relations of power. Before analyzing the priesthood, we consider it necessary to place it within the context of discourse about religiosity and religious behaviour, making a taxonomy rather than hierarchy of the religiosity structure.

Keywords: Sumer, priesthood, religiosity, Obeid culture, hieratic city-state

The Priesthood and its Place in the Systematized Religiosity

Specialists in religion claim that the abyss of the human soul contains the sacred intrinsically (Caillois 2006, 19-20; Otto 2002, 11-20; Eliade 1992, VIII), and that this 'sacred' springs out from the human being toward light: when it is objectified, the sacred conceives religious systems and religions. We must clarify the fact that the world religions, regardless of their name, have common constitutive elements. In other words, Buddhism, for example, although it has a well-established identity, has some common elements with Taoism and with Christianity ([1]) (Kolakowski 1993, 9).

This is the pattern of the constitutive elements of religiosity and its manifestations, although not all the elements may be found in the major religions ([2]):

a. Gods:
   1. Theogony or theology;
   2. The functions of the gods;
b. Cosmology:
   1. Cosmogony;
   2. The roles and functions of the identified stars in astronomy, astrology, astral mantic, worship of the stars;
c. Anthropology:
   1. Anthropogony;
   2. The making of the human being and its status;
   3. The roles and functions of the human being;
   4. The human body;
   5. The soul (or the 'spirit', the 'double');
d. Forms of cultic manifestation:
   1. The priesthood (divinatory, magical, purifying etc.);
   2. The sacred spaces as *axis mundis* or 'centre of the world': altars, totems, chapels, temples, sanctuaries, tabernacles, mountains, groves, cities, rivers;
   3. The story ([3]), which represents the doctrinal foundation and often glides in the performance of rites and rituals;
   4. Rites (Malherbe 2012, 41) ([4]) and rituals:

([1]) As a matter of fact, in his work *Religion: if there is no God: on God, the Devil, sin and other worries of the so-called philosophy of religion*, Leszek Kolakowski does not consider Buddhism as being a religion properly, but a metaphysical and moral wisdom. We used the Romanian translation of the work.

([2]) It is not the case of a hierarchy, but a simple taxonomy of the structure and religious discourse.

([3])The story is the superordinated category that may contain the elaboration and the telling of primordial, cosmogonical myths, crucial moments, historical epics, and narrations about gods, heroes, founders of religions, sermons with soteriological content, eschatological teachings etc.

([4]) 'Generally speaking, the rites appear as a privileged place in which culture and religion meet each other: they are the mark of a society and they contain an important dose of folklore. It is no wonder that the religious rites are «recovered» through

- Sacrifices: offerings, libations;
- Purifications;
- Liturgies;
- Prayers;
- Hymns or sacred music;
- Alimentary rituals.

5. 'The cosmic liturgy': cultic calendar, feasts and festivals;
6. Eschatology:
   - life after death;
   - Inferno or the Netherworld;
   - thanatological rituals: death and body treatment ([5]);
   - the cult of the dead.

The individual analysis of these elements is almost impossible and counter-productive, as they are naturally overlapped.

Once the priesthood is placed in the systematized religiosity, we may discuss the priesthood itself.

The Definition of the Archaic Priesthood

What does 'priest' actually mean? Who were the priests? Where did they come from? Who had selected them and based on which criteria? What were their functions and what services did they fulfill?

To answer these questions we will start from the following historical evidences: the first one is that the man is a social being, who enjoys living in groups (smaller or bigger); and the second is that, as Mircea Eliade mentioned, the 'sacred' is an element in the structure of conscience and not a stage in the history of this conscience (Eliade 1992, VIII). This aspect means that man has always felt the thrill of the sacred and this has manifested itself in religious behavior, determining mankind to worship 'sacred powers', be they ancestors, spirits, protective gods or God (Tokarev 1974, 333).

At the beginning of the existence of the human race, each individual would approach the 'sacred powers' alone, immediately and unconstrained. The great orientalist Daniel Constantin observed: 'In the archaic times there were direct relations between the man and his familiar god ([6]), with no intermediary, as the god was implored and sacrifices were brought to him, while he uttered oracles' (Daniel 1983, 74).

We cannot say with certainty when man reached the conclusion that he may indeed continue to approach gods, but in some cases it is better to benefit from the mediation of a connoisseur, the priest. Consequently, the clans from the archaic period would concoct some criteria (mystical vocation, experience and/or age, dynasty) that determined the identification, selection and initiation of some of their members in priesthood, and then would subsequently consecrate such individuals. Having accomplished these actions, the priests of the clans or tribes began to mediate between communities and the 'sacred personal powers'.

It is possible that the mediating priests were the patriarchs of the clans. In this case, they would operate having full authority and leading functions on the familial, administrative, political, military and medical-religious levels: 'In most cases, the religious cult is considered by primitives as a matter of family before being a matter of interest for the group' (Petrescu 2001, 312).

Let us see what the functions of the priests were:

> The priests worked to create, maintain and reestablish the divine order symbolized by the classification system of the clean/unclean and the holy/common. The charge given to the priests in Leviticus 10:10 to 'distinguish' (*habdil*) between the holy and the common and between the clean and unclean uses the same Hebrew root for the divine action of making distinctions in the process of creation (Gen. 1:4,6,7,14,18). Therefore, one might say that, just as God established the original creational distinctions between order and chaos, life and death, the priests in particular, and to some extent all people who were created 'in the image of God' became 'cocreators', or at least 'comaintainers' with God. By maintaining those distinctions, they upheld the creational order from the constant threat of encroachment of chaos and death (Duke 2003, 646-655).

This is not true only in the case of Jewish priesthood, as it appears in the Hebrew Bible, but for all types of sacerdotal positions in the Near East.

First of all, the priest has the function of a go-between, of a 'builder of bridges' ([7])

culture, which has the effect of limiting every religion within a culture'.

([5]) In the sense of interment, cremation or abandonment as food for the wild beasts.

([6]) In the Sumerian language this familiar god was named *šēdu*.

([7]) *Pontifex* (lat.).

between the 'sacred powers' and people. In this quality of interface, he represents the people and steps into a dangerous area, approaching the 'powers' according to certain patterns, after some prayers or other typical deeds, adding sacrifices and offers. These are not put on the ground, but on a higher consecrated space, a built altar made of stones orslabs, being considered an altar that may be part of a one-roomed sanctuary or, later, of a temple with three distinct layers, possibly a ziggurat.

Thus, the priest takes before the 'powers' the vegetal offerings, consisting in wheat, honey, flour, bread, pies, fruit and vegetables, figs, dates, as well as drinks and libations of oil, milk, wine, beer, lemonade. Nevertheless, it seems that the animal sacrifices ([8]) are more appreciated by the Mesopotamian gods: usually the animals are burnt (entirely or partly), being transferred into another state, that of fragrance to the gods that live in the ether. Other offerings are brought *ex-voto*: perfumes, vessels, jewelries, figures and statues that are usually the representations dedicated in a procedure with magical substratum, harbored under gods' protection (Moscati 1982, 57) ([9]) The priest who receives the vegetables, liquids, animals and objects is a substitute, a representative and a mediator for the benefit of the represented people.

Then, it must be said that not only the priest would represent the people before the sacred 'powers', but he would also represent these 'powers' before people, the representation mode being various. Firstly, after the priest came to know the will of the 'powers' concerning a certain thing (divination), he would teach the people this will, offering his fellow-men the teachings regarding the gods, the world, the life or the rites, the rituals and the sacrifices. Therefore, he is a teacher, a preacher ([10]) or at least a 'teller', a narrative agent.

Secondly, the priest oversees his 'flock' of worshippers in the observance of the sacred precepts, *i.e.*, the observance of distinctions between pure and impure, between sacred and profane. Hence, the priest is not only a teacher, but also a supervisor of the sacred institutions.

Thirdly, the priest is a purifier: if an object, an animal, a thing or a man, transgressed from sacred to profane and became defiled, the priest is the one called to remove the curse, to reestablish the proper order of things, to purify, to restore the holiness and to attract again the blessings of the gods by appeasing them (Gavriluță 1997, 26; Gavriluță 1998, 160) ([11]).

Fourthly, the priest was a builder of sanctuaries and sacrificial places, as well as the custodian of cult objects with administrative and economical functions, as we are to see below.

Having reached this point, we consider it helpful to direct our essay to the issue of the *fable*. This is what we mean concretely.

R. Laird Harris suggests that the central element of priesthood is a sacrificial one (Harris 1991 in Butler, 1137-1138). However, this utterance needs to be taken *cum grano salis*, as it is absolutely necessary to pay attention to *the fable, the story* that frames the man and the

([8])These animal sacrifices consisted in sheep, goats, pigs, birds, fish and rarely oxen. Pigs were brought as sacrifices especially to the infernal gods.

([9]) Later, these statues will be placed in temples.

([10]) An interesting aspect of the teaching of the priests was concerning war. Pretending that they are the voice of gods, the priests instigated to war against other people not so much to subdue them, but to affirm their gods' supremacy over the other gods of other tribes. In other words, we have here the war sacralization, the concept of a 'holy war', specific to Jews later (*ħerem*) and to Muslims (*jihad*). Later, when the sacred would seem to lose part of its power, Carl von Clausewitz would issue a philosophy of war, the so-called „Just War Theory'.

([11])In the introductory study of the book *Eseu despre natura și funcția sacrificiului*, by Marcel Mauss și Henri Hubert, Nicu Gavriluță wrote that the authors asserted that „through sacrifices it was sought for the appeasement of the almighty god, not the heavenly mercy. On the contrary, revigoration was what was sought for, the reinforcement of the tired or exhausted god'. We are not saying whether the assertion is accurate or not, but we do invite the reader to meditate on the following aspect: it is said about the prehistorical men that they had a primitive and rudimentary thinking; nevertheless, they thought that due to a guilt *in illo tempore*, an evil deed, men were got rid of by the gods and the divinities are to be appeased. On the other hand, the Maya people, considered to have an evolved thinking, believed that the gods would need human blood so that their strength would not fade away. The question is which of the two positions is closer to the truth: the position that believes in the power of the gods and the necessity of having them appeased or the position that states the weaknesses of the gods and the necessity of revigorating them through the sacrifices?... After all, the second position shows the god's dependence on man and the man's superiority toward god – if the man does not take care of the god, the poor puny god dies.

object (Cuceu 1999) ([12]). An external observer, who does not know the fable, sees only that a man kills a poor animal. But, being aware of the story behind the sacrifice, the observer becomes aware that reality may be understood only if it is transfigured, 'symboled', as Leslie A. White would put it (White 2007, 3-8), because it does not depict a man, but a sacrificer, a man situated in a constellation of sacred relations and who acts, assuming a role of the offerer. In this context, the animal is not a poor animal, a victim, but it is ennobled, being considered an offering given to the Divinity, through which relations are made and consolidated, sacred vows are renewed, holy treaties are reconfirmed and the future is fathomed. The fable or the myth and its narration give substance and sense to the sacrifice itself. Before the sacrifice, there should be the fable elaboration: in other words, the myth precedes the rite.

C. I. Gulian, citing from the monumental work *Miti e leggende* by Raffaele Pettazzoni, confirms our conviction:

> The reciting of the myths about the origins is integrated in the cult, for this narration (*recitazione*) itself is cult and serves to the purpose for which the cult is celebrated, i.e., the maintenance and the stimulation of life (...). The reciting of the creation of the world serves to the preservation of the world, the reciting of the origin of the human species serves to keep alive, that is, the community, the tribal group; the narration of the instituition of the initiatory myths and the shamanic practices serves to the ensurance of the efficiency and their duration (Gulian 1983, 158-159).

We are now to consider some aspects of the archaic priesthood.

Priesthood in the Period of Obeid Culture

The Ubaid culture lasted in Mesopotamia from 5300 BCE till about 3500 BCE, differing in presence according to geographic area. It is not known very well who the bearers of this culture were. This culture was discovered near the ancient city Ur and '...represents, as a matter of fact, the beginnings of the settling of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia, because the first level of occupation in a series of city-states to be like Eridu, Ur, Nippur or Uruk (Warka) is to be framed within the Ubaid culture Obeid', remarks Alexandru Diaconescu (Diaconescu 2001, 29).

Professor Marc Van De Mieroop notices that after 5300 BCE, the periodization of the history of the Sumerians is oriented according to „…archaeological distinctions based on stylistic changes in the material remains that have little historical value. The period should be regarded as a unit in political terms, displaying the same basic characteristics for its entire duration' (Mieroop 2007, 42).

The initial social form of the Sumerians was one of tribal community; in other words, first, there were communities that were based on the concept of kinship and on descent from a common ancestor.

The historians admit that they do not know whence the Sumerians came. This population set up small independent hamlets, or centers of agricultural areas. Each clan or tribe lives together and has its own protecting god (Tokarev 1974, 333). Generally, the clan or the tribe has in its foreground a patriarch who acts autocratically, possessing full powers: he is the leader of the family and has authority at the administrative, political, military and medical-religious levels, being the priest of the clan:

> In most cases, the religious cult is considered by the primitives as a family issue, before being an issue important for the whole community. The chieftain of the family practices it, for he is able to maintain relationships with the spirits of the ancestors. He knows what rules are to be observed at the birth of a child, at the wedding of a family member or at the death of a relative. He is also the one who holds the secrets of the initiation and of all the ceremonies the cult requires, fulfilling, in the same time, to function of a general practitioner, for his knowledge, compared to the one the family members have is supreme in all aspects (Petrescu 2001, 312).

As it can be seen from this quotation, the priesthood of the patriarch of the extended family concerns the rites (here, especially the rites of passing), the gifts given to the gods and the healings.

In time, the independent hamlets mentioned before became pre-urban settlements and later, 'groups of nomads coming from the deserts of Syria and speaking a Semitic

([12]) For aspects regarding the narrative act, fable, narrator, time, place and rhythm of utterance see Ion Cuceu 1999.

language, Akkadian, began to enter the territories from the north of Sumer, penetrating in successive waves' (Eliade 1992, 58). These were Semites, descendants of the biblical Shem, who infiltrate almost continually, 'from the beginnings of the history to the end of the Mesopotamian civilization: penetrating în areas of sedentary culture, they mix themselves with the other populations, assimilate their superior culture…' (Moscati 1975, 31), developing, as Mircea Eliade put it, 'a Sumerian-Akkadian symbiosis' so consistent that the Sumerian component parts could not be detected from the Akkadian ones.

As we have seen above, in the pre-urban settlements the relationships were based on the kinship, on the descendancy from a common ancestor. Yet, when the number of the inhabitants of these settlements increase, the perception of the people regarding the kinship and the family cult and worship is being modified in time, imperceptibly but, in the end, dramatically: the tribes and the clans dissipate in families of 2-3 generations. The value of tribal kinship begins to lose ground in front of the neighborhood relationships.

Toward the end of the period of the Ubaid culture its bearers continue to practice the predator-prey economy of hunting and fishing, but, step by step, the agriculture and cattle developed a bigger and bigger importance in economic life. In time handicrafts developed and it led to an excess of agricultural and alimentary products that permitted the dislocation of a part of the population and its specialization, who was involved in handicrafts and craftsmanship, and especially in sacerdocy. The priests of the clans expressed their religiosity through certain sacred stories and gestures that individualizes and gives consistency to the clan. Nevertheless, moving to bigger settlements, the patriarchs-priests interacted with other patriarchs-priests, came to know different explications of the world as they had known it. This fact determined the change of their discourse, enlarging it in order to include other narrations, other clans and leading to the elaboration of new stories, oriented toward supporting the tutelary divinity of the settlement or even toward its pantheon. S. A. Tokarev mentions: 'As early as the Sumerian age (millennia 4-3 BCE) by fusions and combinations of the local beliefs in protective gods, deities of the entire people had appeared' (Tokarev 1974, 321) Therefore, the urbanization process determines to a certain degree the undermining of consanguinity, replacing the perception of a member of one clan with the quality of 'citizen' or inhabitant of a stronghold. Patriarchs-priests of the clans become priests of the settlements, people with life experience that hold in their hands the administrative, politic, and religious powers; preoccupied not only with the religiosity of the clan, but also with homogenization of the religiosity of the settlement in order to reduce the religious conflicts. The new stories conceived a new religiosity that gave birth to a new type of social cohesion, and this, in turn, elaborated new stories to consolidate their essence. In other words, it appears a gnoseological and hermeneutical spiral, both structured and structuring. This affirmation is also verified through Tokarev's mention:

> In time, the priests had begun to establish genealogical relations between these gods and the local gods. (…) In this way, as early as the Sumerian age, before the invasion of the Semitic peoples, there had taken place the process of formation of the pantheon from the former protective gods of the community. In their figures there were intermingled features that dealt with the forces of nature, as well as features of civilizing heroes (*Ibidem*).([13])

Practically, at the end of the Ubaid phase (3500 BCE), apart from shepherds, hunters and fishermen, farmers, we may point out the existence of the priesthood as an institutionalized category.

The Hieratic City-State

Before we continue our essay about sacerdocy, we consider it useful to remind some aspects that regard the early social history of Mesopotamia.

As we have seen above, the priests were considered 'mediums', serving as mediators between deities, who created men for serving them (Eliade 1992, 62; Daniel 1975, XI) ([14]), and the masses of people, to whom priests would reveal the way in which gods were to be served. Once the gods revealed to the priests the ways of acceptable worship, the corollary was that from

([13]). In the second part of this quotation the author reveals once more his euhemerist thinking, which was fashionable in the scientific atheism.

([14]) See aslo *Gândirea asiro-babiloniană în texte*, Editura Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti, 1975, introductory study by Constantin Daniel, translation, introductory notes and notes by Athanase Negoiţă), XI.

the initial social form of organization there was a shift that led not only to the emergence of the 'full-time' priesthood, which was supported by faithful people through meaningful offerings, but also to the theocratic governance. The priests would have possessions and assume the role of coordinators of the relationships within the community and out of it.

Having plans of edifying sanctuaries, of ensuring the cult and of perpetuating the religious and cultural traditions, the priests co-opted auxiliary personnel, various craftsmen and artisans; that was the moment in which we may notice for the first time in history the generation of not only administration, but also of a 'bureaucracy' of the temples – administrators and scribes. Moreover, the priests were the ones to become involved in administering the matters of the state, including the construction of irrigation canals necessary for the community, a fact that attracted profusion and determined the grouping of some smaller, rural settlements near the bigger towns and the emergence of the city-states.

This is what Jean Deshayes wrote on the relations among the communities, the emergence of the 'full-time' priesthood, bureaucracy and temples:

> It is possible that the villages were formed near the sacred places, about which the populations still nomadic would gather periodically to perform some rites and, on the same occasion, to exchange products. The relations between the market place and the cult certainly date back to the oldest times and it has never disappeared entirely. The temples were, thus, as naturally as it could have been, among the basic beneficiaries of an evolution in which the economic development depended on a collective effort indispensable to the good working of the irrigation system. And they would have a threefold advantage: the role which they had already detained in the economic life, their wealth and, finally, a well-structured organization that would foreshadow the Sumerian bureaucracy. (…) The more the functions of the temple grew in importance, the more the social corpus differentiated, departing from the social-economic forms of the Neolithic villages; and also, the more it became necessary a political organization for protecting the accumulated goods and for keeping the cohesion of a more diverse community. The city was birthed due to these causes and from these needs (Deshayes 1976, 70-72).

In time, the Sumerian governance did not remain purely theocratic, but it evolved: 'big men'– *lugal* – became prominent, having administrative, and especially military, tasks. It was believed about them that they had received their function to represent the supreme god of the city and to administer the law and the justice. The *Lugal* were not incarnated gods, but regents that should be accountable for the way they would perform their functions. The *lugal* was assisted by counsels of senators and young warriors. Later on, when various city-states established their jurisdiction over other cities, the *lugal* would lead through local governors, named *ensi* or *patesi*. They would be mandated to act independently and they would control the economy in their relations with the nomad from the surrounding areas.

In the first stage of history, the essential actions of the sovereign were not performed with a view to war, but to peace: they would build temples and dig or maintain the irrigation canals in a good state.

We highlight the fact that once again the priesthood plays an important role, as the priests would invest the *lugal* officially in their role of leading the community. We do not know with accuracy when the first investment of this type took place, but we may at least testify a request in this direction made by Lugal-Zagessi in the about 2350 BCE, when he went to Nippur, the holy settlement, to request the priestly order from the 'Vatican' of those days to invest him as 'King of the Four Corners' – a sort of king of the entire Land. Lucian Boia writes concerning this the following: 'Actually, even from the beginning, politics (or what was to become politics) and religion were a single body. The gods participated in the life of the community; they were asked for advice and help. At the same time, what also occurred was the sacralization of the Power' (Boia 2000, 203).

On the other hand, the structures and the religious institutions may have fallen into the trap of those hungry for power. And here we may apply what Georges Balandier wrote:

> The sacred represents one of the dimensions of the politic domain; religion may be an instrument of power, a warranty of its legitimation, one of the means used in political competitions.

> (…) The ritual structures and the authority structures are closely interrelated (…), their respective dynamisms are correlated. (…) The strategy of the sacred, having political purposes, presents apparently under two contradictory aspects: it may be put under the service of the existent social order and of the required positions or it may serve the ambition of those who want to conquer authority and to legitimize it (Balandier 1998, 138-139).

Concerning the relation 'state – religion', Michael D. Coogan confirms: 'Although temple and the crown sometimes competed for power and wealth, in general religion served the political ends of the state' (Coogan 2001, 17).

In the Mesopotamian cities, the monarch came to have the privilege of designating the high priest and the high dignitaries. The clergy came from the royal family and from aristocracy and it was under the leadership of the high priest. In Mesopotamia, the borderline between the religious and the politic sphere was very thin – a fact which, in various forms, has perpetuated until now, so that the high priest was simultaneously a political as well as a religious dignitary. Constantin Daniel added:

> The Sumerian sovereign Gudea entitled himself proudly 'the priest of the god Ningirsu', and even later the Assirian kings never forgot to add to their title that of the 'priest of the god Assur'. On the other hand, the Sumerian king was compelled to participate in some of the festivities, such as the New Year, and to perform some rites. Therefore, the kings would have relations with priesthood and would help it many times (Daniel 1983, 74-75).

Thus, it has no relevance whether sovereigns would rule with the help of the priestly order or priests would rule through the *lu-gal*: we deal with a co-existence that was characterized by Joseph Campbell by the collocation 'hieratic city-state'. Let us see what this internationally recognized scientist writes, an author gifted with narrative mastery:

> In the period immediately following – that of the hieratic city state, which may be dated for the south Mesopotamian riverine towns, schematically, circa 3500-2500 B.C. – we encounter a totally new and remarkable situation. For at the level of the archaeological stratum known as Uruk A, which is immediately above the Obeid and can be roughly placed at circa 3500 B.C., the south Mesopotamian temple areas can be seen to have increased notably in size and importance; and then, with stunning abruptness, at a crucial date that can be almost precisely fixed at 3200 B.C. (in the period of the archaeological stratum known as Uruk B), there appears in this little Sumerian mud garden – as though the flowers of its tiny cities were suddenly bursting into bloom – the whole cultural syndrome that has since constituted the germinal unit of all of the high civilizations of the world. And we cannot attribute this event to any achievement of the mentality of simple peasants. Nor was it the mechanical consequence of a simple piling up of material artefacts, economically determined. It was actually and clearly the highly conscious creation (this much can be asserted with complete assurance) of the mind and the science of a new order of humanity, which had never before appeared in the history of mankind; namely, the professional, full-time, initiated, strictly regimented temple priest (Campbell 1991, 146).

In time, the Sumerian-Akkadian priesthood evolved remarkably and different tasks and specialists of the sacred appeared (Moscati 1982, 56). Thus, there were the diviner-fortune-tellers – also named 'prophets' – the magician-sorcerer-exorcist priests, the purifiers, the anointers, the musicians and singers, the mourners, all these having administrative duties as well.

Conclusion

The Sumerian priesthood is placed in the context of ancient religious systems, pointing out the common elements of religiosity. The 'sacred' is analyzed in the archaic structures, taking into account the status and functions of priests, sacrifices and aspects of ancient mentality concerning the relations between humans and divinity. Obeid culture marks its special features in the case of priesthood, delineating various functions and specialists of the sacred, as well as a certain position of the priest in developing relations with the monarch or the ruler of the Sumerian city-state.

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The Thraco-Dacian Origin of the *Paparuda/Dodola* Rain-Making Ritual

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Abstract. This study presents an analysis of the rain-making ritual from Romania, called *Paparuda*, performed in the spring and in times of severe drought. The ritual is common also in the Slavic folklore, having the same structure. In this study, I will demonstrate that the origin of the rain-making ritual Paparuda/Dodola is Thracian, and that the South Slavic tribes from Balkans adopted the ritual from the Thracians. The ritual is present almost in the entire Balkan Peninsula, especially in the area inhabited by Slavs, which was Thracian before the Slavic migration from the 6th century.

Keywords: Paparuda, Dodola, Slavic mythology, Perun, Thracians, Saint Elijah

Paparuda, also called *Paparudă, Papalugă, Păpălugă, Paparugă, Babarugă, Băbăruge, Dodola, Dodoloaie, Dadaloaie, Dodoloi, Mămăruță* or *Gogul*, is the name of the magic rain-making ritual both in the Romanian mythology and the South Slavic ones (Croatians, Serbs, Macedonians and Bulgarians) (Paliga 2008, 50).

In the mythology of Slavs, we found out that Perun ([1]) went to the heavenly world Prav, ([2]) where he met Dodola, the beautiful daughter of the god of heavens, whom he married, and she would be called Perunica (Перуница) or Perperuna (Asov 1999, 16). The hierogamy of the two results into a child, Diva-Devana (*Ibidem*, 103-104; Danilov 2007, 79). ([3]) Another legend tells us that the god Veles steels Dodola on her wedding day with Perun. The latter will wage a mythological war against Veles, will defeat him and, as a result, the latter will take refuge in the underworld. Perun is presented as a fighter against the drought (Platov 1998, 108). There is an old song about him from Gnjilane ([4]) where he is called Elijah:

Let the dew appear,
Oh dudula dear God!
Oh Elijah, God bless!

([1]) The Slavic god of thunder and lightning, similar to Thor in Scandinavia.

([2]) Prav represents the divine law applied to humans as social law, being enforced by the god Svarog or Dajdbog.

([3]) In the medieval encyclopedical dictionary *Mater Verborum* from 13th century, the parents of Devana (Deuana) are Perun and Letnicina ('děvana letničina i perunova dci'). The manuscript was written in Latin and contains also more than 1000 comments written in the medieval Czech language. In the manuscript, the mother of Devana is compared to the Roman goddess Diana (Patera 1878, 48).

([4]) Settlement in Kosovo, which was called Dardania in Antiquity. Thracian and Illyrian tribes used to live on this territory.

Oh Elijah, my Perun!
God bless, bless, bless, Elijah bless!
(Milojević 1870, 321).

Etymologically, the term *dodola* belongs to the Thraco-Phrygian language, which had anthroponyms and toponyms with the radical *doid-*, *dyd-* or *doudou-* (*Doidalsos, Doidalses, Dydalsos, Dudensis, Duda, Dudis, Dudistius* or *Doudoupes*) (Decev 1957, 151). This makes us think of the Thracian origin of the ritual (Bratu 2008, 3), present in the ethnic and cultural distribution area of the Thracians. The Polish historian Alexander Gieysztor considers that the term *paparudă* has Slavic origins, being derived from *Perperuna-Perunika* (god Perun's wife), while *dodole* would represent popular mythical figures associated with the rain cult (Gieysztor 1986, 47, 103). Studying the etymology of the word *Perun* we found out that the radical *per* means 'fire' (the lightning's fire), having as origin the Indo-European *pur*, 'fire'. In Thracian and Phrygian, the root *pur-* would be translated as 'having the colour of fire' – blonde hair or 'shining' (Paliga 2009, 120). The old form of the word *Perun* must have been *Pur-un*, and the Slavs would have taken from the Indo-Europeans (especially from their Thracian neighbours) only the root of the word *pur*, which means 'fire' (Paliga, Teodor 2009, 218). The Bulgarian ethnologist and historian Ivanicka Georgieva believes that the theonym *Perun* could be a pre-Slavic relic of Thracian origin forming from the root *per* (Ivanicka 1993, 232-233). The archaic Slavonic form seems to be *Prporuše*, a term met in Croatia and Slovenia (Gieysztor 1986, 49-50). The old Slavs also called Perun 'the God of fires in the Sky' or 'The God of thunder and lightning' (Paliga, Teodor 2009, 218). Therefore, the ritual is dedicated to a goddess called *Paparudă, Dodoloaie* or *Dodoliță* ([5]) by the Romanians (Vulcănescu 1985, 418), *Pirpiruna* or *Duduleţu* by the Aromanians from the Balkans (Paliga 2008, 52), *Dodola*, (pl. *Dodole*) by the Serbs, Croatians and Macedonians (*Ibidem*, 51), *Peperuna* or *Peperudă* by the Bulgarians (Vulcănescu 1985, 418). In the Romanian territory, Paparuda has various names depending on the region: *Paparugă, Peperuie* (Banat), *Papăruie, Papalugaia, Babatuță, Babarudă, Mătăhulă, Buduroasă-roasă, Păpărugă* (Ardeal), *Papălugă* (Moldavia), *Băbărugă* (Bihor). In Croatia, more exactly in Dalmatia, we come across the variant *Preperuša* (Ovsec 1991, 170, 291). On the Greek territory we have the variants *Pipieruga* and *Perpeira* (Vulcănescu 1985, 418), which have probably come along the Slavic channel.

On the basis of the philological analysis of the term *paparudă* we may reach the conclusion that the term under examination might have Indo-European origins. The first part of the name, *papa*, derives from a common Indo-European root, as well as the Greek word *παππος* 'ancestor', 'mythical elder' or the Latin *pappus*, 'old man', 'elder'. Some researchers suggest that the second part of the word, *ruda-rudă*, has Slavic origin, therefore Indo-European too. In Bulgarian, *rudă* means 'nation' and *roždenie* might be translated as 'relative' ('blood', 'blood relative' in Russian) (*Ibidem*, 419). The Romanian folklorist and literary historian G. Dem Teodorescu considers that *paparuda* has a Thracian origin (Teodorescu 1874, 128-134). The Romanian philologist and poet Gheorghe Săulescu believes that the term *papalugă* has Greek-Latin origins (Săulescu 1982, 244). Georgieva associates the Slavic forms *dodola* (sg.), *dodole* (pl.) with the Lithuanian *dundulis* 'thunder' (Paliga 2006, 106) which is quite possible if we take into account the very close connection between Thracian and Lithuanian (both belonging to the Satem group). As far as *Dodoloaie* ([6]) is concerned, she appears as a pluviometric goddess, invoked by her feminine entourage (little girls who start the rain). Dodoloaie identifies with the Vedic god Rudra (Ghinoiu 2008, 105), a divinity of storms and winds. ([7]) We notice that in the magic invoking of the goddess people's pleas are addressed directly to her: 'Paparudă, rudă/come and get wet/so the rain may fall/heavily,/paparudele (plural form)/ make the corn/as tall as fences' (Kernbach 1983, 540).

The time of performing the ritual varies from region to region. For instance, in Oltenia (Olt county), the ritual usually takes place on Thursdays and Sundays, between Easter and

([5]) In Banat and Crişana regions, *paparuda* is called *dodoloaie* or *dodoliță*.

([6]) For the Romanian space, the term *dodoloaia* is attested in Crişana and in the Romanian and the Serbian Banat.

([7]) In Vedic mythology, Maruts or Rudras are the sons of Rudra and they are responsible for rain and storm. They are described as a group of handsomely youths who travell in their chariots drawn by spotted mares or antelopes with sparkling spears. Storms and downpours of rain surround their procession, which makes the rain fall on the ground (Oldenberg 1988, 114).

Rusalii (Pentecost). In Transylvania, the ritual is performed on the Ispas day (The Ascension), that is 40 days after the Resurrection, and so it is in Bukovina, too (Moisei 2008, 106). The Aromanians from Macedonia (Macedo-Romanians) perform Pirpiruna on the second or third week after Saint Thomas' Sunday. In Dobrudja, as in other areas of Muntenia and Banat as well, Paparuda is performed by Gypsy women only (Petrovich 2007, 271), on the third Thursday after Easter (Kernbach 1983, 540). This is a result of the Christian influence upon the popular pagan remnants and due to the negative image that Gypsy women have; they are seen as witches, fortune tellers or spellbinders. Thus, what is malefic, of pagan origin, has been transferred to Gypsies who are perceived negatively by the community. In Gorj County the custom is for the ritual to be performed by boys only. ([8]) In Moldavia, in the time of Dimitrie Cantemir (18th century), the ritual was performed only by Romanians. In his book, *Description of Moldavia*, Cantemir narrates the Paparuda's episode in the chapter dealing with religion: 'In summer, when the crops are endangered by the drought, the peasants take a little girl, younger than ten, and dress her up with a shirt made of tree leaves and weeds. All the other little girls and children of the same age are following her and are dancing and singing around; wherever they arrive, the old women have the custom of pouring cold water on their heads. The song they are singing is approximately like this: Paparudo! Climb up the sky, open its gates, send the rain here, so the rye, the wheat, the millet and others grow well' (Cantemir 1978, 198).

In Macedonia and Bulgaria, Dodola is practiced also at the beginning of summer, when it is drought, usually on Lord's Ascension. ([9]) The main character, a 9-12 years old little girl, is adorned with greens and lilac (Mircevska 2005, 5). Taking the date of the ritual into account, *dodola* might have preserved certain pagan Slavic influences from the god Perun (The master of rain and thunder) (Zecevic 1975, 127-128). In the Serbian version of the ritual there are groups of boys or girls, between 12 and 15 years old, covered with leaves, lilac flowers, sometimes even cabbage leaves, who go from house to house and sing. The owner of the house symbolically pours water on them (Paton 1845, 270-271). Here follows a song recorded in the first half of the 19th century:

We go through the village, hey, dodo, hey, dodole!
and the clouds over the sky, hey, dodo, hey, dodole!
We go faster, the clouds go faster, hey, dodo, hey, dodole!
The clouds are ahead of us, hey, dodo, hey, dodole!
The wheat, the wine is shared, hey, dodo, hey, dodole!
.....
(Karadžić 1841, 111-114)

The rain-making ritual is also present in India. In his book *The Golden Bough*, the Scottish anthropologist George James Frazer mentions a certain 'King of the rain'([10]) from Poona: 'In Poona, India, when rain is needed, the boys dress one of them just in leaves and call him King of the rain. They go then to all houses in the village; the owners or their wives sprinkle water on the King of the rain, giving everybody all kinds of food; after all houses have been visited, they take off the King's costume of leaves and throw a great party with the food they have gathered' (Vulcănescu 1985, 419).

The performing of the rituals by the girls at the beginning of their menstrual activity suggests a rite of passage from childhood to maturity. The dancing carol was accompanied by *aspersion*,([11]) which is related to imitative magic (Vulcănescu 1985, 418). The same is true for the boys performing the Dodola (Cuceu I., Cuceu M. 2008, 39) ritual. Virginity also plays an important part in the power of invoking the divinity, by means of bodily purity (Kovacevic 1985, 79).

The vegetation covering the girls plays the role of fertility (Cuceu I., Cuceu M. 2008, 31). We can also mention the pagan ritual of wedding, which makes the matrimonial relationship between the two official, where the girl is wearing a flower coronet, symbolizing her virginity on the wedding day. Spring is a season when Nature rebirths, the vegetation is pure and will not wither until the end of the year. In Serbia again (Toplica district), those who perform the ritual walk in twos and on their way

([8]) A rain-making ritual, performed by boys, similar to that of paparuda was recorded in India as well. See the custom of the King of Rain.

([9]) In Mavrovo region from North-Western Macedonia, the Dodolea's ritual was held on Ascension day, on the the Great Thursday, 40 days after the Resurrection.

([10]) Reference is made here to the ritual dedicated to the Vedic god Rudra.

([11]) Artificial rain; the body's sprinkling with water.

towards the river they stop in a cemetery where they collect a cross from the grave of an unknown soul. Then they stop in a house where a mother lives and steal a table. When they get to the river, they place the table in the middle of it, with the cross on it, in shallow waters, and all sit around it. Then, all the participants start eating a special cake made of millet and sing. After this, they let the table flow down the river:

From two ears, many grains,
From two bunches, a bucket of wine,
Hey, dodo, hey, dodole! (Nikolov 1960, 203)

In the case of the same Southern Slavs, the young ones performing the ritual are given food and food products necessary for cooking in their homes. The food is consumed by the participants during the ritual. This custom of the host offering food, money or wooden vessels was also recorded on the Romanian territory (Ghinoiu 2009, 225).

In Russia and Ukraine, the ritual exists since the medieval times. On some silver bracelets from 12th – 13th centuries we can see few women wearing shirts with improvised sleeves. They flutter those long sleeves in order to attract the rain. The Russian historian Boris Rybakov believes that the silver bracelets were used to keep tight the long sleeves before the *Rusalii* starting to perform the rain-making ritual (Rybakov 1981, 283; 1967, 95).

A very interesting aspect is the fact that the inhabitants of Gorna Reka region (the former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) have not performed the Dodola's ritual ([12]) for 40 years (Mircevska 2005, 6). In the case of Romanians, while performing the ritual in front of the people's gates, the paparude start a rhythmic dance, clapping their hands and snapping their fingers, repeating the exclamation *Ha! Ha!* (Olinescu 1944, 329) or *Paparuda leo!* The resulting sound is similar to the one produced by the Spanish castanets. In the meantime, the mistress of the household takes a bucket full of water and throws it at the paparude (Pop 1989, 132-145). Then, a crucial event in the economy of the ritual takes place: the paparude, seeing the household mistress coming with the bucket, pretend to run away (sometimes they even do it, usually when the water is cold). They are eventually caught by the mistress of the household and 'baptised'. After the event, which is sometimes amusing, the paparude are congratulated, and wished for a long and happy life, each being given a coin and a bowl of wheat, corn flour, wheat flour, beans, a tuft of wool or an old dress. They say that the household which has not been visited by the paparude will have a summer full of hardships.

At Aromanians, the *Pirpiruna* ritual is performed by girls. One of them, who usually comes from a poorer family, is covered all over her body with sorrel leaves, ferns, poppy flowers or with a plant called *iboj*, which is also named *Pirpirună*. The main character is accompanied by numerous girls, in whose presence she performs the ritual in front of the people's houses, invoking the rain.

Within the Aromanian communities in the Balkans, the mistress of the household has the custom of suddenly throwing water upon the paparude. Tradition says that Pirpiruna and her 'companions', after having visited all houses in the village, make a flour pie which they eat afterwards to a fountain which has a spring or a river nearby. While they are eating the pie, the girls must stand with their feet in the water of that spring or river. In the Meglen too, in the north of Greece, where the Megleno-Romanians live, the ritual is performed by a girl, who is undressed by other girls and covered with a plant called *buzeu*. Megleno-Romanians call this girl *Paparudă* or *Duduleț*. The girl goes from house to house where the mistress of the household gives her an old coin called *para de timp diznit*. After the ritual is over, the girl goes to a valley where she undresses the buzeu covering her body and throws the vegetal garment into a river. Then, the girl, together with the rest of her companions, go back home to eat the food they have been given during the performance of the ritual.

In conclusion, we may state that the Paparuda/Dodola rain-making ritual is a pan-Balkan one. Its origin can be found in the Antiquity, at the Thracians. The Slavic tribes, which massively appeared in the Balkans starting with the 6th century, took over this custom from Thracians. This is also confirmed by the fact that the ritual is performed only in the area inhabited by the Thraco-Dacians. The attestation of the Thracian anthroponym *Paparion* also confirms the Thraco-Dacian origin of Paparuda.

The Slavic origin of the ritual was supported by the etymological analysis of the word *paparudă* which, along with all its local variants, would be a derivative of the name of the Slavic god Perun and of his wife Perperuna-

([12]) Besides the base form *dodole*, one may also find variants such as *vajdudule*, *ojdodole* or *dozdole* in Vardar Macedonia.

Peruniţa. Subsequent studies have proven the contrary of these assertions, supporting a pre-Slavic origin of the god's name. At the Thracology Congress in Sofia, 2000, the Bulgarian historian and anthropologist Aleksandr Nikolaev Fol suggested a plausible explanation of this very old oronym, giving it a Thracian origin. Fol also argued that the Thracians, venerating the Pirin mountainous range in Bulgaria (South-West of Bulgaria), impressed the Slavic new-comers, and they would have borrowed the name of the mountain and transformed it into a god (litholatry).([13]) Therefore, the Pirin Mountain would have been 'baptised' in the honour of god Perun (Paliga, Teodor 2009, 216-217). What is sure is the fact that the radical *per* in the word Perun means 'fire' (the thunder's fire) his origin being the Indo-European *pur*, which means 'fire' (*pyros* in Greek means fire). The old form of the word *Perun* must have been *Pur-un*, and the Slavs would have borrowed from their Thracian neighbours only the root *pur*, which means 'fire', Perun being by excellence the god of the eternal fire (*ignis aeternus*) (Paliga 2009, 125).

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Fig. 3 – Romanian Paparuda (illustration from 1905). [Ilustrație a Paparudei din anul 1905].

Fig. 4 – Peperuna at Bulgarians (Kardzhali Province in southern Bulgaria). [Ritualul paparudei la bulgari, regiunea Kârgeali în sudul Bulgariei].

Fig. 5 – Women (Rusalii) from the Eastern Slavic area performing the Paparuda/Dodola ritual (detail from the medieval silver bracelets from Russia, 12th and 13th centuries). [Femei „Rusalii' din spațiul slavilor răsăriteni săvârșind ritualul Paparudei/Dodolei (detaliu care apare pe o colecție de brățări de argint din secolele XII-XIII)].

Fig. 6 – Russian woman performing the rain-making ritual of Dodole (photo from the end of 19th century). [Femeie din Rusia care efectuează ritualul Dodolei (fotografie de la sfârşitul sec. XIX)].

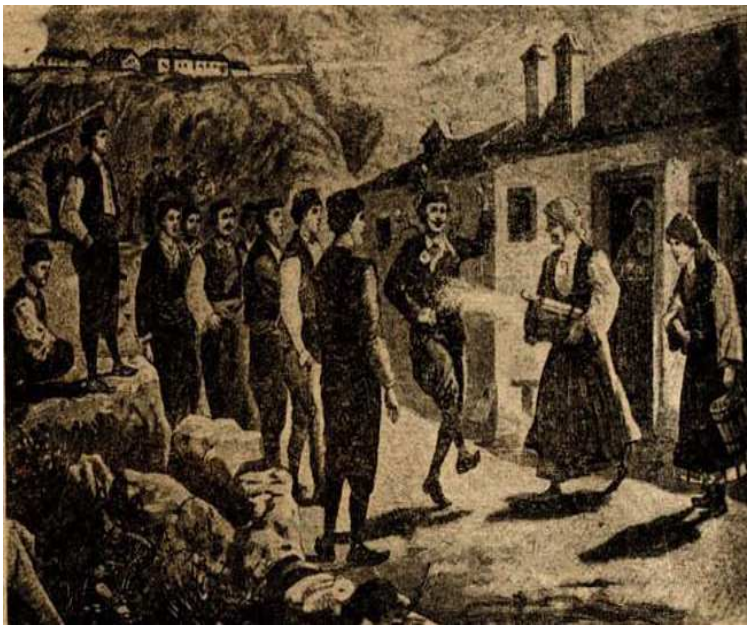

Fig. 1 – V. Titelbacha, *Dodole*

Source: The Museum of Ethnography in Belgrade

Fig. 2 – Uroš Predić, *Dodola*

Fig. 3 – Romanian Paparuda

Fig. 4 – Peperuna at Bulgarians

Fig. 5 – Women (Rusalii) from the Eastern Slavic area performing the Paparuda/Dodola ritual (detail from the medieval silver bracelets from Russia, 12th and 13th centuries)

Fig. 6 – Russian woman performing the rain-making ritual of Dodole (photo from the end of 19th century).

The figure of the angel Temeluch in the apocryphal writings *The Apocalypse of Paul* and *The Revelation of Pseudo-John*. A comparative study

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Motto: Doomed to the round of ages; desolate,
He cherished not a hope of happier hours,
Loved not, confided not, but breathed above
All sympathy and fellowship and fear.
He poured not tears on thunder-riven rocks,
Nor sighs upon the burning air that fell
Like lava on his brain and through his heart
In livid lightnings wandered; but he grasped
His garments of eternal flame and wrapt
Their blazing folds around his giant limbs,
And stood with head upraised and meteor eye
And still lips whose pale, cold and bitter scorn
Smiled at eternity's deep agonies.
The Spirit of Destruction undestroyed!
(Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, *Abaddon, the Spirit of Destruction*)

Abstract. This article tries to underline, in the larger theological sphere of Christianity, in the field of angelological and demonological motifs, the existence of a unique class of angelic beings. These angels are complex and multi-faced characters, and they represent an intermediate typology of angelic beings, a kind of 'hybrid angels'. With a mixture of physical and behavioral traits, they offer a new perspective on the development and reimagining of the angelical and demonological motifs. One such example is the angel Temeluch. In the two apocalypses, in which he appears (*The Apocalypse of Paul* and *The Revelation of Pseudo-John*), Temeluch is the agent of God's will, a partner to the Archangel Michael and of the angel Tarouk in the punishing of sinners. The mixture of features Temeluch is embodied with, sketches a complex and multi-faced angelic character, which has a place of its own in the Christian angelological and demonological traditions.

Keywords: angels, apocalypse, angelology, demonology

Introduction ([1])

In the area of religious studies, the multiple traditions regarding the angelic and demonic beings that exist in the larger theological sphere of the three Abrahamic religions, represent for the students and researchers alike, two of the most complex and diversified research topics. The angelological and demonological motifs of the three monotheisms have a common history and often they influence each other (Bousset 1896; Muchembled 2004; Reeves 2005) ([2]). From this *florilegium* of angelological and demonological motifs, in the pages below, we will make an analysis of an interesting angelical figure that appears in the Christian traditions, namely the angel Temeluch.

([1]) Research funded through the project **'MINERVA- elite career cooperation in researching the doctoral and post doctoral'** contract code: POSDRU/**159/1.5/S/137832**, project co-financed by the European Social Fund through the sectoral operational programme human resources development 2007-2013.

([2]) Two such examples of interrelation are the legendary figures of the Devil and the Antichrist.

Before we proceed to the actual analysis of this angelic character, it is necessary to do a brief rundown of the main angelological and demonological motifs within Christianity. This overview it is very useful on the one hand, to highlight the vastness and the variety of this field of research, and on the other hand, it can help us in the contextualization of this angelic being within the broad field of research.

The most frequent and important angelological and demonological motifs within the Christian traditions are: a) the Angel of the Lord ([3]), b) the *archistrategos* Michael ([4]), c) the Archangel Gabriel ([5]), d) the Seven Archangels ([6]), e) the angelic hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite ([7]), f) the Guardian angel ([8]), g) the fall of the Devil and his angels (Carus 2009; Munchembled 2004; Pagels 1995; Russel 1977, 1981, 1984), h) the angelological interpretation of Gen. 6: 1- 4 (with the fallen angels Shemyaza, Azazel, Remiel, or Mastema in the center of the narrative) (Reed 2005), i) the Angel of Death ([9]), j) the arch-demon Belial ([10]), k) the arch-demon Asmodeus ([11]), l) the arch-demon Beelzebub ([12]), m) the Angel of the bottomless pit/the gatekeeper of Hell (which has as its main exponent Abaddon) (Wallis Budge 1915, 1914, 1913, 1912, 1910, 1894) ([13]), and others (Reiterer, Nicklas, Schöpflin 2007). Among the many angels that are mentioned in the miscellaneous – often complex – traditions of Christianity, new figures appear, which can hardly be integrated in the list of the motifs mentioned above.

The difficulty arises because of the fact that we are dealing, on the one hand, with a mixture of physical traits and/or behavioral or names taken from other angelic characters who are already well contoured, and on the other hand, with the lack of supporting titles and/or functions, such as the already known standard formulas ([14]). So, I think it is safe to say, that we are dealing here with a new, intermediate typology of angelic beings. I think that a term like 'hybrid angels' can be used when we are referring to these angels who fit the traits mentioned above. These angels are hybrid in what it concerns their: a) physical appearance, b) type of behavior, c) onomastics, d) titles and e) functions. In time, just like their most famous counterparts (e.g. Michael or Sammael), they may become central figures in the narratives regarding the world of angelic entities. The angels Qipōd ([15]), Qushiel ([16]), Pyruel ([17]), Qaspiel ([18]), Tartaruch ([19]) and Temeluch ([20]) belong to this category of 'hybrid angels', which can be determined with great difficulty, due to the influences and similarities with the angels situated in the other categories.

From this list, of what we are now used to call 'hybrid angels', we will discuss in the next few pages the figure of the angel Temeluch. We will examine this character in the two works that mention him, namely *The Apocalypse of Paul* and *The Revelations of Pseudo-John*.

The angel Temeluch in *The Apocalypse of Paul*

The first work in which the angel Temeluch is mentioned is *The Apocalypse of Paul*. This apocalypse is a 3rd-century text of the New Testament apocrypha ([21]). Of the 51 chapters handed down to us, or information in connection with, the Temeluch appears in

([3]) Gen.16:7–14, 22: 11- 15; Ex. 3: 2- 4; Num. 22: 22- 38; Judg. 2: 1- 3; 6: 11- 23; 13: 3- 22; Mt. 1: 20; 1: 24; 2: 13; 2: 19; 28: 2; 28: 2; Lk. 1: 11; 2: 9; Acts 5: 19; 8: 26; 12: 7; 12: 23.
([4]) Dan. 10: 13- 21; 12: 1; Jude 1: 9; Rev. 12: 7- 9.
([5]) Dan. 8: 16; 9: 21; Lk. 1: 19; 1: 26.
([6]) Tob. 12: 15; 1 En. 20: 1- 8.
([7]) Based on his book, De Coelesti Hierarchia (*On the Celestial Hierarchy*) and subsequent commentaries made by Christian theologians (e.g. Johannes Scotus Eriugena).
([8]) Mt. 18: 10; Acts 12: 12- 15; Heb. 1: 14.
([9]) Prov. 16: 14.
([10]) Deut. 13: 13; Judg. 19: 22; 20: 13; 1 Sam. 1: 16; 2: 12; 10: 26; 25: 17, 25; 30: 22; 2 Sam. 16: 7; 20: 1; 23: 6; 1 Kgs. 21: 10, 13; 2 Chr. 13: 7; 2 Cor. 6: 15.
([11]) Tob. 3: 3, 17.
([12]) 2 Kgs. 1: 2- 3, 6, 16; Mt. 10: 25; 12: 23, 28; Mk. 3: 22; Lk. 11: 15, 18-19.
([13]) See Rev. 9:1-11.

([14]) The most used standard formulas are: a) the title *the prince of* + a place/ country associated with the enemies of God (e.g. Dan 10: 13), b) the name of the angel + the title *prince* (e.g. Dan 10: 21), c) the formula *the angel of* + name of function (e.g. the angel of destruction, the angel of Death, etc.) and d) the name of the devil+ the title *prince of* (e.g. Beelzebub the prince of the devils, Mt. 12: 24).
([15]) Yerahmeel 21: 2- 3.
([16]) Yerahmeel 21: 6.
([17]) TAb 13: 10- 12.
([18]) 3 En. 1: 3- 4.
([19]) See below, in the section dedicated to the *Apocalypse of Paul*.
([20]) A list of these 'hybrid angels' doesn't end here; it is much more extensive. Other examples of this kind can be brought at any time in discussion. As a start we can use, for example, the list of angels mentioned in the *Greek Apocalypse of Esdras*.
([21]) For more details, see http://www.interfaith.org/christianity/apocrypha-apocalypse-of-paul-1/

chapters 17, 18 and 34. The first two entries are part of the chapters devoted to death and judgement of the righteous and the wicked (11-18), and the third, in the chapters describing hell (31-44).

In chapter 17 it is described in contrast, the fate of a just soul and the fate of a wicked soul. In the vision that he is receiving, Paul hears the voice of the Lord saying: *Let this soul be delivered to the merciless ([22]) angel Temeluch, and let it be cast into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth* ([23]). In terms of its function, as Abaddon in the *Revelation of John*, Temeluch deals with the punishment of the sinners. Also, a common point with the *Apocalypse of John* is his subordination to God ([24]).

The second quote depicts as the previous one a judgment of souls, but with a number of important clarifications ([25]), as follows*: Let this soul be delivered to the angel Tartaruch, and guarded till the great day of judgment* ([26]). If in the first quote, you have Temeluch as protagonist of divine punishment, in this the second one, where the task is completed by another angel, Tartaruch. In this apocalypse we have a particular situation (the identification or unidentificaton of Temeluch with Tartaruch); several variants are possible: a) Temeluch is the same character as Tartaruch (both are listed in the passages concerning the judgment of the souls of sinners, in the passages in which they appear as the protagonists, each keeps the souls of sinners to judgment), b) we are dealing with two different angels (a sign of this differentiation being the names themselves) with the same functions.

The third quote details the punitive feature of the angel. Thus, in the description of the rivers that are in Hell, the Apostle, sees the punishing an old sinner: *And the angel Temeluch coming, laid hold of an iron with his hand, and with it drew up the entrails of that old man through his mouth* ([27]). In my opinion, the fact that Temeluch is mentioned once again in this apocalypse reveals that he is the holder of title (although unspecified) of the *angel of the bottomless pit/ the gatekeeper of Hell* ([28]), the emphasis falling as above, on his lack of pity (but this isn't a demonic-type lack of mercy, generated by a malefic desire, but one generated by the obedience of God). Returning then, to the two variants proposed above, I consider that we are dealing with two different angels, acting somehow in a relationship of interdependence ([29]). Thus, while Temeluch is taking care off the active part (the implementation of the divine punishment), Tartaruch ([30]) accomplishes the function of a guardian. Basically in the angelic figures of the two protagonists, we can observe the relationship of symbiosis existing between two demonological motifs (that of a punishing angel and that of the angel of the bottomless pit/ the gatekeeper of Hell), and the ambiguous nature of the two angels. One last thing that must be mentioned is the positive valence of Temeluch and Tartaruch. None of them has demonic features, they are in full obedience to God, they fulfil only the missions entrusted to them by the highest power (Knibb 1978) ([31]).

The angel Temeluch in *The Revelation of Pseudo-John*

The apocryphal *Revelation of Saint John* is an early medieval rewriting of the canonical *Book of Revelation*. In what it concerns the date of composition, the majority of scholars (Bovon 1997, 986; Bădiliță 2006, 343) gives as a possible interval the period comprised between the 5th and 7th centuries A.D. Although the work contains in its title the notion of revelation, in fact, this apocalypse doesn't present itself in the typical form of this genre. The basic features like *angelus interpres*, *vaticinium ex eventu*, the ascension to heaven are missing. In fact, this work is a concatenation of 28 questions and answers, a direct dialogue between Jesus Christ and the Apostle John. The angel Temeluch

([22]) This epiteth represents the only element that can put Temeluch in the category of the evil angels. The lack of additional arguments leaves the question open to any interpretation..

([23])http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/an08.vii.xl.html

([24]) Rev. 9:1- 11.

[25] The angel Temeluh is not mentioned, instead we read of an interesting character named Tartaruch.

([26])http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/an08.vii.xl.html

([27])http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/an08.vii.xl.html

([28]) *Cf.* Rev. 9: 11.

([29]) It would be a situation similar to that of the Rev. 9: 1?

([30]) Tartaruch suffers here the same transformation as Abaddon has suffered (on the Jewish mythology, *abaddon* was used as a term to designate the place of perdition, the Underworld – Job 26: 6; 28: 22). Basically from a common noun which denoted the realm of the dead, in the Roman mythology, *tartarus* becomes in the new Christian religion a proper noun, another name for *the Angel of the bottomless pit/the Angel guardian of Hell*, but at the same time, it becomes also another name for Hell.

([31]) Their actions may come into the same category as that of the angels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, or Raphael from the apocalyptic enohic corpus.

appears mentioned in the last questions, regarding the judgment of the sinners ([32]). The passages are just as in the case of the precedent apocalypse, in number of three, as it follows:

a) *Et Temelouck appellera Tarouk* ([33])*: „Fais enter les châtiments, détenteur des clés* ([34])*; fais entrer les instrumentsdu jugement; fais entrer le ver qui ne dort jamaiset le dragon profanateur* ([35])*; prépare les tourments; fais entrer l' obscurité; libère le fleuve de feu et l' obscurité misérable* ([36]) *dans le tréfonds de l' Hadès'* ([37]);

b) *Et Temelouck dira à Tarouk* ([38])*: „ Réveille le serpent pansu à trois têtes* ([39])*; sonne de la trompette* ([40]) *pour rassembler les terribles bêtes sauvages et leur donner leur pâture; ouvre la porte des douze fléaux* ([41]) *afin que toutes les bêtes rampantes se rassemblent vers les impies et les impénitents*' (Bovon et Geoltrain 1997, 1016- 1017);

c) *Et Temelouck rassemblera la mutitude des pécheurs, il frappera du pied la terre, et la terre se déchirera en certains lieux* ([42])*, et les pitoyables pécheurs seront précipités dans les châtiments effroyables. Alors Dieu enverra l' archistratège Michel, et Temelouck, après avoir scellé le lieu, les frappera de la précieuse croix* ([43])*, et la terre se rassemblera comme auparavant. Alors leurs anges élevèrent une lamentation, alors la Toute sainte pleura sur eux, ainsi que tous les saints, mais ils ne leur seront d'aucun secours'* (Bovon et Geoltrain 1997, 1016-1017).

([32]) Another common feature with the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

([33]) It is another form for the name Tartaruch. It is the first time that he is mentioned, and like Temeluch, he is presented in a positive light. In this passage Tarouk is identified as *the angel gatekeeperer of Hell*.

([34]) By this statement, his angelic features are underlined. Usually, in both Jewish and Christian angelological traditions, the angel that holds the key of the abyss is the Archangel Michael.

([35]) This demonologic character seems to be the same one mentioned in Rev. 12: 9.

([36]) Rev. 20: 14- 15.

([37]) (Bovon et Geoltrain, 1997, 1016).

([38]) It is the second mentioning of this particular angel. In this apocalypse, Tarouk seems to be an angel subordinate to Temeluch.

([39]) Rev. 12: 3; 13: 1, 11.

([40]) Tarouk acts like one of the seven trumpeting angels, Rev. 8: 7- 11: 15.

([41]) See the ten plagues of Egypt, Ex. 7- 12.

([42]) Rev. 16: 18- 19.

([43]) The fact that he is using the cross it's a sign that reinforces Temeluch's angelical feature.

From these three passages we can draw a set of very important conclusions:

a) In the first two passages, Temeluch gives commands regarding the tortures destined to the sinners, to the angel Tarouk (the gatekeeper of Hell). From these passages, we can see the subordination of Tarouk under Temeluch. In general, in both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, above the angel gatekeeper of Hell, in a higher hierarchical position is the angel *archistrategos*. The angel *archistrategos*, or the supreme commander of the angelical hosts is the Archangel Michael ([44]). It seems that in this apocalypse, the attributes of the angel Temeluchus are identical with those of the *archistrategos* Michael. Can we see in these passages a re-shaping of the *archistrategos* motif?

b) In these first two passages, Temeluch doesn't have an effective/ active contribution in the punishing of the sinners, like the angel Abaddon has in the original apocalyptical work (*Revelation of Saint John*) ([45]). This non-dynamic contribution will change in the third passage.

c) In the third passage, the angel Temeluch will pass from the initial passive/ non-dynamic state of commands to the active/ dynamic state. He will join the archangel Michael in the punishing of the sinners. In this passage the angels Michael and Temeluch form a duo/pair of avenging angels. They seem to be equals in strength and power.

d) Temeluch benefits of great powers, being able to open and to close the earth, to seal the place of torment/Hell. Besides all that, his angelical features are enhanced by the possibility of being able to use the cross (the most powerful and efficacious weapon against the forces of evil).

In this apocalypse, the angel Temeluch is being portrayed as an agent of God. Side by side with the angel Tarouk and with the archangel Michael, Temeluch fulfils the will of God, by punishing the sinners. He is in a relationship of direct hostility with the forces of evil.

Conclusions

Making a comparison between the figure of the angel Temeluch from *The Apocalypse of Paul* and *The Revelation of*

([44]) Dan. 12: 1; Rev. 12: 7; 1 En. 10: 54; 2 En. 22: 6, 33: 10, 72: 5, T. Abr. A 1: 4, 2: 16, 19: 5; T. Isaac 14: 7; Gk Apoc. Ezra 4: 24; 3 Bar. 11: 4.

([45]) Rev. 9: 1- 11.

Pseudo-John, we can find a number of common elements, as well as a number of distinguishing features. Among similar traits we can include: a) the place in which this angel appears in the narrative – in passages detailing the judgement of sinners, b) the reports of direct hostility between himself and the sinners, c) the absolute obedience and execution of orders received from above, d) the relationship of 'partnership' with another angel, in the performance of its tasks – Tartaruch/Tarouk, e) the common features which Temeluch has with Tartaruch/Tarouk and f) the positive valence.

Among the distinctive elements of the figure of this angel, as they appear in the two apocalypses, we can include: a) the emphasis on his lack of mercy in the first work, vanishes in the second, b) it makes a pair within its actions as an agent of divine retribution, and with the Archangel Michael, c) has another weapon in his fight against the sinners (a cross, instead of iron), d) he acts punitive against all sinners, e) the punishment imposed for sinners only affects the physical body, f) his portrait is better shaped, thanks to the new details brought out by this last work, g) we have two of his direct appeals to Tarouk and h) the tone of his appeals, highlights the hierarchical superiority of Temeluch in front of Tarouk.

Above, when we've spoken about the classification of the angels, in the larger context of the Abrahamic religions, we've touched the problem of a series of angels, which can hardly be framed in the known angelical and demonological typologies and we've named these angels with the formula 'hybrid angels' (Qaspiel, Qushiel, Pyruel, Qipōd). Many of the question marks that follow these angels are found in the figure of the angel Temeluch, and also in the figure of the angel Tarouk, with whom he makes a pair in these two apocalyptic writings, that we have analysed.

As we have seen in the pages above, the figure of Temeluch combines various elements from specific angelological and demonological motifs. This mixture of features sketches a complex and multi-faced angelic character, who has a place of its own in the larger theological sphere of the three Abrahamic religions, just like his most famous counterparts, Abaddon, Sammael, Asmodeus, Azazel or Belial.

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The Title Fight between the Two Christian Empires in the Age of Crusades

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Abstract. The most important conclusion of my study represents the title analysis that was adopted by the Latin princes after they conquered Constantinople. The first two counts of Flanders managed, with the help of the anti-Byzantine propaganda, to step on the East-Roman Emperors chair at Constantinople. We realize the incompatibility and convergence of the moment when the two Latin counts are being crowned in Constantinople. Baldwin I copied the Byzantine ceremony of crowning an emperor and took the title of *imperator Romanorum* with all its meanings. Henry I, his successor, did the same. Both of them demanded the recognition of their title and of the political formation they were leading now. Beside the imperial title they also adopted the *imperium Romanorum* statute for their possession. At Baldwin I we notice also this title: *a Deo coronatus Romanorum moderator et semper augustus*. Both Baldwin and Henry I took in their title the Byzantine formula 'through Gods mercy…*imperator Romanorum*'. So the Byzantine title was taken in all its aspects and with all its significances by the new rulers from Constantinople. It's ironic that they took over and acquired all that they had so hard challenged and defamed during the last century. The reason for this changing in their conception was first of all the accomplishment of their desired mission. Secondly, they needed to legitimize the power they had taken over in the eyes of the Byzantine subjects. Through the conquest of Constantinople the counts of Flanders had then inherited the whole Byzantine imperial political tradition.

After the crowning of Otto IV in Western Europe in 1209, the Latin emperors from Constantinople needed to settle for the *imperator Constantinopolitanus* and *imperator Romaniae* titles. The critics that the Latin chroniclers developed against Byzantium before 1204 disappeared after their victory from the beginning of the 13th century. They prepared the Occident mentally for the decisive attack against Constantine's metropolis. The fourth crusade represented an important stage in the Byzantine universalism crisis. The fights between the Greek states to impose themselves as the rightful heir of the Constantinopolitan seat led to the devaluation of the imperial idea in Byzantium. We had changes in the Occident as well. Through the practical recognition of the two Catholic empires and the efforts made to legitimate their doctrinal existence we remark the relativity of the imperial idea.

Keywords: Papacy, Byzantium, Empire, Title, Barbarossa, Christianity

This essay wants to present how the relations between these two rival empires (the Western Empire and the Byzantine Empire) had developed during the age of crusades. The main goal is to analyze the conflict over the 'Roman title', the *imperator Romanorum*, which practically dominated the existence of the two Christian structures. These ideological dissensions showed the political ambitions of the Eastern and Occidental world. The reduction of Constantinople from 1204 brought a new problem for Western Europe. What happened with the new Latin Empire that was now residing in the Byzantine capital? What was its political position? An answer to these questions will appear at the end of this study.

The creation of an empire in the Occident is a consequence of the emancipation process started by the Latin world from the *basileus* authority. The initiative belonged to Rome and their popes. The beginnings of the papacy's affirmation as a political power started under Leon I (440-461). He was the first who tried to take a series of imperial attributions (Brezeanu 1978, 273-279). Gelasius (492-496) is going a step further claiming in theory his supremacy over the *Res publica Christiana*. The premises for the pontifical empowerment were now created with Gelasius pretending his

preeminence even in the temporal power. The drop of the empire establishment in Western Europe brought the papacy into the center of political events. There is nothing casual that the first schism between Rome and Constantinople happened only eight years after Rome was conquered. This religious schism was raised after three and a half decades but during this time pope Gelasius managed the delimitation between the temporal and the spiritual power in the Occident. The conflict between Byzantium and the papacy escalated not only because of the ambitious political projects the popes had but it was also a consequence of the hard repressions the Byzantines emperors led against the Holy Chair. The pope was between the 6th and the 8th centuries the *basileus* spokesman for the barbaric kingdoms and for all the Christians from the sunset lands. The Byzantine emperors regarded themselves *de jure* as the natural owners of the whole world. In this category were included the churches and all the principalities from Western Europe.

The first half of the 8th century was the decisive stage in fulfilling the papacy's dreams. The religious institution exploits skillfully the lack of Byzantine authority in Italy, because Leon III and his successors were more focused on Asia Minor and the Oriental provinces of the empire. The Roman bishops headed towards the French royalty because the Italian peninsula was under the threat of the Langobards. The double intervention of Pepin the Short in Italy in 754 and 756 led to the formation of the papal state in the territories of the former exarchate which was released from the Langobard's control. Dölger's opinion is that Pepin and his sons have adopted the *patricius Romanorum* title (Dölger 1955, 77). Rome's alliance with the Carolingian royalty and the creation of the papal state in the space of the old Byzantine exarchate from Ravenna meant in fact the final emancipation of the papacy from the Constantinopolitan authority. But the Roman bishops knew that they can't have full independence without the creation of a rival empire in the Occident in order to protect their achievement.

For four centuries since Charles the Great coronation and until the fourth crusade the political thought from Christian Europe has been dominated by 'the problem of the two emperors'. In the specialized literature it was called the *Zweikaiserproblem*. The act from the year 800 directed by Pope Leo III was defying and insulting the position and the policy doctrine of the Byzantine emperor. There could have been only one Christian emperor and one empire, the correspondent for the celestial kingdom on earth. God blessed the Byzantine emperor and only he could have been acknowledged by the Divinity in this role. The pope was aware of the consequences of his gesture, which led to the challenging of the Roman emperor title for the Constantinopolitan sovereign. Charles was not so familiar with the Roman emperor idea and he hoped for an understanding with Constantine successors. He intended to crown himself as an 'emperor of the Franks' without attempting to attack the historical and doctrinal rights of the Greek rulers. But the future events and Rome's will were much more powerful than the pragmatism of the first 'Aachen emperor'. His crowning opened a title dispute for four centuries in the Christian world. But the Western emperors were usurpers of the 'Roman Christian emperor' title, while their rivals from the East had solid arguments to defend their legitimacy.

The loss of Egypt and Syria was a hard knock for the Byzantines. Their empire was relying now on Asia Minor, the Aegean Sea and Greece. This brings new important changes in the life of the Eastern Empire. The Latin language lost its position in front of the Greek. Even the imperial title, *imperator* Hellenizes into the Greek one *basileus*. The bigger problem was that Byzantium hadn't many possessions in the Occident. The universal character of the empire was now under question. The Latins began to denigrate the Byzantine emperor with the *rex Graecorum* and *imperator Constantinopolitanus* titles in the 7th and 8th centuries (Lilie 1994, 241). The modern historians mean that Byzantium's Oriental problems (caused mostly by the Arabs) made them distant from the Occident (Beck 1969, 136; Konstanz 1969, 227-241; Ostrogorsky 1936, 45).

The title of the Byzantine emperor stabilized at the half of the 10th century when we discover the classic form: 'born into Christ God, faithful *basileus* and autocrat of the Romans' (Brezeanu 1978, 278). The origins of the title go back to the doctrine of Constantine the Great theorized by Eusebius of Caesarea. He defined the divine source of the emperor, the absolute character of the imperial power, the uniqueness and universality of the Byzantine Empire. The doctrine underlined a millenary empire, which defined the Roman and Christian identity set by Constantine some centuries back. The emperor was the father of the Christian family and the other princes could have been only 'brothers', 'sons' 'friends' or 'dutiful'. The Byzantine

emperors regarded themselves *de jure* as the natural owners of the whole world. In this category were included the churches and all the principalities from Western Europe. The *basileus* had to be (from the Byzantine point of view) for the kingdoms from the Occident the *pater familias*, the one who was the head of the new built 'Family of kings' (as Dölger called it). This theory about the 'medieval family' was better developed during the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The ideology began with the idea that the Byzantine emperor was the only one invested by God in his role. After that, all the other kings from the Christian world were invested by the Byzantine emperor through God's will. The *basileus* was the intermediate between God and the other princes. Only through him were the other kings capable of being recognized by God and invested on their thrones. This title was relevant in the eyes of the subjects but also in the ones of the other Christians princes. But this hierarchical structure that we had in Byzantium became fictional and unfunctional especially for this age.

From the Greeks' point of view, the possibility of Charles being crowned as the 'Roman emperor' was ridiculous and hilarious. Nikephor I changes the old *basileus* title into *basileus tôn Rhomaiôn* for denouncing the Western usurpation (Brezeanu 1978, 279). Under Venice's pressure and suffering from Crum's defeat, the Byzantines saw themselves obliged to recognize Charles *basileus* title. But only that part of the title not the whole one with the 'Roman emperor' addition (Ohnsorge 1979, 118). Charles was also regarded as 'brother' of the Byzantine emperor, so he took his place in the 'Princes family' theorized by Constantinople.

The new political creation had a French-Christian inspiration not a Roman one (Dölger 1955, 86). The French sovereign was heavily penetrated from the Christian substance, so he thought to be ruling an *imperium Christianum* represented by his people. The title reflects his Christian vision over the Western empire. The formula *Romanum gubernans imperium* reflects his view about the doctrine of this new built structure. Charles appears more like a *defensor ecclesiae*, a protector of the Christianity.

The appearance on the Western political stage of this empire leads shortly to a fierce rivalry with New Rome and the successors of Constantine the Great. Louis II (855-878) is the first Occidental sovereign who contests the Roman title of the Constantinopolitan emperors. Charles followers annexed the *imperator Romanorum* title until the fall of the Carolingian empire in 888. After that the doctrinal conflicts disappeared for nearly a century.

The rise of the German kingdom under Otto I brought his imperial coronation at Rome in 962. The recognition of his empire from Constantinople is Otto's foreign politic for a decade. But Otto had the objective to be regarded as the 'emperor of the Franks' not as the 'Roman emperor' (Ohnsorge 1979, 94). At the beginning of his work *Antapodosis*, Liudprand named the Byzantine emperor as *imperator augustus* and *sanctissimus imperator* (von Kremona 1915, 133). After Otto I crowning, the Western sovereign was named *caesar augustus imperator* and *sanctissimus imperator*, while the Byzantine was degraded at the *imperator Constantinopolitanus* title (von Kremona, 1915, 164). During his embassy from the year 968 in Constantinople, Liudprand used for his master the title *imperator Francorum* (*Ibid*., 179). In the end, Otto reaches his goal to be recognized as 'emperor of the Franks' from Constantinople. We can affirm that Otto continued Charles realistic politic who didn't attend to the Roman title of the Byzantine sovereigns. Otto's troubles to be recognized as *imperator Francorum* showed the Occidental tries to legitimate itself in front of the Eastern Empire. But Pope John XII saw Otto as an 'emperor' and his re-born empire as a Roman one with universal aspirations. Otto was still under the Carolingian inheritance and refused the 'Roman title' for the *imperator Augustus* one (Nerlich 1999, 122).

Otto II, the son of the great German sovereign followed at the beginning the pragmatic political line of his father. Later his ambitions rose and he wanted to be equal with the Byzantine emperor so he proclaimed himself *imperator Romanorum* and began using this title (Ohnsorge 1947, 67). His successors insisted on the Roman origin of their empire and contested frequently the Byzantine title (Folz 1957, 133). The thesis over the *translatio imperii* was more used during Otto III reign. This legend was manufactured after Charles the Great coronation. According to this false story, the emperor had deliberately abandoned Rome for moving to Constantinople centuries ago (*Ibid*., 164). The *Donatio Constantini* assigned the power of the emperor in the act of the papal coronation. The Byzantine historians Anna Comnena and Kinnamos knew about this forgery elaborated by the papacy. Kinnamos is intrigued about the Pope's and the Western 'emperors'' claims that the Byzantine Empire is not the true Roman one

(Kinnamos 1972, 164). So the Greek sources knew in the 12th century about the Occident's tries to contest their title. For Anna it was unbelievable that the Westerners had the nerve not to recognize Byzantium as the true Roman Empire (Comnena 1977, 59).

Otto's III successor, Henry II abandoned the restoration politic of the Roman Empire. He came back to the initial French idea (*renovatio Regni Francorum*). The Byzantine Empire had friendly relations with the Salian dynasty. Afterwards, Conrad II and Henry III took the 'Roman emperor' title but as a concept of the third kingdoms: Germany, Italy and Burgundy (Nerlich 1999, 230). As long as there weren't any political or military tensions between Byzantium and the Latins, then the imperial title didn't create any problems for the two sides.

But during the Staufen dynasty in crusading time we have the toughest appeals against the Byzantine imperial title. In 1138 an official act sent by Conrad III to Genoa mentioned about the *imperium Romanorum*. According to this document, Conrad III was ruling over the 'Roman empire' (Jansen 1954, 166). From now on the official diplomas had always expressed the idea that the 'Roman Empire' was in Conrad's possession.

The introduction of these two phrases in Conrad's title is due to Wibald, the chancellor of the German sovereign. The Western Empire saw in the Byzantine one only a copy of the antique Rome and not the continuer of that famous structure (von Freising und Rahewin 1965, 73-75; Ansbert 1928, 36). After the return from the second crusade Conrad III kept in his acts the *Romanorum imperator* title (*Historia Peregrinorum* in Chroust 1928, 131-134). In the writings towards the Eastern Empire, Conrad III used for him the *Romanorum imperator* title, while the *basileus* was seen only as *Constantinopolitanus rex* (Jansen 1954, 187). In the internal diplomas Conrad entitled himself *augustus*. Ohnsorge's opinion is that the German king added this title in the moment a Greek legacy visited his court (Ohnsorge 1979, 251). The chaplain Albert was sent in 1140 to Constantinople. During the audiences he used besides the *augustus* also the *imperator Romanorum* title for his sovereign (Henkenrath 1969, 29). In other German official acts Conrad appears as *Romanorum imperator*, while the Byzantine emperor was regarded as *Constantinopolitanus imperator* (von Freising 1965, 76, 93, 166).

Conrad III was cheered by the German princes who conferred him the *rex Romanorum* title. After that the pontifical coronation had to legitimate his supreme title. But the German sovereign wouldn't have reached Rome for the imperial crowning, because he died just before his journey in 1152. During this time the official documents name him 'king'. So despite Wibald's attempts, Conrad III had never been seen as a 'Roman emperor'. The chancellor tried to treat him like one in the home documents. But Conrad couldn't have pretended to be an *imperator Romanorum* because he was never crowned by the Pope. And no one from the other political factors regarded him with this title. Conrad had never achieved his dream to be crowned as the 'Roman emperor'. Only the contacts with the *basileus* made him assume the imperial title.

In a letter of Pope Eugene III, Conrad III was named simply *imperator*. From the Pope's point of view, the German sovereign was not entitled to name himself *imperator Romanorum* but only *rex Romanorum*. While Wibald answers the pope, the Stablo abbot used the word *Romanum imperium* in order to define Conrad's kingdom (Jansen 1954, 199). In other writings to Byzantium, Wibald mentioned the terms *imperator*, *imperalis* or *imperium* when he referred to the Occidental Empire and its sovereign (*Ibid*., 132, 144, 146, 172, 197). In a letter addressed to the German bishops, Pope Eugene III asked them to support their 'king' Conrad in his Rome march in order to be crowned there as emperor (Henkenrath 1969, 23). So this is the proof that the Pope wanted to crown Conrad as *imperator Romanorum* in 1152. But the death of the German made that coronation impossible.

The Comnenian emperors affirmed then more than ever their right to be the only heir of the Roman Empire and the Constantinopolitan propaganda explained the historical rights of their possession. On the other hand, we have the Staufen's who are in an ideological offensive after they had discovered Justinian's legislation. That new founding inspired them and the imperial Western propaganda hit the papacy and the Byzantine interests likewise. Conrad's title was contested even in the Occident now. But once his successor Frederic Barbarossa was crowned in Rome, the things changed radically. Now we witness the start of the powerful German propaganda against the Pope and the Byzantine emperors.

After more than three centuries from the birth of this Western Empire, the imperial idea romanized itself following Justinian's legislation and the state construction from the Occident.

Barbarossa spoke about the only empire from Christianity. He proclaimed himself as the legitimate successor of Constantine, Heraclius, Charles and Otto. The constitution of the German sovereign is inserted in Justinian's *Corpus iuris civilis*. In Otto of Freising's opinion Barbarossa's Roman Empire was the fourth and the last great universal in the succession of the Assyrian-Babylonian, Persian and Macedonian one (von Freising 1956, 178). So before the humanity entered in *regnum Christi*, the last possible and the only empire was the Roman one. And Frederic was the continuer and the right heir of the ancient Roman Empire. This anachronistic conception is based on the idea that the Roman Empire was continued by the Greeks in Constantinople, from the French after the *translatio imperii* from the year 800 and from the Germans through the *renovatio imperii* in 962. Barbarossa's propaganda developed the conception that the Roman Empire was owned by their holders directly from God. So it appeared the idea of the 'Holy Empire' founded on the Christian tradition of Constantine and Charles the Great (Brezeanu 1978, 280). During Frederic and then Henry VI's time that new political vision had been fully elaborated. The imperial occidental doctrine knew its final form under the lead of Barbarossa's chancellor, Rainald von Dassel. He was talking about *reges provinciarum* and 'rules' in the relations of the Western kings with the emperor (*Ibid*., 281). Barbarossa's new conception, theorized by von Dassel was attacking the Byzantine Empire, the papacy and the other national monarchies from the Occident who were now in full affirmation processes.

The 'German Caesar' was developing an aggressive European politic through which he entitled himself to hold by right the *imperator Romanorum* title, while the *basileus* could have been mostly *rex Graecorum* (Ohnsorge 1979, 214). In Otto of Freising's work was a narration about a visit of a Byzantine embassy at Frederic's court, probably in 1157. This legacy came to negotiate an alliance with the German sovereign. During the reception the guests mentioned that they were representatives of the 'Roman emperor'. This sentence angered and shocked Barbarossa (von Freising 1956, 339). The Western emperor proposed to Manuel to hold only the 'emperor of New Rome' title because the true 'Roman Empire' was in the Occident and only Frederic was by right its successor (*Ibid*., 341). So there was no doubt that Barbarossa considered his empire as the heir and continuer of ancient Rome. With these conflicts we assist to the resumption of the *Zweikaiserproblem* from four centuries ago. But the positions were different now because Barbarossa had other ambitious goals and considered his possession as the truthful and only 'Roman Empire', while the *basileus* was regarded as a usurper of the imperial title. With Byzantium in decline and the Western Empire rising, the roles were so much inverted as in the time of Charles the Great.

In the official addresses towards Manuel, Rainald the chancellor used the imperial and the *augustus* title for his master Barbarossa. Frederic appeared as *Romanorum imperator et semper augustus*, while Manuel was degraded to *Graecorum rex* (Ohnsorge 1943, 124). The introduction of the term *semper augustus* is attributed also to Rainald from the modern historians (Dölger 1955, 97; Lamma 1955-1957, 145). The formula was founded first at Diocletian. Constantine had used the words *semper augustus* in his title. Byzantium applied this phrase until Heraclius reign. After that the formula was forgotten and the Byzantine emperors did not return to it. With Conrad III and Barbarossa the Western emperors assumed for themselves the *semper augustus* collocation near the 'Roman emperor' title. They were probably influenced by Justinian. Through this annexation the German emperors tried to give consistency to their function and to underline the Roman imperial idea and its continuation in Western Europe.

In an official act Frederic entitled himself: *Fridericius dei gratia Romanorum imperator prepotentissimus, a deo coronatus magnus et pacifius inclitus victor ac triumphator semper augustus* (*Historia Peregrinorum*, 198-199). Other studies speak about the *Kaiseridee* with its key concepts of *honor imperii, sacrum imperium* and Barbarossa's universal domination pretences of *urbis et orbis* (Ohnsorge 1947, 268-271). The German emperor tried to form in Lombardy his main territorial domain, which he didn't had in Germany (Dölger 1955, 104).

The title pretenses of the German emperors had effect in their foreign politic especially in the one against Byzantium or other kingdoms from the Occident. John of Salisbury mentions that Barbarossa was a tyrant and he wanted to terrorize and frighten the Greeks. He didn't send legacies in order to negotiate an alliance but to obtain the full obedience of the Byzantines (of Salisbury 1956, 169). The 'Roman title' conflict between the two empires and their sovereigns widened during Barbarossa's rule. In Otto of Freising's work, the Byzantine emperor was

seen as *imperator Constantinopolitanus*, while Frederic was regarded as *imperator Romanorum* (von Freising 1956, 137, 140). Frederic was intrigued by Isaac's boldness to entitle himself *Imperator Romanorum*. The German sovereign considered him a usurper and mentioned further that Isaac II had the right to wear the name *moderator Romaniorum* and not at all *Romanorum* (*Historia Peregrinorum*, 146).

During the 12th century the ideal of the universal empire was one of the specific time concepts pretty similar with the religious rebirth, the feudalism, the trade or the chivalry (Lamma 1955-1957, 154). Barbarossa, Henry VI and Manuel's death had confirmed that the whole notion of 'universal empire' was anachronistic during those times. All this ideological and military construction couldn't have lasted more than its precursors. If there wasn't a strong person to guide and to impose this universal doctrine then the whole idea wouldn't have no future. The proof lies in the fact that the conception resisted only during the life of the three emperors.

The two empires were like two swords that did not fit in the same European Christianity. The politic ideology couldn't have found its fulfillment because there was supposed to be only one Christian empire, the direct heir of the ancient Roman one. The appearance of the rival faction in the Occident brought the title conflicts and ideological fights between the two sides who wanted to prove that only their possession was the rightful 'Roman Empire' from Christianity and the other was a usurper.

From the beginning of his pontifical mandate Innocent III supported the Western Empire against the Byzantine one. His justification was that the Greek sovereigns hadn't protected their empire from the iconoclastic heresy. In the pope's conception the Byzantine emperors deserved to be punished for such a sacrilege. One of the central ideas of the occidental doctrine was the theory about the 'imperial translation'. According to that notion the empire knew a double translation: when Constantine transferred the imperial mission from Romans to Greeks in 330 and in 800 when the pope made the reverse travel from the Byzantines to Charles the Great and its German successors. The relative thesis about the *translatio imperii* justified the emancipating aspirations of the papacy. The Roman Chair wanted to get more independent from Byzantium. In the future it turned out into an equity argument of the Roman bishops in their struggle for supremacy with the Western Empire.

Paradoxically, 'the problem of the two emperors' peals again after 1204 when the events of the fourth crusade seemed to have concluded the matter. The new Latin emperors who violently conquered Constantinople copied the Byzantine imperial title and through this they proclaimed the Roman and universal character of their structure: *N., Dei gratia, fidelissimus in Christo imperator, a Deo coronatus, Romanorum moderator et semper augustus…* (Brezeanu 1978, 92-93) The thesis over the imperial translation from the year 800 was now contradicting the new situation from the Bosphorus banks. Once Charles had been crowned from the Roman prelates, it was clear that there couldn't have been another Christian empire at Constantinople but only a 'Greek kingdom' so the counts from Flandres weren't allowed to claim the imperial title. Innocent III insisted, until 1204, on the idea of a single Christian empire. After the reduction of the Byzantine capital, the Pope tried in his writings to justify the political changes from the Orient and promoted the idea of a 'Latin Empire' in Constantinople. In a letter to Baldwin I, the Pope mentioned that the Greeks had been punished by God for their pride and schism from the Catholic Church and their empire had now been transferred to the Latins (*Ibid*., 103). Innocent III meant that the *translatio imperii* from the year 800 was the work of the papacy from where we had the sacerdotal supremacy in the *respublica Christiana*. The transfer from the year 1204 was interpreted by the Pope as a Divine will. Innocent was not exerting any supremacy towards the new holders of Constantinople. Despite that the Pope's vision the Staufen Empire was the true *imperium Romanum*, while the Latin state from the east was named *imperium Constantinopolitanum*, *imperium Romaniae* or *imperium Graecorum* by Innocent III (*Ibid*., 104).

The most important conclusion of my study represents the title analysis that was adopted by the Latin princes after they conquered Constantinople. The first two counts of Flanders managed, with the help of the anti-Byzantine propaganda, to step on the East-Roman Emperors chair at Constantinople. We realize the incompatibility and convergence of the moment when the two Latin counts were being crowned in Constantinople. Baldwin I copied the Byzantine ceremony of crowning an emperor and took the title of *imperator Romanorum* with all its meanings. Henry I, his

successor, did the same. Both of them demanded the recognition of their title and of the political formation they were leading now. Beside the imperial title they also adopted the *imperium Romanorum* statute for their possession. At Baldwin I we notice also this title: *a Deo coronatus Romanorum moderator et semper augustus*. Both Baldwin and Henry I took in their title the Byzantine formula 'through Gods mercy…*imperator Romanorum*'. So the Byzantine title was taken in all its aspects and with all its significances by the new rulers from Constantinople. But it's also important to observe that the whole luxurious Byzantine court ceremonial with all his immoral and decadent clothing was copied in all the tiniest details by the Western Latins. It's ironic that they took over and acquired all that they had so hard challenged and defamed during the last century. The reason for this changing in their conception was first of all the accomplishment of their desired mission. Secondly, they needed to legitimize the power they had taken over in the eyes of the Byzantine subjects. Through the conquering of Constantinople the counts of Flanders had now inherited the whole Byzantine imperial political tradition.

After the crowning of Otto IV in Western Europe in 1209, the Latin emperors from Constantinople needed to settle for the *imperator Constantinopolitanus* and *imperator Romaniae* titles. The critics that the Latin chroniclers developed against Byzantium before 1204 disappeared after their victory from the beginning of the 13th century. Mentally they prepared the Occident for the decisive attack against Constantine's metropolis. The chroniclers of the fourth crusade don't reveal us anything about the former defamatory clichés of the Western literary works. The purpose for this silence is to justify their action and to explain that it was their right to possess the enormous and single Byzantine wealth.

The fourth crusade represented an important stage in the Byzantine universalism crisis. The fights between the Greek states to impose themselves as the rightful heir of the Constantinopolitan seat led to the devaluation of the imperial idea in Byzantium. We had changes in the Occident as well. Through the practical recognition of the two Catholic empires and the efforts made to legitimate their doctrinal existence we remark the relativity of the imperial idea. These happenings gave a sign to the European monarchies to force their emancipation from the supremacy of the Empire and papacy, the two universal powers of the middle Ages.

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Pictures of Serfs in Medieval Documents from Banat (14th and 15th Centuries)

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Abstract. The many facets of medieval society in Transylvania and Banat induce the need to investigate all sections of society in order to cover the evolving paradigms of each social segment through everything that documentary information sources or books bring to light. While the elitist world is much easier to recompose due to its ubiquity in written testimonies, it is more difficult to observe and analyze the modest world of the *terrae filii*, of those struggling to work the land – a determinant 'bedrock' in the process of establishing socioeconomic and politico-administrative relations. Chronic lack of documents relative to key aspects of serfs' life can be compensated only if we try to make use of analogies and references to information in documents that could help in our attempt to recompose an entire social segment that proved to be indispensable for the evolution of a society based on a strong hierarchy, bringing into sight obvious social and juridical inequality. We have the intention to draw – based solely on documentary sources (the only ones that survived the test of time) – some constituent elements of the image of the serf in medieval Banat, a foray encumbered by frustrating informative gaps.

However, in the light of limited information in documentary sources, we propose some reflections on ways of identifying the serfs in the clerical texts. They are related to both the formal appearance of serfs in *stilionarums* of the era, and quantitative estimates of ethnic and anthroponomical considerations.

Far from being an exhaustive research, the present study aims to highlight the possible research directions on this lower class of society in medieval Banat.

Keywords: Banat, 14th and 15th centuries, the art of nobility, serfs of feudal relations, anthroponomy

A few general considerations

For a thorough analysis of the medieval Banat we have to call into requisition the relationships that were established between field owners and their vassals – serfs in this case –, an appeal facilitated by the proliferation of documents in the later part of the 14th century due to new social and juridical requirements thrown out by the Angevins' dynasty. However, the incursion that we propose suffers a serious impediment related to inconsistent information on the question of serfs in Banat during the 14th and 15th centuries. In his work on feudal society (Duby 1988, 186), the famous mediaevalist historian, Marc Bloch, said: *Que de leçons ne pourrait-on pas attendre d'une carte de la liberté et de la servitude paysannes!* This exclamation contains the frustration of researcher that experiences parsimony of documents in matter of information about an entire social class that was basic for the evolution of medieval human society

In the Transylvanian area (and we could say, by extension, in Banat also), historian Nicolae Edroiu believes that the history of serfdom in Transylvania has been a controversial issue for long time, because of the admission or denial by historians of the existence of feudal relations (and of feudalism itself) in the Romanian space, even though to better understand the social relations in Transylvanian Middle Ages it is absolutely necessary to demonstrate the different statute of peasants and the deepening of these socioeconomic differences, their vassalage, the functioning of the rural economy in the feudal system, the obligations that serfs had towards landlords (Edroiu 1995, 16; Pop 2011, 142-143). Unfortunately, such an undertaking is difficult because it refers to the most humble of human activities in an area that leaves few traces, an area that historians usually neglect; this is why we have to face both a lack of documents, and their low informative quality. For the 14th and 15th centuries, as in the case of Transylvania, also there it is to be noticed the absence of land records, tax assessments, inventories and accounts about fields in Banat, things that could undoubtedly indicate the mechanism of feudal

relations on royal or nobiliary domains (Feneşan 1977, 225; Hațegan 2003, 68-69).

Based on a consistent number of documents that we accessed, we try to make a summary statistical which does not claim completeness, but set out a few lines of research that can reconstruct some aspects of daily life in rural Banat. We note also that we have analysed the situation of the serfs in the plain counties of Banat, mainly Timiş and Caraş, where serfdom phenomenon can be observed in a better measure from the 14th century.

Interestingly, as a slight difference from these, in the highlands of Banat – which are circumscribed to Banat of Severin – and in Romanian privileged districts serfs' presence is reflected documentary just in the second half of the 15th century (even then, sporadically); volume of documentary evidences had to grow exponentially over the next two centuries.

Thus, starting from consulted documents (about 250), we could make the following classification of issues:

Economical aspects	Social aspects	Legal aspects	Military aspects
34%	50%	12%	4%

A typology of documents related to matters of economics is possible on the basis of the following parameters:

Ownership of animals	Taxes	Personal property, tools	Land inventory	Serfs' estates and	Money	Serfs' activities
41%	15,5%	12,2%	10%	7,8%	7,7%	5,8%

A percentage arrangement of documents on social issues is to be found in the next table:

Relations between nobles and serfs	Te right to resettle	Violence against serfs	Violence committed by/ with the help of	Attitudes of serfs
17,6%	7,6%	48,8 %	21,4 %	4,6%

Serfs' presence in period *stilionarums*

One of the first things a historian notices is how serfs are mentioned in documents of the epoch. As persons deprived of their liberty by law, serfs are mentioned in relation to their masters in absolutely all cases, so that one can find them in formulas like 'serf of the noble ...' or 'serf on the estate...'followed by its possessor, be it a king, a noble, an ecclesiastical institution or an official of one county or kingdom. This ubiquitous possession, this dependency of the serfs to a master or another reveals their inferior unprivileged legal status, encumbered by specific obligations.

The nature of these obligations and their amount remain controversial issues, since, as in the case of Transylvania, there it is to be noticed the absence of land records, tax assessments, inventories and accounts about fields in Banat also, things that could undoubtedly indicate the mechanism of feudal relations on royal or nobiliary domains. There are few documents that refer to the serfs on the royal domains in the two counties of Banat, principalities probably included in the perimeter of the royal castles in the area. In our opinion, this reality is related to Angevins kings, whose generosity is well known in the early decades; we consider especially first king's generosity towards those military employed, trustee, vice-trustee, castellans and vice-castellans in Banat (Holban 1962, 75; Andea 1996, 66). We also think that this is the context in which many of the areas were established in counties of Banat, founded on royal donation.

It is to be noted that when we refer to the serfs on the fields belonging to royalty we have to confuse them not with category of serfs within the walls (*iobagiones castri*), whose duties were primarily of military nature (Popa 1988, 198; Drăgan 2000, 267; Pecican 2001, 77-78; Rusu 2005, 423-424; Diaconescu 2013, 44-50). Our attention was directed only to the serfs – tillers of the soil – who were agricultural workforce for field labour carried out on those dominions which still remained royal property.

However, the information is incidental, and is related either by royal estate donation altogether with dependent serfs, donations made in the benefit of the noble families (Ortvay 1896, 85)

([1]), or is it related to changing boundaries of some royal property and possessions of the nobles (Ortvay 1896, 128) ([2]). There are also cases when documents relate to the implications of the serfs' rights to leave royal estates, or to a strengthening of these rights provided that the serfs paid their taxes (Hurmuzaki I/2, 1890, 441)([3]), or, by contrary, some documents show how these rights were violated by attacking and looting the serf during his lawful relocation to another domain (Ortvay 1896, 579) ([4]). The documents records also some economic problems; in 1372, King Louis I prohibited serf's right in *Themeskuz* to grind his grains in mills that are not situated on royal domains (*DRH*, C, XIV, 14, 2002, 112). An interesting formula (that appears very rarely) in a document from 1437 refers to Mihail and Danko, *jobagionum imperialium* of *Chiglobanya* (Ciclova), and reflects Sigismund of Luxembourg's dual (imperial and royal) authority (Pesty 1882, 364).

The number of documents that mention the serfs of the royal or local officials is slightly lower, although information in the documents does not clarify their status, either as feudatory to a dignitary, that came with investiture with his *honour* (thus, somehow royal serfs), or as serfs on private possessions of the same officials in counties of Banat. When a document of 1368 mentions Nicholas Lackfi from Sudgea, a serf of Prince of Transylvania, it is certainly about the family dominions, barons in Lack's/Hermann's family, knowing that they held important properties in the Arad County (*DRH*, C, XIV, 13, 1994, 480; Boldea 2013, 243). Other times, we find a number of references to the serfs of trustees in Timiş and Caraş (Ortvay 1896, 438) ([5]), of bans in Severin (Prodan 1967, 64) ([6]), of the chatelaine in Cuieşti, Caraş and Orşova, portrayed in various situations (Pesty 1882, 155; Hurmuzaki I/2, 1890, 441; Pesty 1878, 66) ([7]).

A rather small number of documents mention the serfs on the properties of ecclesiastical institutions in counties from Banat, namely those of Capitols of Cenad and Arad (Ortvay 1896, 614; Ortvay 1896, 616) ([8]), as well as those of greatest monastic domains in that area, the monasteries Bizere and St. Gerard from Cenad (DL 29800; *DRH*, C, XIV, 12, 1985, 156).

The others, most of the documents give information on the serfs from the nobiliary domains in Banat counties. Serfs are usually mentioned in cases of dispute between different feudal lords, when servants and members of

([1]) On October 14, 1358 the King made a speech in front of the magistrates, assembly of guests and serfs in *Chuturtukhel*, a settlement in Timiş County, to announce that he donated this royal land to the nobiliary family of Himfi, and he ordered them to obey their new masters.

([2]) A document uncertainly dated 1361-1373 refers to a changing of boundaries of royal estate in *Altalkereke* and that of nobiliary family of *Veyteh*, situated in Timiş county, where assisted both the nobles in *Veyteh* and the assembly of serfs in *Altalkereke* (*universis Jobagionibus nostris de iam dicta Altalkereke*).

([3]) In 1405, for instance, trustee of Timiş and Caraş – Filippo Scolari – asked castellans in Caraş to no longer file complaints on serfs who moved from royal lands on those of the family Himfi since they had paid their taxation (*terragium*).

([4]) A document of 1423 mentions that Stephen *Chech*, serf on the royal estate of *Hollos* in Timiş county, was attacked and robbed by two noble when he tried to migrate legally on the estate of another noble; they stole from him 600 grains salt and 73 buckets of grain.

([5]) In an interesting intervention, trustee of Timiş asks magister Stephen of *Egerzeg* to revoke murder charges against Ladislaus of *Buren*, serf of the trustee in Timiş, Filippo Scolari.

([6]) A piece of information reveals an aspect less surprised by chancellery documents, although the issue is a fundamental one; we refer to payment in goods[6] owned by serfs as result of work on fields of landlords (it is about agricultural products, wine, farm animals, n. tr.), which are insufficiently reflected in the documentation of 14th and 15th centuries. Thus, taking into account a petition of ban of Severin, Nicholas Perényi, king cuts tax to 20 barrels of wine (*tunnelas vini)* for his serfs working their vineyards on *Pataaki* hill.

([7]) On 16 March 1381, the chatelaine of Cuieşti and his serfs made a run-up to Remetea possession of Himfi family and robbed it. In 1405, king prohibits chatelaines in Caraş the right to file complaints against serfs who moved on the lands of Ştefan of Remetea since they had paid their resettlement tax. In May 1453, the chatelaine of Orşova confesses in a letter addressed to some magistrates that he urged serfs to quickly bring them gifts they deserved.

([8]) A very interesting act issued by the Capitol of Cenad in 1427 grants the inhabitants and the serfs in Cenad the right to bequeath their properties (movable and immovable things) to all their descendants. A document dated 15 of June 1428 evokes some less Orthodox interactions between dignitaries from Capitol of Arad and the prelate of Bizere Monastery, rather strained relations, since the abbot's men (servants and serfs) did not hesitate to enter by force on certain possessions of the Capitol, where they sowed millet and looted property from those serfs in the Capitol.

their families appear either as active or passive factor. Thus, a plastic image of neighbourhood relations in the region is created, a unique context that better explains the existence of serfs of the time (Prodan 1967, 108-109; Pop 1985, 103). According to specific legislation adopted in the time of kings Louis I and Sigismund of Luxemburg, anyone but the own lord or governor could catch, pledge or judge a serf, and if the accuser found himself aggrieved by their judgement, the former judges could be convened in front of the king or at his usual court (Prodan 1967, 108-109; Pop 1985, 103).

After seigniorial jurisdiction came the judgment of the county as court of appeal for those dissatisfied with feudal court in cases against feudal himself or against his serfs. Serfs had no right to complain of their masters; in case that a master brought injuries a serf of another lord, this last one could be affected in his interest and bring a charge against this lord. (Pall 2003, 362).

The documentation available to us is eloquent – all these disputations were tried in the presence of trustee, vice-trustee and nobiliary magistrates of administrative counties in Caraş, Timiş, Arad and Torontal, some of them at the explicit request of the king. In all cases, those who have turned to the judgment were masters of serfs, despite the fact that those directly harmed by the various spoilers, aggression or violence were their serfs, people without legal identity. Clearly, under the law, all complaints brought before court ended with the finding that the real damage was the one they brought to the lord, and not to serfs. Ensuring the right of the master to judge its serfs, it is clear that the texts exempt currently major crimes involving capital punishment, which could affect public safety, and thus these remained within the competence of other (public) law courts. But there are some cases when feudal lord gained extended privilege to judge serious crimes – the so-called *ius gladii* – honorarily granted by the king in special situations as favour. It was, for example, the case of the Himfi of Remetea-Ersig family, in 1369 (Lendvay 1896, 34).

Numerical presence of serfs on nobiliary domains

It is difficult to make estimates about the number of serfs on the fields of nobility in Banat for these two centuries. In the absence of tax assessments and land records, chancery documents are the only elements that we can substantiate views. However, they are unpredictable and incidentally; thus, they do not offer too much information about the population. Acts of division of property among heirs are the most conclusive documentation, and also those related to sharing of assets between family's branches, documents for awarding the heirs patrimonial quarter or regulations establishing or changing boundaries of estates. In such cases, the rigour required for equitable sharing of goods or for correct drawing of land borders resulted in identification in acts of the number of lots (see lat. *sessio*), and their spatial positioning.

Interestingly, in scripts from 14th century we find only numeric entry of lots or houses of the serfs; just in the second half of the next century one can notice first time the names of the serfs altogether with the lots they were living on.

Some documents of this kind shed some light on the numbers of the workmen on the feudal estates. One of the best examples is provided by the case of Himfi of Remetea-Ersig family and dates back to 1389, when a partition of the family property in Caraş county was made between descendants of the three branches of that family; the inheritors were offspring of the well-known brothers Benedict, Petru [Peter] and Nicolae [Nicholas] Himfi (Pesty 1882, 185). We considered those twenty four villages located around Ersig – an important part of the family domain of Banat – where I counted about 300 serfs (damaged parts of the document could have influenced a changing of this number), thus the average per village is 15 serfs. It is an impressive number, relative to other domains inhabited by serfs, and this is explained by the fact that Himfi aristocratic family was undoubtedly one of the most prosperous and powerful family in the counties of Timiş and Caraş in the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the next one. Moreover, in a previous paper dated 1378, reference was made to construction of a stone church in Remetea, for which they used 108 serfs, surely from the Himfi family's domain (Pesty 1882, 136).

The number of serfs is surely lower on the other domains; when they made a partition of villages in the Voiteni domain (Timiş county) in 1415, one could count twenty plots of land or households of the serfs (Ortvay 1896, 496). Four estates in the county of Arad, divided between two aristocratic families in 1421, comprised ten farms of the serfs (Ortvay 1896, 570), and the next year a widow from the nobiliary family were given as legal quarter 33 households of the serfs in villages from Belinţ-Buziaş area in the county of Timiş (Pesty 1882, 456).

We reiterate the idea that all these numbers are strictly based on information in scripts from the old Banat, and that this analysis is only an intermediate stage of our study on this subject.

Observations of anthroponymy

Another issue of interest for us was anthroponomy, namely the way the serfs' names are mentioned in documents of their times. A first observation concerned the little difference between how serfs are mentioned in documents of 14th and of 15th centuries. One can easy say that during the 14th century serfs' presence is much less personalized, they are mentioned rather as individuals with a generic name ('the serf' or 'the serfs') and not as people with nominally certified identity.

This is related perhaps to specific of the chancellery acts, but there is obviously a lack of interest for the names of people in underprivileged social categories. Thus, of a total of approximately 70 documents from 14th century referring to this social class, only 13% mention the names of some serfs, in fact, their forename, which is sometimes accompanied by a nickname (the *sobriquet*), as additional way to identify the individual within a community ([9]).

Recent research demonstrates the reality that, reported to the Occident, in Transylvania a family name is less present together with a first name. Research on the 14th-century Transylvania found that only a percentage of 0,64% of individuals can be identified binominally (Turcuş *et al*. 2011, 169). If we consider the whole society, how many of these individuals were serfs? – Certainly, the percentage is insignificant.

For this situation researchers have offered several explanations: first, most of the times, the low population density and distances between towns made only possible to identify individuals starting from a unique name, and this the more so as the quartering of the serfs on the feudal domains – through a restriction and stipulation on their right to relocate – diminished the need for additional identification of them. Another pertinent and plausible explanation is that no tax practices or registration of taxes levied on individuals by local and central authorities did encourage denomination of the individuals in this period (Turcuş *et al.*, 2011, 167). For the next century, the percentage of serfs nominally identified increased significantly, to approx. 20-25% after our estimate. If in the first half of this period still prevails the identification of a serf only with his *nomen unicum*, one can observe that after 1460 the documents use more and more the complete names for identifying a serf.

This was caused perhaps by general evolution of anthroponomy within human communities throughout the Middle Ages, a phenomenon found especially at the elite level, where the simple names gradually turned into family names during the 14th-16th centuries. For example, Romanian aristocratic family Mâtnic from Ohaba-Mâtnic, mentioned under this form in the 14th and 15th centuries, can be found under Mâtniceanu name in the documents of 16th and 17th centuries (Boldea 2011, 235-269); also, the family of the trustee of Caraş in the 14th century, Pousa de Szer, is found in the next century as Szeri Posafi (Boldea 2013, 233-250).

This is a fact that can be observed as clerical acts become more and more complex, and a person belonging to a particular family will be as important as individual distinguishing different family members using first names. In fact, the occurrence of an additional appellation was determined by necessity to identify unequivocally and immediately a particular individual, due to need of registration from legal perspective (especially in what regards bureaucratic chancellery activities) in a period when tax system becomes more articulate.

Serfdom and ethnicity

In our opinion, ethnicity of these serfs in Banat county open a real debate. In this context, we will only advance some opinions based solely on what documents allowed us to see. First, mainly Romanian-Hungarian-Slavic interference among population had effects on the toponymy and some different linguistic forms. In the 14th century, the Angevins come to the throne of Hungary; they had a well-defined concept of ethno-religious cleavage, but this program worked only at the top of the social pyramid and stopped after this dynasty.

One said that any comprehensive discussion with the meaning of determining ethnic origins of anthroponyms in Transylvania (by extension also in the Banat) is misleading and unproductive when there are no explanations or evidence in this direction.

Based on the anthroponymyc analysis and statistical-geographical comparison, thorough research on the subject appreciated that

([9]) These *sobriquets* usually derived from certain physical (age, height, physical defects, hair color), moral, ethnic or professional types.

onomastic dominant cultural model in Transylvania was of oriental origin, which does not involve any ethnic dominant, but involves a cultural-anthroponymyc dominant which may facilitate certain reflections on ethnic issues. A quantitative statistical on Transylvanian onomastics shows a clear hierarchy of the most commonly used names during 11th-14th centuries: Ioan [John], Nicolae [Nicholas], Petru [Peter], Mihail [Michael], Ladislau [Ladislas]; this does not necessarily mean a certain ethnic assignation, but is the first image of an onomastic culture that has established over time (Turcuş *et al*. 2011, 172-173). For example, the Slavic name Bogdan was adopted and often used among Romanians since the medieval period. How could we certainly find the ethnic origin of numerous serfs mentioned in documents under this forename? Not to mention the names inspired by the onomastics inspired by Old or New Testaments. Of course, there are enough cases where ethnic specific of onomastics is quite suggestive, but, in our opinion, great caution is needed in the approach of some definite opinions on this subject, taking into account that even stereotyped names often were wrong transcribed in local or central chancelleries.

Uncertainty comes moreover with appellatives of strict family circumscription or presenting a strong customization. Of course, there are other considerations to be taken into account, on which one may outline a specific spatial arrangement of ethnic communities, if one has the certainty that they had a compact homogenous nature; we do not believe that there it was the case. But, no doubt we have today the opportunity to appreciate, at least in general, territorial and geographical disposure of some ethnic structures inside plain counties of the Banat, so that, by analogy, we assign an approximate affiliation of some serfs to an ethnic group or another (Hațegan 2003, 69). But his happens rather at a general level, because it is even more difficult to speak about individual onomastics.

With the second half of the 15th century, in chancery documents the formula *name and forename* is generalized even in the case of the serfs, and it brings more information on someone's ethnic belonging. We offer two examples that seem suggestive in this regard: there are two documents from the same period, one in 1478 and another in 1482. The act of 1478 relating to a dispute in what concerned the occupation by force of the *Jenew* estate in Cenad county lists some serfs to whom their master, Ioan Literatul of *Bekenfalwa* would have fraudulently given that land. They are: Albert *Zew*, Ștefan [Stephen] Kun, Laurențiu [Lawrence] Kun, Alexium Katona, Georgium Katona, Ștefan [Stephen] *Sos*, Ambrozie [Ambrose] *Zep*, Balsiu *Magnum*, Clemente *Chwtha*, Ioan [John] Varga, and Matia [Matthias] *Magnum*. We do not think there is any doubt about the onomastics of this subjects, reality coupled with the fact that we are dealing with an estate inside the county of Cenad, in the far western part of the medieval Banat, an area dominated by ecclesiastical structure of Capitol in Cenad, where Hungarian Catholic communities were more numerous (Pesty 1882, 445).

A completely different situation is reflected in the other document – a document that shows how noblemen Beşan of Belinț compensate the widow of a shareholder, who receive temporary 33 households of serfs, instead of the becoming quarter of property; these households are nominally indicated: Nicolae *Vysi*, Nicolae *Negwl* (Neagu), Petru Bartha, Gheorghe *Maro* (Marcu), Mihail *Olah* (*the Romanian*), Ban *Mylas* (Miloş), Nicolae *Zazthuph*, Francisc *Kukyth* (Cuchici), Stanciul Biro, Ștefan Chiriac, Grigore *Ghew*, *Ywcho* (Ivaşcu) *Szwmarin*, Ioan Şişman, *Myza*, Gerla, Mihail Stoia, *Mytho Ilya* (Mitu Ilie), *Saya*, Toma *Bathya*, Grigore *Jakus*, Ciucă Duma, Radu, Gheorghe Marcu, Paul Kechkes, Ioan Stana (Pesty 1882, 456). In good measure, most of these serfs are Romanian and perhaps also Serbs. The situation is different here because we talk about possession in southeastern part of Timiş county, where this intersects with Banat of Severin, near Lugoj and Recaş. This area mentioned as Bel district in the documents of the late 14th century belonged to the Romanian family Beşan de Belinț (successors of the trustee *Nexe* – Neacşu). It was an area with a cohesive Romanian community that has generated the entire social 'fabric' of the time.

We can not generalize our conclusions simply because, in most cases, the documents are not so revealing. A more detailed perspective on onomastics in the medieval Banat would be required to complete the social picture of that time.

Conclusions

A few general considerations on this major problem so deprived of primary sources merely showed the limits and challenges of a future research. The image of the serf, as pictured in medieval documentation, is difficult to reconstruct. Lack of uniformity and

consistency of sources we have makes it even harder to observe in detail many aspects of the serfs' life. The way they mentioned serfs in chancery documents underlines their minor position, devoid of legal substance in the medieval society, in opposition to the major economic impact of his existence. Assessments related to quantity, anthroponomy and ethnicity are also hard to find and read off.

However, we believe that a wider documentation and the analogies with other patterns of medieval society – that are much better documented – could help us outline more accurately the image of a social segment which played a fundamental role in medieval world. Some problems that beneficiate of much more information are those concerning relations established between various families of noblemen, relations disrupted by numerous disputes on neighbours' estates, which occasioned a series of actions in instance; sometimes, they brought into light the identity of the serfs, an identity that in many other issues is difficult to speak about.

We are thus witnessing a long series of violent acts, characterised by the noblemen' desire to gain profits of material nature (land, money, manpower); in this context, the serfs appear both as active or passive elements, directly affected by looting, devastation, kidnappings, verbal or physical assault or even homicide to whom they are victims. In the eyes of the law, major damage is of the feudal lord; otherwise, the serfs appear as victims of a system that constantly protected by specifically formulated laws the feudal property and the rights of the noble landholder, and thus disregarding the force behind development of the state and economic progress in those times. Where serfs were attacked on their lands, out in the fields or in the woods, or when they walked on public roadways toward markets, when their goods was stolen by targeted attacks, they could find justice only if their masters called the aggressors in front of justice and, if the aggressors were find guilty, these serfs were able to recover from their injury. We suppose that this disturbing atmosphere is not to be extended, as pervasive reality, in the activities on the nobiliary domains; natural course of housework, systematic working of earth, and everyday life on the feudal domains had their normality and regularity, even if routine was sometimes stricken by some annoying events proving social decay; however, they are unfortunately the only ones we can use for historical reconstruction on this issues, since they survived the test of time due to documents that mention them.

For a broaden overview of an entire social class, it is imperative to do further research about serfs of medieval and pre-modern county of Banat.

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Pesty 1882	Pesty, Frigyes, *Krassó vármegye története*, III Budapest (1882).

Truth in Fiction versus Fiction in Truth. Historical Novel and Romanian Folk Creation on the Tragedy of the Brancoveanu Family

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Abstract. For a century and a half, the language and style of the Romanian historical novels remained broadly the same. The manner in which this type of text was written in the 19th century turned into a sort of stylistic matrix, especially for the historical novel of the communist period (see Rodica Ojog-Brașoveanu, Dumitru Almas etc). Brancoveanu became a novel character because the apocalypse of his family reminded of old Bible stories and scenes of Elizabethan theatre. For Romanian and European people, Constantine Brancoveanu's death was an example of dignity, of reconciliation with God and the world, a case of resistance to extreme oppression. The tragedy of the family of Brancoveanu demonstrated the draconian Turkish despotism, and also the exemplarity of the Prince Constantine Brancoveanu, the modernity of his political and cultural aspirations. The first modern Romanian literary reference to the Brancoveanu family is a historical drama, a literary work with memorial function (see Iorga Nicolae, *Constantine Brancoveanu*, 1914). The portrait of Prince Constantine Brancoveanu seems to be the same in all these stories, while the authors focused on building an idealized moral portrait that they reduced to some positive aspects: piety, dignity, ability to forgive, devotion to his family and country. Simplification and abstraction derive from the gaps in the narrative and iconographic information (that the Byzantine canon of church painting 'imposed'), and also from the mechanism of heroizing this character. Most of the historical novels that we analysed prefer to portray and inquire only those episodes from the end of the Middle Ages, which feeds the protochronist vision, asserting that Modernity had a chance to bloom since the reign of Matei Basarab, Șerban Cantacuzino, the Cantemirs and Constantine Brancoveanu. But after Brancoveanu's terrible death, his image underwent (and still undergoes) profound metamorphosis. Since the 18th century until today, Brancoveanu has been perceived especially as a manifestation of *homo religiosus*. As we know, during the post-communist period, historical novel – with his few appearances and postmodern stylistic approach, mainly with interest in decrypting the recent past – abandoned celebrated personalities related to identity projects. Thus, Constantine Brancoveanu is instrumentalized as an emblematic character by the Orthodox Church and partially came into notice of historic research as the creator of a style during his era. On the other side, Constantine Brancoveanu has impressed the popular sensitivity due to his terrible death, which humanised the ruler and brought him closer to the archetypal images of popular *epos*.

Keywords: Prince, public execution, martyr, Sultan, historical novel

Exigencies Satisfied by the Historical Novel

Longeval as a genre, the narration focused on historical issues had been successful on the market of the 19th century ([1]), being determined through its origins, problems and stylistic 'solution' by the Romantic sensitivity and the identity project. Secondly, especially in the period of the communist totalitarianism, the historical novel was used to connect, sometimes protochronistically, the exigencies of the new identity project, related osmotically by the communist ideologies to the project of the egalitarian society. Not only the need for legitimation encouraged the affirmation of this genre, but also the fact that the short story and the historical novel offer, through their syncretic nature, more than the classic escape – the possibility of popularizing the official discourse about the national history.

The theory of the historical novel was established by Louis Maigron through *Le Roman historique à l' époque romantique* (1898), but the 'classic' work appeared later. This is the case of Georg Lukács' work – *Der historische Roman*, Berlin, 1956 (Lukács 1978) ([2]). According to the theory of the Marxist philosopher and politician at the beginning of the industrial era, the historical novel expressed the vision of the bourgeoisie and an individualistic vision on history. As such, the epic heroes were caught less in an effort of self-knowledge, as the characters of the romance, and more in a world of conflict, a world in which they learned to survive and to succeed. Beyond the appreciations determined ideologically, the historical novel remained inevitably tributary to the relationship between the author and its historical period; the present deforms the past from the perspective of certain social and political necessities. According to Groot (Groot 2006, 391-413; Groot 2008; Groot 2009; Groot 2011 in Sutherland et Gibbons (eds.)) (and this is also our opinion), the modern historical novel is dominated by the request come from the folk culture (Krulic 2007), as the historical novel satisfies the need of romantic escape, but also of resolving ethically and post-temporally/postfactum some consumed tragical events.

Georg Lukács established several criteria that a narration with claims of short story or historical novel has to fulfil. The interference between the historical (romanced) past and the socio-identity horizon of expectation of the present is realized within a historical novel. We may read other types of texts within the historical novel, even documents in order to build the verisimilitude of the artistic demarche, the intertextual relation between some events that are described in the narration. The reader of a historical novel is transposed in a pre-existing world to the textual content; it 'lives' mediated, while the 'substance' of the texts testifies/certifies the existence of some historical realities. That is why, in order to create the impression of reality, the author must research chronicles and official documents, works with historiographical character, syntheses on the material and spiritual culture of the time that constitute the background of the presented actions. Thus, a novel is considered «historical» only if it has the following features: the reader is introduced in a known and interesting era, with events known from textbooks and the official and/or folk discourse about history. Some of the characters of the historical narration known for the significant role they had had in the history of a macro-community (see cardinal Mazarin in *The Three Musketeers* by Alexander Dumas, Ştefan cel Mare in Sadoveanu's trilogy *The Jder Brothers* and also Constantine Brancoveanu in many fictional works). But the main characters are fictional heroes that may open us the way to enter several backgrounds of the described era. The fictional characters may have access to real or imaginary events, they may provoke events in order to make the narration colourful and to create the immediate effect of adventure for the reader.

The language in the dialogues and monologues of the characters, their sensitivities and attitudes are presented in a sort of compromise; they have to reflect the historicity, but, firstly, they have to be perceived by the actual reader, to stir his constant interest and empathy. The most popular historical novels are those that narrate historical events, which took place several hundreds years earlier, facts that may be verified through historical sources. The language of the characters and of the narrator, which seems contemporary with the era in

([1]) Recent theories consider that the initiator of this genre wasn't Walter Scott, but Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, countess de La Fayette. It is also true that the most well-known works were written by Walter Scott (*Waverley*, 1814, a novel considered traditionally the first literary narration with a historical subject), Eugène Sue (*Les Mystères de Paris*, 1843), Alexandre Dumas the father and Paul Feval the father.

([2]) We used the Romanian translation in two volumes.

which we are introduced, is however influenced by the historical sources, is archaised. The author of the writing uses old words that are functional in the fundamental vocabulary of the language, the terms are proper for the institutions of the described times (some novels have annexes and glossaries) and the explanation from the historiographical discourse is a simplified and subjective one. The hero gains personality and manifests options, being 'humanised'; he remains in the pantheon of the national mythology, but he is enriched as a character and perceives a huge amount of – sometimes contradictory – feelings.

The historical fictions facilitate the (indirect) knowledge, being a form that mediates, an alternative way toward the knowledge of the facts and events. It is no wonder that children before manifesting a scientific interest for history read literary narrations with historical subjects. The ethic and pedagogical function of them satisfies the need for strong models and axiologies, the need for mystery ([3]) and development of empathy.

Some of the theoreticians of the mentioned literary genre prefer the concept of meta-fiction when they analyze the narrations built around some real events and historical personalities, narrations built on solid historical research. An authentic historical reconstruction requires: rendering the historical peculiarites of the environment, of the public and private background, of the mores and collective mentalities specific to the times, presenting more perspectives on the same events and characters (see the fictions that regard the same era, the same character; see the Romanian literary works about Decebal, Ştefan cel Mare, Constantine Brancoveanu). As a rule, the used sources for reconstructions are historical sources, especially narrative ones (chronicles, memoirs, etc.). If the historical information isn't enough, the author will appeal to the discourse of historiography (especially the identity discourse); thus, the subjectivity specific to discovery, reinvention of ethno-cultural identity intervenes. But often beyond the Romanian characters, the historical context becomes a mythological background. Generally speaking, a character is meant to structure the subtext of the narration, conferring coherence, continuity (see the way in which the logothete Radu Andronic manifests in the novels written by Rodica Ojog-Braşoveanu regarding the Brancovenesc era, but also the existence of the ruler as an *axis* around which other events are built; the two characters form a classic couple: the leader and the loyal servant ([4])). The meta-fiction is tragical by default. The tragedy of the individual destiny is determined by the history as a collective destiny. As a rule, the hero of the novel with an antique or medieval background corresponds to the archetypal and soteriological canon. This is the modern novel that prevailed the Romanian writing. Another added ingredient was the communist ideologization. While the contemporary Romanian novel isn't seduced by the historical reconstructions, the European postmodernism searches for mythologies in

([3]) The well-known historical novels appreciated by the literary criticism are: François-René de Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs, ou le Triomphe de la religion chrétienne*, 1809; Edward George Earle Bulwer-Lytton, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, 1834 ; Constache Negruzzi, *Alexandru Lăpuşneanul*, 1840; Théophile Gautier, *Le Roman de la momie et autres récits antiques*, 1858; Gustave Flaubert, *Salammbô*, 1862; Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Quo vadis?*, 1895; Hermann Hesse, *Siddhartha. Eine indische Dichtung*, 1922; Iuri Tînianov, *Смерть Вазир-Мухмара* [*Ambassador's Death*], 1928; Mihail Sadoveanu, *Creanga de aur* [*Golden Branch*], 1933; *Idem*, *Frații Jderi* [*The Jder Brothers*], 1935-1942; Robert Graves, *I, Claudius*, 1934; Hermann Broch, *Der Tod des Vergil*, 1945; Marguerite Yourcenar, *Mémoires d'Hadrien*, 1951; Gary Jennings, *Aztec*, 1980; Ismail Kadare, *Nëpunësi i pallatit të ëndrrave* [*The Palace of Dreams*], 1981; Gore Vidal, *Création*, 1981; Umberto Eco, *Postille al nome della rosa*, 1983; Milorad Pavić, *Hazarski rečnik* [*Khazar Dictionary*], 1984; Lawrence Norfolk**,** *Lemprière's Dictionary*, 1991; *Idem*, *In the Shape of a Boar*, 2000; Idem, *John Saturnall's Feast*, 2012; Daniel Kehlmann, *Die Vermessung der Welt* (2005); Hilary Mantel, *Wolf Hall*, 2009.

([4]) Device used for the first time in the Romanian novel by Sadoveanu in *Nunta Domniței Ruxandra* [*Lady Ruxandra's Wedding*] (see chief magistrate Soroceanu), The Jder Brothers from the novel with the same name. The writings related to logothete Radu Andronic's actions are: *Agentul secret al lui Altîn-Bey* [*Altin-Bey's Secret Agent*] **–** 1976; *Logofătul de taină* [*The Secret Logothete]* – 1978; *Ochii jupâniței* [*Lady's Eyes*] – 1980; *Letopisețul de argint* [*The Silver Chronicle*] – 1981. The cycle of the logothete Andronic was reedited after 1989; see the posthumous editions used by us: *Logofătul de taină* [*The Secret Logothete*], Bucureşti, Editura Nemira, 2008; *Agentul secret al lui Altîn-Bey* [*Altin-Bey's Secret Agent*], Bucureşti, Editura Nemira, 2008; *Ochii jupâniței* [*Lady's Eyes*], Bucureşti, Editura Nemira, 2006; *Letopisețul de argint* [*The Silver Chronicle*], Bucureşti, Editura Nemira, 2004; *Vulturul dincolo de Cornul Lunii* [*The Eagle beyond the Horn of the Moon*], Bucureşti, Editura Nemira, 2004.

rewritten 'unconventional' and intertextual histories ([5]). The parody, the stereotype character, deconstruction, chronological elusion and the perspective of the marginal on history become to be exercised by those loyal to the genre (McHale 2009).

The language and the style of the Romanian historical narrations remained basically the same for one century and a half. The writing manner of the 19th century has transformed into a stylistic matrix, especially for the historical novel of the communist period ([6]). The authors had used archaic and simple words used in the socio-cultural fundamental vocabulary of the language or they archaised some common terms, using the names of the historical institutions of those times (and sometimes a glossary). The used style is generally simple and accessible so that it will seduce the reader, being focused on building the dynamism of the action and the dramatic tension of the conflict episodes, as well as those of interiour fluster.

The Role of the Historical Context and of Prince's Personality in Literaturising Brancoveanu's Tragedy

Brancoveanu became a Romanian character due to the apocalypse of his family, which reminded of old biblical stories and of the Elisabethan theatre. Brancoveanu's tragedy impess even nowadays. Besides, for Romanians and Europeans alike, Constantine Brancoveanu's death was an example of dignity, reconciliation with God and the world, a case of resistance to the extreme opression. Brancoveanu was Wallachia's Prince and he benefited from public notoriety, being considered a great political personality. This is demonstrated by the ample correspondence with the sovereigns of those times (Habsburgs, Peter I of Russia, kings of France and Poland, English, Venetians, Dutch ambassadors from Istanbul, papal curia and Greek scientists). His chancellery benefited of cultivated secretaries as Romano, Del Chiaro, Ferrati etc. 'More than a half (170) of the identified 282 letters sent by Brancoveanu to various addressees have political and diplomatic character' (Cernovodeanu 1989, 21). Brancoveanu was also very rich, inclined towards an eclectic lifestyle. Actually, his Court was a space of political and cultural interferences of both Western and Eastern origins. After Brancoveanu's death, the interest for their story had remained constant in the European public milieu. The execution of this family – an act of Medieval justice of an unprecedented cruelty (it was also a public act of intimidation, an act assisted by representatives of Western states – ambassadors, consuls, envoys present in the capital as residents for audiences) demonstrated the despotic nature of the Ottoman power, as well as the transience of the worldy power (*'O quam cito transit gloria mundi'*). Moreover, Constantine Brancoveanu's dignity facing Sultan's sadism, especially facing the violent death, his confession of faith had transformed him in an axiological model (Pippidi, 1980, 161-186) ([7]).

In Europe of the 17th century the sovereign incarnated the state more than ever and he was considered *axis* of history, present and, at the same time, transcendent, an object of history and a subject of the narrative discourse. His presence was considered to support the order in all structures of reality. In the civilized Europe of the 18th century the political systems were defined from the perspective of the theory of the enlightened despotism and of debating the problem of the political tyranny (Voltaire 1740). The modern political moral supposed new dimensions, the most sensitive problem in governing being the relations between princes and subjects. This relationship was discussed in terms of Prince's responsibility that should have represented his subjects according to their interests. The problem of the good and the evil Prince became a predilection in theoretical debate. According to pedagogical and political philosophy literature, the monarch established his ruling on justice, prudence and generosity – fundamental values in an era in which the good administration of the state seemed to be a supreme purpose. Inside this reality, Machiavellism was considered a calamity due to the effects in morals and political practice. For Westerners, despotism/tyranny was manifested

([5]) See Umberto Eco's novel *Il Cimitero di Praga*, 2010; the Romanian edition *Cimitirul din Praga* [*The Prague Cemetery*], translated by Ștefania Mincu, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2010.

([6]) See *Nuvela istorică românescă în secolul al XIX-lea* [*The Romanian Historical Story of the 19th Century*], anthology, preface and notes by D. Vatamaniuc, București, Editura Albatros, 1972. The following writers are presented: Costache Negruzzi, Gheorghe Asachi, Al. I. Odobescu, I. Pop Florentin, I. A. Lapedatu, N. Gane.

([7]) See details on the European image of the Prince and on his transformation in Romanian fictional character in Andrei Pippidi's book.

in classical forms in the Ottoman Empire, a political system based on arbitrary and nefarious ruling. Anything could have been told about that despotism, as it hadn't had any quality, and his apparent greatness and power was based on the subjects' terror. It was believed that as a result of such ruling, countries would become deserts. Thus, despotism would equal death (Hazard, 1981, 175).

Brancoveanu's tragedy proved the draconian face of the Turkish despotism, as well as Prince Constantine Brancoveanu's exemplarity and the modern character of his political and cultural aspirations. In return, in the world of Romanian countries, the Princes' behaviour was influenced by the Byzantine political image, by the terms of the feudal contract and by the faith in Prince's 'luck' (Codarcea 1992), as it emerges from the Romanian chronicles and the evolution of relations with Ottomans. According to the terms of the feudal contract, the ruled had to show mercy on his subjects, to protect the country and to show justice. The tradition of the chronicles depicted the Romanian Prince as specific for the Medieval vision of the political ruler. Thus, it had to be 'calm, pious, gentle, and modest' (Costin 1944, 35). On his behaviour and 'luck' depended (as in the country of the Grail) the prosperity, security and wealth of the country. Brancoveanu corresponded to this political model ([8]). From a certain point of view, Constantine Brancoveanu as a political personality was a Prince who tried to reconcile the traditional Romanian political perspective and the modern finalities of ruling.

Some of the Western travellers manifested a sort of curiosity for the public executions and for the atrocious death of some of the Romanian Princes. Most of the Westerners are impressed by the 'exotic' nature of the executions; thus, all travelling journals (from the 17th-18th centuries) concerning the extra-European geo-cultural spaces – Levant, Russia, Far East – have substantial chapters regarding the judiciary systems, the repression system and the specificity of the torture techniques. Executions were considered exceptional events, as they materialized for the community the show of the Medieval and pre-modern justice – a ritual with political and punitive valences (Bastien 2002, 31-56), as well as a certain pedagogy of death. On such occasions the attitude of the condemned person and of the crowd facing death was of great interest, including the resignation and the desire of being absolved of sins. Resignation and repentance of the convict persuade the witnesses of the efficiency of the public executions. Thus, the convict asked for forgiveness from those present at the execution (as representatives of the community) and they absolve him and offer him alcohol to save him from the horrors of death. Other considerations concerning these moments are not to be found in travelling journals because the background of the Western and central European justice didn't lack such manifestations of legal and commanded violence. The profound compassion is raised by Romanian Princes' executions – victims of institutionalized violence of the Ottoman system. Such events seemed exemplary from the perspective of ideas regarding the motif of vanity and of apparent glamour and stability of the Romanian Princes' authority. Anton Maria del Chiaro ([9]) and Aubry de la Motraye ([10]) in

([8]) It is less obvious in Radu Popescu's chronicles.

([9]) He is the author of the monograph *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* (1718); we have used the edition Antonia Maria del Chiaro Fiorentino, *Revoluțiile Valahiei* [*Wallachia's Revolutions*], translated by S. Cris-Cristian, introduction by Nicolae Iorga, *Viața Românească*, Iași, ed. 1929. The information about the execution of the Brancoveanu's family was from Romanian or Venetian political milieu. Antonio del Chiaro's testimony is the most detailed referring to the premises and the start of the tragedy. He offers the most rational presentation of the accusations expressed by the Turkish authority concerning the ruler Constantine Brancoveanu: the secret correspondence with Ottoman's foes; espionage on the behalf of Austria, Russia, Poland and Venice; the status of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire offered by Leopold (in 1695); exploiting the country in personal interest; the residence at Târgovişte as a proof of the attempt to save himself through escaping to Transylvania; the desire to raise a new palace; the deposit of money in Venetian and Austrian banks; the so-called consent to Toma Cantacuzino's escape to the Russian side at Stănilești and then to Moscow (1711); the pomp of the political ceremonial that competed with the Ottoman; the fact that he coined 'coins as medals' with bigger value (the writer stated that the ruler wanted to celebrate his 60th birthday and 26th year of ruling at a banquet on the Assumption of Mary, offering the medals to his guests) and the irony of fate would make that that day would be the sinister day of death of the men from the Brancoveanu family. Turkish planned the dethronement, arrest and exile in an eventful period for Wallachia: preparation for Passover (there was the Holy Week) that meant the family reunion and thus the Brancoveanu family reunion. The safety of the ruler who obtained the throne for his lifetime, the faith that he is loved by God (and his distrust in news coming from

their Western diplomatic reports describe the scene of the execution of Constantine Brancoveanu and his family. It is worth mentioning that these scenes are not present in most of the contemporary narrations, as they generally don't offer details about murders and bloody executions, resuming the individual or collective death in several words. Even Pseudo-Muste (Kogalniceanu 1874, 54-55) offers merely a description of the beginning of Brancoveanu's ordeal, presenting a succession of violent scenes from which some aspects are obvious: ruler's confusion, his family's panic, the cowardice of the Court and of the boyars, the disturbance of the citizens of Bucharest at Passover: 'Ruler Constantine Brancoveanu, not knowing anything of this to protect himself, was on Wednesday before the Passover at the royal court where a royal Ottoman officer came. Entering the house immediately, he secured the doors, read the dethronement act and started to beat up the children in the house and to throw them out. And then they say that Constantine shouted at the window: 'Servants! Servants! Where are you? Don't abandon me!' But no one could do anything, because the Turkish shut the gates and secured all the rooms and cellars. All the boyars who found out were horrified [...] The Turkish called the boyars to the Court and read them the act, and all the boyars, understanding the command of the emperor obeyed [...] It was a great pity to see a well-known ruler like he was, old in his reign; laments and cries were heard from his daughters and daughters-in-law, as all of them were gathered together and kept in horror with the sons and sons-in-law. And not waiting, they prepared him hastily for the road [...] and when he was leaving Bucharest all the people were crying and weeping after that ruler as if he were their father, because great bounty had been in their country during those 26 years of his reign; in that country there was plenty of people and food, as it was here during the days of Vasilie the ruler' (*Ibidem*).

The chronicle of Bălăceni hostile and canny regarding the ruler Brancoveanu described however his confession of faith, transforming it into a discourse of being sacrificed for faith, a sign of choosing martyrdom: 'My sons, my sons! Behold, all the wealth and everything we had we lost. Let's not lose our souls! Be still, manly, my dears and don't mind death. Look at Christ, our Saviour, how much he endured for us and what an opprobrious death did he suffer! Believe strongly in this and don't move away from the Orthodox faith for this life or world! Remember Saint Paul who says: neither sword, nor death, nor anything else could separate you from Christ, that these needs and sufferings are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Now, my sweet sons, with our blood let wash our sins!' (Desartovici (ed.) 2007, 279). Facing death and faith, Bălăceni's desire of retaliation seems to be annihilated.

For historians and novelists the most solicited sources regarding Brancoveanu's rack were the reports, accounts and letters of the ambassadors, consuls and envoys who represented Austria, France, Venice, Netherlands, and Poland. The first letters concerning the execution are those of the Venetian ambassador (letters and reports to the doge from July-August-September 1714), of the Dutch consul and French diplomacy (on September, 2nd, the French diplomat Pierre Puchot, count of Alleurs, French ambassador in Istanbul 1711-1716, wrote to minister Louis Phélypeaux, count of Pontchartrain about Brancoveanu's ordeal, about Prince's death and his four sons' death, all decapitated in front of his father. His execution was, in his opinion, a staging that should have satisfied Sultan's desire of retaliation, offering the victims the chance of saving their lives just a few days before the execution if they accepted to become Muslims.

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benevolent people who announced his disgrace), naiveté in his relations with the Ottomans and the Cantacuzino family, the ignoring of the 'ominous signs', as the Prince wasn't superstitious (the illness, delirium and death of Stanca, his eldest daughter), the attempt to marry one of his sons with Antioh Cantemir's daughter – all these elements contributed to putting to sleep his vigilance and transformed him in the perfect victim (see the chapters IX and X, p. 43-47, about these events and about dethronement, first humiliations, naming Ştefan Cantacuzino the ruler, the trip to the capital of the empire). In the chapter XI, Del Chiaro wrote about Brancoveanu's decapitation, mentioning the ruler's words: 'My sons, be brave, we've lost everything we had in this world, at least let's save our souls and wash our sins with our blood' (p. 47). Del Chiaro was a source for the Romanian chronicles and he probably influenced Dimitrie Cantemir (see Cantemir 1996, 99).

([10]) *Voyages du Sr A. de La Motraye en Europe, Asie et Afrique: ou l'on trouve une grande variété de recherches géographiques, historiques et politiques sur l'Italie, la Grèce, la Turquie, la Tartarie, Crimée et Nogaye la Circassie, la Suède et la Laponie, etc., avec des remarques instructives sur les moeurs, coutumes*, Tome seconde, à la Haye, chez T. Johnson &J. Van Duren, M.DCC.XXVII., Cp. IX, pp. 212-213.

The offer was refused and the consequence was, in the opinion of the diplomat, that barbaric execution) (Mihordea 1943, 156). In those two documents there are no details about this event, about the despair of the Prince's youngest son or about Constantine Brancoveanu's final discourse. More and even more impressive details are offered by the secretary of the envoy Stanislaw Chometowski, ruler of Mazoria, the Jesuit Francisc Gosciecki and, as we've already mentioned, the French traveler Aubry de la Motraye (1674-1743); these and the Italian representatives (Alvise Mocenigo and especially Andrea Memmo) introduced the description of the tragedy, the episode of Mateiuț's despair, the youngest son of the Prince, as well as the ruler's drastic intervention so that his son would accept his fate (Popescu 2012, 132-166).

The first Romanian literary work that concerns the Brancoveanu family is a historical drama, a play with a memorial function. It insists on the events, which explain the fact that ruler Constantine Brancoveanu was a political leader with a modern political vision. It was determined in all his actions by the conscience of the political responsibility toward the country, by the principle of the 'reason of state'. Such a determination made him prudent in exterior affairs and made him to consider unrealistic the Byzantine project, which seduced the political and cultural Romanian and Greek milieu from the times of Mihai Viteazu to Șerban Cantacuzino. Furthermore, the brief apparition of a prophetic monk is introduced to explain this political attitude. In the name of Christendom, the monk accused Brancoveanu of spiritual ignorance and obedience to the Sultan, who was seen as the manifestation of absolute evil; although he 'received the holy myrrh/On his forehead to be the ruler of the world/And to emancipate all these Christians/From the atrocious ardour of the lawless ones' (Iorga 1914, 15), the Prince marginalised the Pan-Orthodox project. The play is built on a dramatic crescendo from the moment when Chancellor (*spătar*) Toma Cantacuzino deserted. After his running, Brancoveanu feels that he may rely only on his mind and 'the help from above' (Iorga 1914, 53). The 4th act of the play starts with a verbal confrontation between Radu Brancoveanu who claims his right to the throne, a right derived from the 'earthly origin' (Iorga 1914, 57) ([11]) and Ștefan Cantacuzino who supports that Cantacuzino family is entitled through its imperial origin and the Christian project of Byzantine inspiration to sit on the throne of Wallachia. The fight between the two degenerates and Ștefan Canatacuzino bursts into violence (*Ibidem*). The dispute between the two drives apart their fathers – Constantine Cantacuzino and Constantine Brancoveanu – two old and efficient political partners. If the humanist erudite affirms the attachment to Cantacuzino for the adoptive country, Brancoveanu will reproach the Chancellor Toma Cantacuzino's betrayal (see his participation to the anti-Ottoman campaign in 1711, without ruler's approval). Thus, the edifying confrontation takes place between Radu and Constantine Brancoveanu on hand, and Ștefan and High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino on the other hand. The Cantacuzino family feels affected by the fact that they are considered strangers and they are ignored as bearers of the Byzantine legacy, while the Brancoveanu family feels disregarded due to their 'peasant'/earthly origin. Fathers support their sons. The ruler claims the dynastic right in the name of his native origin (Radu stated that they are Basarab's successors), denounces Greek haughtiness, declares that he wants to emancipate from the High Steward's influence who made the political games in the country during the last decades (*Ibidem*, 64). Although he suspects his relatives of duplicity, Constantine Brancoveanu doesn't believe in their capacity of plotting against him. He underestimates and considers them far from the desire to claim the throne of the country. Besides, Brancoveanu, the founder of Orthodox spirituality, felt under divine protection and even in divine grace (*Ibidem*, 66).

The future family apocalypse was however told in chronicles and in Del Chiaro's narration foretold by 'bad signs' like the detachment of an icon in the altar and its 'shredding'. The last act of the play starts abruptly with a tragic scene: in Forno, the darkest prison in Edicule (Istanbul), Constantine Brancoveanu and Ienachi Vacarescu meditate on the death of the late rulers, on the beauty of the world, a world bathed in the light of the sun: 'But blind are we with our eyes opened in the dark/…In front of us is death: a mute darkness' (*Ibidem*, 70). The diplomatic agent of Wallachia at Istanbul attempted to 'save' Brancoveanu, although he represented theoretically his

([11]) Radu Brancoveanu states in this play of nationalist inspiration that Brancoveanu family was the 'oaks risen in our wood', unlike Canatacuzino family.

successor. Pasha Sahil seemed 'easy to persuade' if the ruler recognized even formally that he 'arrived dethroned in prison', because he 'got lost'. But before Sahil would intermediate Brancoveanu's cause, between pasha Sahil and Brancoveanu began a polemic argument regarding the 'rightful Law'. According to Nicolae Iorga's text, Prince Constantine recited the Creed, refusing to accept the idea that Islam was 'the true faith' (*Ibidem*, 76-77). During that private conversation the same pasha would reveal the Ottoman project that the Romanian countries were to be transformed in Ottoman provinces; and Sahil suggested that in the context of this project if the Prince recognized the absolute authority of the Ottomans and accepted to be the agent of the new order (*Ibidem*, 78), he would gain an exceptional socio-political status. Brancoveanu refused categorically such a dishonouring offer and affirmed that he preferred to choose death than to see 'the crescent replacing the crosses on the churches' (*Ibidem*). That is the moment when the Ottoman representative showed the prisoner his sons prepared for the execution. Seeing his family condemned, as a despondent Job, Brancoveanu lamented: 'My children, my children… My Lord, What have I done wrong!' (*Ibidem*, 37).

The tension rises, but the spectator doesn't see what was going on in front of the prison. The one who mediates the information is pasha Sahil, describing the scene of the public execution: 'Listen how the wave of the enraged crowd fumes/What blood it wants and asks a sacrifice of soulless'. The end of the play is a rhetorical discourse-confession of faith and expression of the sacrifice for the country and Christendom: 'Oh, how dear you are to me, my children/I am like dead [...] Oh, forgive me Christ the God/ Who gave us not more than human power!/ I would do the sacrifice you ask, merciful Turkish!/ But I was the ruler. In country's book I leave a name/ And I don't want to sacrifice the Holy Law/ The reign adorned with such foundation/ Of places of worship and Christian ardour,/ With pious deed from day to day,/ Devoutly dedicated to God the Holy… / There's better one spot of blood to end it,/ Mine and those who would have inherited me! (he stops)/ [...] I swore in life to be my country's/ And I am today hers, although she forsook me:/ I will go for her in eternal abodes! (he makes a sign to the window. Sahil departs. The diplomatic agent reclines his head. The soldiers open the door). I am Constantine the Christian who was once a Romanian ruler./ I have four sons. You all do your duties!'

In this literary work Iorga is influenced by the relation between biography and chronicle. He resumes the events of the last year of Brancoveanu's reign using episodes with explanatory value (see the verbal duel between Radu Brancoveanu and Ștefan Cantacuzino, the tension of political negotiation between the Turkish pasha and the Romanian imprisoned ruler). Drama is the explicit historiographical discourse when talking about Iorga.

Brancoveanus and Cantacuzinos. Secondary Characters, Main Characters

The portrait of the ruler Constantine Brancoveanu resembles in all the historical narrations, being focused on the idealization of the moral portrait, a portrait that is reduced to several positive dimensions: piety, dignity, ability to forgive, dedication for his family and country. The simplification and abstraction are determined by the lack of narrative and historiographical information ('dictated' by the Byzantine canon of church painting) that didn't value physical aspects when it came to the case of rulers. Moreover, in the case of Brancoveanu's moral portrait the novelists ignored the hostile or neutral narrative sources, although they sometimes have some interesting approaches. See the case of a chronicle description: 'Constantine reigned 25 years and a half and his reign ended, as you heard. Constantine Brancoveanu's reign was happy for all the inhabitants of the country and even for other countries, as far as his name was known, but he wasn't praised, as one thing is happiness, and another is praise: that many kings, princes and boyars become happy due to their luck, lust and will so that they would have much wealth, as honour and many possessions and others like these are given by luck that other tyrants and pagans had had, but they didn't praise in some good deeds. Praise is only of good deeds made by someone in his life and after him goodness remains that people praise. In this way Constantine the ruler may bring happiness, as luck gave him all sorts of good things: health, wholesome, a full home, many sons and daughters, much wealth, palaces, villages, vineyards, long reign and others like these, that nothing lacked him that his eyes desired, and all were given by luck and were not earned by him: because what someone earns in this world is his soul [...] and Constantine showed no kindness of soul, and during his life and his reign were no good deeds to praise, but more to profane due to

his many bad deeds. He was very greedy and driven by this greed, destroying every good thing inherited on this land from his fathers [...] so that the poor cursed him and cursed will he be forever' (he is accused of being unfair, of neglecting the political-administrative traditions and of increasing the taxes) (Popescu 1988, 322-323 in Mazilu (ed.)).

Depicting such a Prince, contesting the existence of any virtue, the chronicle transforms him in a beneficiary who lacks any merit of luck in an incompatible existence with the 'good deed', in a counter-model (tyrannical, parvenu, guileful, manipulator), an object of a 'national' curse. And yet, his notoriety, his long reign and the need to satisfy the exigencies of the Ottomans and the need of safety fed his ego and even haughtiness, opulence, wealth gain, which raised envy and eventually disgrace and death. 'Luck' had determined the 'bad fortune' and provoked an unprecedented tragedy in the pre-modern history. An approach for this representation is found partially only in Dumitru Almaş' writings.

Rodica Ojog-Braşoveanu's historical novels have as their central character the logothete Radu Andronic, whose existence as fictional character is linked especially to those events from Constantine Brancoveanu's reign ([12]). In Rodica Ojog-Braşoveanu's narrations, the remarkable manner of Brancoveanu's representation is determined by the historiographical discourse and by the folk about the ruler; in the midst of his small Court, the Prince seems a miraculous character, kind and forgiving, but also bright as the refined and eclectic luxury surrounding him: 'As soon as the morning religious service was over, the sound of the silver spurs hung on the boots was heard on the streets of Bucharest. There were twelve stalwart men dressed in white garments with green girdles, on the ruler's command. A green stone sparkled at the temple of their hats. Brancoveanu's lust for emeralds, inherited from his uncle, the great chancellor Preda, which took hold later of all the heirs, was known by all jewelers from Brasov, Vienna and even Venice. Once, at the end of spring, in a small golden coffin arrived the emerald cut as a comb customary on the small finger (Ojog-Braşoveanu 2008, 11) [...]. Lady Marica felt, without noticing, a cold fear passing through her heart. Brancoveanu's icon, the one from the Sunday Passover of the year 1704, there, at the stairs was not to forget by her and by Bucharest inhabitants (*Ibidem*, 14). [...] Brancoveanu didn't take off his golden garment. The sun entering through the opened window fired the heavy skirts of brocade and the big girdle, a peacock tale only emeralds, rubies and sapphires. He drank his vodka with small sips, caressing the golden cup. His gentle look surrounded the room, lingering upon the faces of the boyars' (*Ibidem*, 16).

We appreciate the author's impressive documentary work. While other authors of historical novel attempted to reconstitute old facts based more on the dynamic of dialogue between the characters, Rodica Ojog-Braşoveanu, famous author of detective novels, succeeded through archaisation of language, usage of existing narrative sources referring especially to ruler's life and his Court, as well as the lifestyle of Bucharest and Balkan world of the 18th-19th centuries, the appeal to the historiographical discourse, retracing scenes from private and daily life that reproduce convincingly the dynamics of the city. The impressionist description of the capital of Wallachia preparing for the holiday radiates such a 'scent of the foretime': 'Suddenly, Bucharest was filled with rumble. A host of trumps and bells swept upon the city. The bells from the slums of Oțetarilor and Scorțarilor, Brezoaia and Calicilor and then from Săpunarilor started to resound. They would ask the Passover to halt sooner in the city, they would thrust the darkness, rushing it not to loiter. That night had its own purposes; it would spread sift cloth over the stalls of the have-nots and over the boyars' abodes, increasing the eagerness. A hasty rain stirred up the smell of the mud on the streets, blending it with the smells of lilac, hyacinth and lilies-of the valley risen on a purpose [...] (*Ibidem*, 5). The air remained mesmerised with the smile of the sun. The locust trees and the apricot trees blossomed and caressed the nostrils; it smelled like spring, like holiday. In the Upper fair spread at the south of the Old Court, sneak thieves, stooges and merchants of sweets would wait for their clientele. A big merry go round and two smaller ones, a vane and a wheel of the world had been set up much to the delight of the townspeople. The man having a tongue as of an oxe was sitting hidden between the cloth walls. Anyone could stare at it paying two copper-coins. The one who knew to swallow flames like Satan was

([12]) See especially in *Agentul secret al lui Altîn-Bey* [*Altin-Bey's Secret Agent*]– 1976; *Logofătul de taină* [*The Secret Logothete*] – 1978; *Ochii jupâniței* [*Lady's Eyes*] – 1980; *Letopisețul de argint* [*The Silver Chronicle*] – 1981. We used the post-communist editions.

passing time stuffing at Leiba's shop, a chubby and smiley Jew, dressed in a purple caftan. He was selling donuts and pies, pastries with almonds. [...] Children were buying gape seed especially staring at the bear with red fallkrauts in the ear, hovering about the place where the man with the ox tongue was sitting, having their heart in their mouth. The music, fiddlers, trumpeters and gypsies with lutes were about to come later' (*Ibidem*, 12).

The manner in which the author imagines for the reader the ruler's comfortable bedchamber and its eclectic luxury with the touch of the Orthodox spirituality is remarkable, revealing a rigorous documentation regarding the culture of the private life of those times: 'Brancoveanu's bedchamber for his day rest was yellow. The walls were covered in honey yellow; on the sofas and on the marble floor there were big velvet lemon pillows with heavy fringes with golden fibres. A big icon of the Saint Emperors Constantine and Elena in emerald border and a butter lamp made of filigree and blue glass of Bohemia, crafted by Iohannes Henning of Brasov, guarded above a silk knitting on the Eastern wall. Near the sofas covered in silver brocade, on the expensive coffee tables made of rosewood, in precious cups were smouldering fragrant herbs and bluish paper from Armenia. [...] Above the big sofa Turkish swords were hanging encrusted with rubies and sapphires, but in the corner between the windows there were lilies in a jade vase, spreading their pollen in the fabric of the red material like embers. Nearby, in a big golden cage two yellow canaries were swinging on a coral merry go round, and in a dark blockout the emailed icon of the Saint Hierarch Nicolae was gently sparkling, under which heavy strings of amber and turquoise were hanging. In the middle of the room a tiger fur was resting. On another table, near the beasts head, was a narghile and panegyrics of the priest Maiota the Candiot – covered in silver by Sebastian Hann the artful – proving Brancoveanu's pleasure of lingering in his rest moments on the beast's fur. Brancoveanu, of whose peerless wealth was talking the entire Europe, the one Ottomans called Altin-Beg – the Prince of gold – knew how to live' (*Ibidem*, 32-33).

Such an introduction in Prince's private surroundings is in our opinion artistic and more than convincing from the aesthetic perspective than the dry and correct presentation from the historical point of view offered by another historical novel: 'Brancoveanu climbed the stairs of the house and passing through a long and cool corridor, arrived to his parlour. The stone slabs of red, black and white colour in Venetian fashion were so well polished that they mirrored the legs of the furniture as doubles encrusted there like some bugs are caught forever in amber. It was a working room and parlour. He liked walking in large spaces when he was working. [...] The place resembles somehow with a parlour of a Western cardinal concerning the colour combintion, the skated brown of the wood, the azure blue of the Austrian stained glass, the abated red of the velvet – a coold space with categorical nuances, favourable for clear judgment and benevolent contemplation of the surrounding faces' (Popovici 1986, 332).

Unlike the other writers, Rodica Ojog-Brasoveanu counted on the contrasting effects of the political couple Constantine Brancoveanu and High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino. The latter is defined frequently in the historical cycle of novels, especially in *Ochii Jupâniței* [*Lady's Eyes*] as 'the demon of the mystery aspects of His Majesty Brancoveanu'. We render for relevance some images that build the contrast between the opulent, generous and sincere ruler Brancoveanu and Constantine Cantacuzino – a greyish eminence who dreams about devouring his political creation: 'Constantine Cantacuzino was the only man in Bucharest to know his [Brancoveanu's] wealth. [...] The oldster also knew his craftiness and his extreme generosity when he struggled to make friends even the stones of Istanbul. But what did the High Steward not know?' (Ojog-Braşoveanu 2006, 51). The same couple is described in detail in the novel *Letopisețul de argint* [*The Silver Chronicle*]. Thus, while Cantacuzino was a restless spirit, always lurching like a beast of pray: 'As he used to do, High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino, ruler's uncle and adviser, was sitting in the darkest corner of the room', Brancoveanu was a plain man, with a less passionate personality, a weary man, weighed by responsibilities and manipulated by the High Steward: 'The smile left the slack face of the ruler [...]. His image wasn't that flattering with his big eyes and long nose, weary cheeks and big brown beard, with thin arms on which you could read the map of the dark veins' (*Ibidem*).

The same author in the novel *Agentul secret al lui Altîn-Bey* [*Altin-Bey's Secret Agen*t] focuses on the events till 1703. The interest for the obscure plots is obvious, as the narrative rhythm of the historical novel is adapted to the one of an adventure novel. Here, High Steward

Cantacuzino's portrait is more complex matching his complex personality – a great scholar and unscrupulous political man, harsh and guileful: 'Although old, he was staying straight, his strong arm was laid on the encrusted dagger with rubies and sapphire pearls at his waist. No one had ever seen him without his dagger. The men at the court were whispering that in this way he had conceived his children – with one hand on his wife, and another on the dagger. And they were whispering that he had poisoned his brother Ştefan to bring his nephew Brancoveanu to reign. The cause of that was, as they said, the unfair split of wealth remained after lady Ilinca. But such words might have come from bad mouths' (*Ibidem*, 18-19).

The collective portrait of Cantacuzino family is suggestively presented in the style of folk sapiential literature: '[...] there is an old Romanian story that says that once an axe with no handle started to cut an old forest. All the trees were terrified of death, but an old oak asked if the axe was helped by anyone of them. The trees answered 'No' and then the old oak told them to be at peace, as the axe couldn't do anything alone. But later a tree made himself handle and wretched forest; the first to fall down was the old oak. That's how it happened with ruler Brancoveanu. As long as Turkish didn't get help from one of ours they couldn't cut down but leaves and branches, but when they were helped by Romanians, they could cut down the lordly oak [...]' (Popescu 1934, 65-66).

The Execution of the Brancoveanu family in the Historical Novel. Constantine Brancoveanu – Biblical Job and Christian Martyr

Although in her novels Rodica Ojog-Braşoveanu retraced with unparalleled expressivity the urban background of the Brancovenesc era, the main characters, the interior designs of the boyars in this type of novel during the communist period, the space for Brancoveanu's death was limited (Ojog-Braşoveanu 2008, 314-316). The author insisted on the image of the Prince in the Istanbul prison and on his evaluation regarding his political and spiritual legacy: 'In the dungeon of the Seven Towers, Constantine Brancoveanu, stripped off his sable fur, confessed wealth and reign, was pondering with his eyes focused in void. Doom pounced bitterly over Brancoveanu family that spring. Death of Lady Stanca, Radu Ilieş' widow, pulled after it a strand of bitterness: dethronement, imprisonment of the ruler and his wife Marica, of the daughters and sons, the raid of affluence and the awful tribulations of the Edicule cellars. And he couldn't chase away the thought that pervaded his mind and heart as an aglow spike. High Steward Cantacuzino was a reliable pillow in this wretched curse of events [...]. Constantine touched his wounds and groaned. His heart bleeded more heavily than his wounds. He was in the precious hour betwen regrets and his conscience pierced the thick walls of the prison, searching greedily for future. He always thought and used to say: 'I never considered myself a travelling bird on the throne of Wallachia, saving her from the Turkish, Habsburg and Polish rapacity.' He kept in ballance their lusts, watching over the freedom of the country. Would anything of Brancoveanu's ardour remain over the ages? Brancoveanu's memories brought to light many things: monasteries, schools, publishing houses, many victories of a conscience that knew less of a brave soldier and more of a sharp mind, destined to see beyond the borders of time. An afflicted smile appeared on ruler's face. He accomplished his duty... His duty for the future' (*Ibidem*).

On the other hand, in order to complete the moral finality of his book, the author describes the end of 'cunning' Cantacuzino, an accomplishment of the Brancovenesc curse and a payment of destiny, as shortly after Brancoveanu's death, the traitors – Constantine and his son Ştefan – die of a violent and dishonouring death. The author imagines that the High Steward being in the same prison was disturbed by a guilty conscience due to Brancoveanu's betrayal so cunningly ploted and especially haunted by the Prince's ghost: 'The old man fell down on the ground of the prison, rolling his eyes and thinking of remote events that had happened two years ago. He dared to send to Ottomans the proof of Brancoveanu's unfaithfulness. For secret plots of the same nature against the green flag he was sitting in the same place as his nephew and disciple. He listened carefully. From the square across Galata, where in the summer of 1714 Brancoveanu was beheaded, as well as his sons, was coming a sharp sound of laughter. The long chattering laughters pervaded the cell and crushed the damp walls. The old man covered his ears. It was in vain. The laughter of the former Prince Constantine Brancoveanu filled the dungeon and smashed his body [...] No one would have recognized in that terrified oldster the High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino, that scholar full of wisdom and advice so treasured by the scholars of those times' (*Ibidem*, 317).

One year after the book of Rodica Ojog-Braşoveanu was published, another historical novel appeared – more popular due to author's notoriety and due to its simplified, dynamic and accessible style. The dialogue and the monologue prevail in that novel, while the descriptions are few and sketchy, with no accent on the 'historical colour'.

The historian Dumitru Almaş, known as an author of historical narrations, focused on the stages of Brancoveanu's tragedy in the book *Comoara Brâncovenilor* [*The Treasure of the Brancoveanu Family*]. However, there is a fictional element that became the epic moment of the novel – the search of the hidden treasure of Brancoveanu's family (Almaş 1977). Brancoveanu's ordeal had lasted several months: the events within the family distracted the Prince's attention (Stanca's illness and death, the wedding plans for his son Radu and Ana, Antioh Cantemir's daughter, Dimitrie Cantemir's brother, the rebellious who fled to Russians, fact that could have made difficult Brancoveanu's relations with the Ottomans), his blind trust in 'friends': Turkish dignitaries as Aga Mustafa, contextual allies periodically fed to ensure his protection and to inform about hostile factors at Sultan's Court, lack of surveillance of Cantacuzino family. Among other stages of the same tragedy the author depicts the dethronement and boyars' cowardice and betrayal, the raid after dethronement and the horrible road to Istanbul, the humiliations at Adrianopole and Istanbul, the tormented months in captivity that supposed repeated, unbearable tortures, blackmailing with the 'forgiveness caftan' in exchange for giving up the goods and wealth, moving the ruler in a better prison to relent Brancoveanu (see the transfer of prisoners from 'Groapa Sângelui' ['Pit of Blood'] to 'Casa română' ['Romanian house'] in order to deceive the prisoners regarding the moment of forgiveness), promises and threats, Cantacuzino's plots frightened by Brancoveanu's possible return and again unimaginable throes, Prince's depression and family's despair, the offer to receive the Muslim faith and the temporary madness of Păunița Cantacuzino (in love and obsessed with Radu Brancoveanu), who had the bloody vision of Brancoveanu's death.

The undeclared conclusion of the novel is that Brancoveanu was a Job never rewarded on earth by God. The novel starts with Radu's monologue concerning his wedding after 1711 when the relations between Brancoveanu and Cantemir were difficult. Then the author presents the difference between Brancoveanu's sons: Radu – a handsome and well-spirited man; Constantine who had a fine spiritual face; Ştefăniță – although fat and with a round face, the philosopher of the family, suspicious and fatalist; Matei, the youngest 'around 12 years old seemed more a girl, frail and feeble as if the parents, conceivers of 11 children, would have emasculate their last drop of power. The secretary Antonio Maria del Chiaro, who tried to teach him Italian, knew that the baby of the family was frisky and sometimes weirdly evil, behaving like a demonic' (*Ibidem*, 7-45). The ruler seemed confident and reliant on his destiny after Stanca's death, thinking of his son's wedding and how it could be politically handled, distrusting the news of his disgrace (*Ibidem*, 46-48).

The scene of dethroning the Prince (*Ibidem*, 49-56) is impeccably expressed by building a gradual dramatic tension and reproducing the historical milieu. The description of Prince's dethronement, presenting the inner intense and sometimes contradictory feelings of the victims were realized after a thorough historical documentation; we thus recognize fragments from Del Chiaro's monograph, describing Brancoveanu's sad face right before Mustafa's arrival, who declared him brutally dethroned. The humanization of the main character is accomplished through the panic and despair of the ruler becoming aware of his disgrace and seeing the immobility of his Court ('All boyars' hearts were frozen; no mind was at work: all of them were crushed by fear, perplexity and heavy oppressive silence. No one believed and understood that in those moments a great reign was falling down, a reign as few Romanians had. It was falling down and no eyelid moved [...]. Many were shivering and no voice was heard' (*Ibidem*, 53 sqq).

On his road to the capital of the Ottoman Empire the ruler oscillated between hope, despair and the desire of retribution, meditating on the preparations of naming the new ruler of Wallachia. Brancoveanu's arrival to Istanbul and their imprisonment dashes to the ground all previous hopeful thoughts. Humiliations followed shortly after the arrival and a horrific detention, bringing them in front of the Edicule prison like 'murderers'. Brought to a place 'smelling like mold, fear and death', all members of Brancoveanu's family 'decided, without sharing their thoughts not to tell anything even if they would be crushed in the oil press' (*Ibidem*, 117-118). Then the torture began: 'scorn, humiliations and pains; hits in the

chest, in ribs and spleen, beating the soles of the feet, twisting the arms and stepping on nails (*Ibidem*, 128 sqq). [...] But the torturers came up with new ways to torture them. Brancoveanu fainted many times. Waking up, he thought with anger: 'It seems that it's a pity to gather great fortunes. [...] Why didn't I remain poor? Why am I not a beggar? … And that's how, unwillingly, he was confessing [...]. Members of the family were crying and spitting blood, curses and railings, mixed with names of the places where precious things were hidden. [...] When the brand was on his flesh, Brancoveanu prayed untill he fainted; they woke him up with cold water and then branded him again and again until he confessed that precious items were hidden under the floor of his bedchamber in the house from Târgovişte' (*Ibidem*).

In the breaks between the tortures, the members of the royal family remembered the 'lost happiness' and the futility of wealth and power they had had over the years. The most draconian torture was fixing branded crowns on their heads, followed by more torture, weakness of body, disturbance of mind and the decision to resist (*Ibidem*, 213-224). The last 'generosity of the Sultan' was expressed by the message sent by a high Ottoman functionary: 'We've gained forgiveness for you and your sons if you bow to Alah and to Mahomed the prophet. It's a privilege given by the Sultan. Part of your fortune would be given back to you. And your son Radu would be made Egypt sultan or Kara Eflak sultan if he learnt quickly the Koran. He could even become vizier! I learnt about his bravery and artfulness'. But the final answer followed: 'I should be very glad for such an honour if such an honour wouldn't be an absurdity. I've been and I believe that I am still the founder and benefactor of Orthodoxism. I've founded dozens and dozens of churches, I've gilded hundreds of crosses, I've printed thousands of Gospels and covered them in gold and now, on the verge of death, to pray at the mosque and read the Koran? How do you imagine that could be possible? You've branded my chest and my soles and my wounds still hurt. But what irrefutable wound you produce by asking me to backslide when I was hoping that my justice and freedom would come. Not being a Romanian after I've been their ruler? After you killed my body you want to kill my spirit? No!' (*Ibidem*). Counting on his sons' freedom of choice, the ruler gave them the opportunity to choose, but the sons follow their father's steps although during the detention and earlier there were small rivalries and frustrations: 'While the Ottoman chancellors stepped out the narrow room rather stonished than angry by the unanimous resoluteness, the five members of Brancoveanu family gathered closely in a sort of embrace' (*Ibidem*).

The scene of Brancoveanu's death is presented in Paunita's vision – the wife of Ştefan Cantacuzino. She took refuge in the monastery so that she wouldn't be sent by the usurper and ruler of the country to Istanbul to witness the execution of the Prince and his sons: 'The Sultan sat on his golden throne and looked shadowy. The grand vizier, a small and fat man was standing. [...] The crowd in the square bowed, kneeling three times. [...] The grand vizier beckoned and Aga Osman shoed up with the guard from Edicule, who kept six convicts surrounded. They wore long shirts like bags, barefoot, with uncovered heads, weak, weary, squashed and worn out as if they had come a long journey exhaustibly tickle. In front of them a boy Matei was on the rack, going back and shouting 'I don't want to die… I'm young… I'm not guilty… I'll become a Muslim [...]', but the old man shook his head: 'No, my sons! We've lost everything in this world; let us deliver our souls at least and wash our sins in our blood' [...]. The guards grabbed Matei and got him up the bridge; the executioner set his head on the trunk and cut it shortly; then with his left leg he pushed the body aside, leaving the trunk splashed with warm blood (then Radu, Ştefăniţă, Constantine stepped unto death). Now she sees ruler Brancoveanu: he stepped slowly and alone; he's the last; the bridge is covered with cut heads; he stepped among them whom he loved so much. She watches him kneeling, bending and setting his head on the trunk. She hears the sound of the scimitar; trembles when she sees the springing blood, but the head still hanged in a piece of flesh and skin under the beard. With fierce fright she sees how the executioner put their heads on spears, and the guards set out on the streets of Istanbul' (*Ibidem*, 248-250).

The last pages of the novel are focused on the encrypted moral – the tragic destiny of those who desired and provoked Brancoveanu's death. At the beginning of January 1716, Sultan's envoy took the ruler Ştefan Cantacuzino together with his family and 'took them on the road with no return like in the case of Brancoveanu. He was dethroned by the plots of his brothers Neculai and Ion Mavrocordat. Cantacuzino family was accommodated at the same prison; on the 26th of June 1716 Ştefan Cantacuzino and his father Constantine High Steward were brought to the Bostangibasa

prison and hanged. Lady Păuna lived and suffered what Maria Brancoveanu had lived and suffered two years earlier' (*Ibidem*, 254).

Other historical novels prefer to depict and to analyze only those episodes from the end of the Middle Ages, episodes that feed the protochronistic vision, according to which modernity had chances to affirm since the reign of Matei Basarab, Şerban Cantacuzino, Cantemirs and Constantine Brancoveanu through the affirmation of the dynastic principle, the significant role played by the Romanian countries in diplomatic affairs of the region (especially after the siege of Vienna in 1683), the cultural politics that combined the preservation and promotion of tradition (of the one with identity significances) with the influence of Western culture. Thus, in the novel *Soare şi ceaţă* [*Sun and Fog*] Gheorghe Onea delineates the powerful personality of the ruler Şerban Cantacuzino, inspired by audacious political plans and describes his sudden death, as well as Lady Ana's suspicions over the relatives, her escape and exile, as well as her attempt to claim the throne for the smallest son of the deceased. The background of those times are described with the plots and the scenarios of misalliance between Cantemir, the Cantacuzino and the Brancoveanu families, the reconciliation between Antioh Cantemir and ruler Brancoveanu that seemed to scatter the clouds and to bring sunshine. The end of the novel seems opened, but it dashes the hope of accomplishing the Romanian political projects, the freedom of the state and entering modernity through the ambitious reflections and projects of the vindictive Lady Ana. We are pleasantly surprised by the fact that the author of the novel brings convincing examples for the functioning of a paradox 'guilty' for the stagnation of the Romanian extra-Carpathian society. The main character of the historical narration is Şerban Cantacuzino's widow, Lady Ana, a somehow negative heroine. Although she longs for the good of the country and hates the Turkish, she is dreaming of the restoration of Byzantium, pursuing to realize a petty thing – the coronation of her son Iordache – a young man with no personality and charisma, possessed by his mother's authoritarianism and chimeras – as ruler of Wallachia. The fact that he seems unable to accomplish the Byzantine project doesn't affect the will of this 'iron lady' (see another 'lady Chiajna'). She plots to ensure allies in Moldova, Wallachia and in Austrian Transylvania, planning to buy the throne from the Turkish and applying any means to pursue the throne in order to fulfill the immediate personal interests and not the common good and the support of the desideratum of the 'reason of State'. Thus the novelist presents in indirect manner the lack of political morals in Romanian pre-Fanariot milieu. The language of the novel is interesting, as it combines the existing archaisms with common terms of the nowadays language. The author is less interested in rendering the colour of the era and more inclined to depict the action through dialogue, through the credible transfer of the dynamic action from a (spatial and political) stage to another (Onea 1985).

The last novel in which Constantine Brancoveanu is one of the main characters (together with Cantacuzino, Cantemir, Corbeşti families), as far as we are concerned, is *Cinstiți meşteri mari* [*The Great Honourable Craftsmen*] (Popovici 1986). The author uses narrative techniques that make the novel accessible to large categories of readers, bringing into foreground secondary characters in the historicity perspective, but significant for the milieu of the presented era. In this case, those who deal with the space of the narration are the craftsmen (especially see Simion and the brief presence of Constantinos and Parvu Mutu), who contributed to founding and building the Brancovenesc edifices. The events of the novel are set at the end of the 17th century after the Zenta battle (1697) and especially after Karlowitz peace treaty when Brancoveanu believed that he was divinely chosen (Gregorian, Stănescu 1961, 9) ([13]), that he was at a 'haven of centuries' and in an era of relative harmony of geo-political re-establishment: '[...] he felt again the wing of the angel foretelling destiny [...]. Now something was done and he would have peace with the Empire of the Sun Set, remaining to see how friendly would be the Empire of the Rising Sun, while the Turkish would be fed with gold and smooth words. Let us await the times that are to come [...]' (Popovici 1986, 338). The novel uncovers the elements of Brancoveanu's external politics, according to Ceausescu's ideology, and especially reveals cultural aspects that made Constantine Brancoveanu *novus homo* – an image built as a counter-part with the traditional political vision of the High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino (*Ibidem*, especially 196-198).

An interesting genre in the nationalist period of communism is represented by the literature of popularizing the era and the

([13]) He felt like being gifted by God. Brancoveanu's official chronicler said the same thing in those times.

significant historical personalities for the communist project of those times; the works that illustrated this genre narrate in an accessible style with dramatic touches the scenes with emotional effect. Thus, other pedagogical and formative finalities are accomplished. The most famous writings of this type are in our opinion Neculai Şandru, *Prinţul Aurului* [*The Prince of Gold*] (1972) and Petru Demetru Popescu, *Trimisul lui Constatin Brâncoveanu* [*Constantine Brancoveanu's Envoy*] (1984). We quote the final scene of Brancoveanu's tragedy in order to establish the relevance of this type of writing: 'Sunday, August 15 1714, on the Lady's day and when the ruler had 60 years, Constantine Brancoveanu, his four sons and his faithful treasurer Ienache Vacarescu were led to the place of the execution in the square Ialichiosc not far from seraglio. They were brought barefoot like simple burglars, uncovered heads and wearing only long shirts, with their weakened bodies by tortures and heavy chains' (Şandru 1972, 39). Then the author describes the preparations for the execution, using information from the French, Italian, Polish and Romanian sources (Cantemir in Cernovodeanu 1995), as well as from Del Chiaro's monograph, but here Şandru describes paradoxically how the condemned removed their caps from their heads before being executed. The final speech of the ruler contains the same urge to die with dignity and to save their souls by washing the sins in their blood (Şandru 1972, 39). The scene of treasurer's execution is of naturalist character (*Ibidem*, 40); the author described then the reluctance of the youngest son being only 11 years old, expressing his desire to embrace Islam only to save his life. Nevertheless, at his father's command that sounded like a thunder over the crowd assisting to this ghoulish show, the youngest son seemed to weak up from a nightmare and accepted the idea that it was better 'to die a thousand times than to deny the ancestral faith ([14]) in order to live a few more years on this earth' (*Ibidem*, 40). The author supports the idea that the ruler died dominated by the 'peace of reconciliation with him in front of destiny and death' (*Ibidem*).

([14]) During communism the Orthodox religion was assimilated through the concept of 'ancestral faith' to the tradition and loyalty toward the country and people/nation. Such assimilation was functional due to its ambiguity. An atheist system like the nationalist communism didn't allow the luxury of recognizing the historical role of the church in the identity project.

The second part of the mentioned literary works is closer to the historical novel, although the scientific explanation of the political internal and international background prevails, as well as the lack of dialogue. The voice of the narrator covers often even the monologue of the characters. While Neculai Şandru was preoccupied in his writing with the internal and cultural politics of the ruler Brancoveanu, Petru Demetru Popescu explained the political events of the 17th century - military facts and decisions, political and diplomatic events both European and Ottoman that marked Brancoveanu's era - from the historiographical national-communist (implicitly protochronist) perspective (see the 1st chapter referring to what had happened in Europe after the siege of Vienna and the 2nd chapter, a section where it is told the history of the Romanian community in Brasov and the Corbeşti refuge to Wallachia in the context of affirmation of the Habsburg Counter-Reform). The author depicts the background using the monograph of ruler's Italian secretary and the official historiographical discourse (see the way in which the union with the Church of Rome and the politics of the Austrian reform in Transylvania are anathematized). The anti-Western and anti-Catholic ideas are presented through the thoughts of David Corbea, a cultivated and skillful diplomat. In the last chapters of the book the narrator stands out from his objective and tells about the 'Unusual days of Constantine Brancoveanu and of David Corbea from Braşov', as well as the 'Missions and trying of the devoted *ceaus* (messenger)'. The narration stops at one of the 'Moscovite missions' of the 'secret man' without mentioning the great drama of 1714. Thus the writer mentions that he 'cut the ends of the epilogue'. But due to this mere final act, due to this choice with an axiological and political essential value, as well as due to his dignity, Constantine Brancoveanu entered the history and legend as an exceptional figure and as a manifestation of 'homo religious'. Nevertheless, in that period of nationalist communism the author found it suitable to avoid this significant episode that secured a place for Brancoveanu in modern European conscience due to his overtaking the opportunism of the era and his weaknesses. The self-censorship of the author was a natural aspect in the given historical and ideological context of the last communist decade in Romania.

The Folk Culture on Brancoveanu's Martyrdom

Among the folk forms the folk theatre was greatly inspired by Brancoveanu history (Oprişan 1984). There are well-known studies on the popularity of Constantine especially in the counties of Moldova (Adăscăliţei 1972) and in the mining area of Lăpuş (Muşlea 1964, 21-61). The acting is not inspired, surprisingly enough, by the folk epic song, because the telling of the events respects Brancoveanu's stages of ordeal and martyrdom, which denotes the existence of some influences from sources that belong to scholarly culture (the folklorist used a manuscript that was a copy of another manuscript from the end of the 19th century). It is surprising that this folk play was presented during the winter holidays and known as *Constantine Brancoveanu's curse*, which is a segment of text present in all variants of the researched manuscript (in 1940 and before 1964). The ruler is both innocent and vehement, addressing the tyranic Sultan and cursing him: 'With what great cunning did you find me/ That so heavily bound me/ What is our guilt/ That we perish with no judgement?/ Holy Lord may bring justice/ Over your iniquity!/ Holy Lord may punish you/ With a divine sword/ He will destroy you!' (*Ibidem*, 56).

In the creations of the folk culture (epic ballads and historical stories) ([15]) the ruler is a 'wise and loved man' presented as the patriarch of the country, of the Court, family and crowd of gypsies whom he 'cared fatherly'. The relations between the ruler and his family are depicted after the standards of the traditional family (absolute obedience was one of the essential elements of this relation). In these folk creations the cause of Brancoveanu's disgrace is his wealth and the fact that, as an independent Prince, he coined 'big golden coins'.

Generally speaking, the debut of the ballads and historical stories about Brancoveanu's martyrdom sums up the elements of the folk epics, the chronical text applying the reason of the folk explanation concerning the events and the heroes' discourse in which they express and justify their options. Thus, the action begins at dawn with the old ruler's preparation, while the Court is surrounded by Turkish men. The texts present the martyrdom of Brancoveanu's family, Văcărescu's determination (ignored in many historical novels), Brancoveanu's sons troubled by the perspective of a violent death, asking for forgiveness from their father (customary aspects in the popular perception before dying). Between his sons' execution, the Prince repeated in various formulas that he accepted what was going on if that was divine will. Thus, the tension rises and is ensured with this indirect nobility of the sacrifices. Even the youngest son has an attitude that contradicts the texts of the foreign travellers, as he gladly receives death as a completion of Brancoveanu's martyrical destiny. No one had ever manifested a weakness in front of blackmail (the offer of forgiveness, 'peace' instead of becoming a Muslim).

Although the ruler was dignified during the ordeal, he prayed and refused Sultan's offer, after the execution of his sons he is a despaired Job, a peasant who shows his suffering (he falls on his knees, embraces and kisses the dead bodies of his sons, morns and calls their names). Then he recovers and curses the Ottomans with words inspired from Psalms (the perishment of the Turkish tribe, its devastation from the face of the earth, the loss of deliverance and of the rest in the other world) (Alecsandri 1971, 129).

As the Romanian peasants suffered after the numerous Turkish raids during the 18th and 19th centuries (the period in which the 'songs' about Brancoveanu family were created), the people's hatred was constant in the folk perception in ballads, as well as in narrations, introducing a new chapter in the tragedy of the Prince's family. In these creations of peasantry the curse of the Prince provokes Sultan's pride and sadism so that he commands to skin alive the Romanian ruler and when Brancoveanu doesn't display signs of pain, Ahmed decides to drag the skin in mud. In this way the Prince of Wallachia would perceive that even in his last moments he is in the Sultan's power and he is on the last step of humiliation. But although his body has been de-humanised through tortures and unimaginable torments, the ruler has closed with dignity this extreme chapter by reaffirming his faith (see the famous ending in almost the same formula, in all the variants of the ballad or of the historical story): '... Constantine Brancoveanu dies a faithful Christian, abandoned by everyone, but resting unto the Lord'. There is another invented episode in folk ballads in which there are saving interventions

([15]) See cultural creations that were inspired by the folk epic and by the chronicles, as it is the case of Vasile Alecsandri's ballad *Constantine Brancoveanu* (Alecsandri 1971, 127-129), which contributes to the most recent perception of Brancoveanu's martyrdom. Some other recent folk creations have to be mentioned: Adăscăliţei 1966, Brill 1970, Dumitrescu 1990, Dragomir 2002, the communist textbook of Romanian language for the 5th grade 1995.

for Brancoveanu family. The gypsy nurse of Brancoveanu's youngest son supports the idea that by mistake her son replaced the young Prince and she sacrificed her son so that the royal blood would be saved. Such an episode is the result of the fact that the ballads were usually sung and sometimes composed by gypsies so that they added this soteriological act made by a marginal tribe as a sign of love for this exceptional leader.

A ballad that hadn't been changed for over a century was found by Lucan Candoi in Celei, Corabia, being reproduced for the first time by N. Pasculescu (Pasculescu 1910), then in another book (Datcu 1966). The mentioned ballad respects the background of the epic traditional song, according to which Tarigrad (Istanbul) was considered *axis mundi*, the place where the emperor (Sultan) exerts an impartial power (see the epic song with historical and/or familial subject) (Grancea 1998, 75-79). According to this popular mentality, Constantine Brancoveanu undertakes a voluntary voyage to Istanbul and, like a peasant who has a complaint, burns a matting over his head so that the Sultan would see him and listen to him. Actually, the ruler hopes to determine the emperor not to burn his country (*** 1974, 6). In his innocence, a candor specific to the simple man who sees the political power as exceptional, the Romanian Prince didn't imagine that he went to '... Tarigrad/ To the honourable Sultan/To lose his head! (*Ibidem*, 4). Is this a historical inconsistency or a 'poetic license'? The ballad also introduces the existence of mercenaries as an expression of the repressive Ottoman order when they were a Romanian reality after Brancoveanu's era. Prince's absolute faith and blind self-confidence are partially ridiculed in the epic song. The words of the confession of faith made by the Prince during the confrontation with the Sultan become the leitmotif of the ballad. Although he is blackmailed with his sons' execution, between their decapitation Brancoveanu repeated thrice (see the sacred numerology) that he wasn't abandoning his faith and that he didn't give up to his immortality of the soul by accepting another religion for a fleeting life.

One after another, the bodies of Prince's sons fall in dust as an effect of refusing the Ottomans' offer (*Ibidem*, 10-18). Such a reaction attracts, according to the ballad, the uncensored sadism of the Sultan, skinning alive the Romanian Prince and then cutting his body in pieces and throwing them away in the sea, as Brancoveanu himself suggested that he would do with the Sultan (*Ibidem*, 20-22).

In the folk creations, the Romanian political background and Cantacuzino's plots are not mentioned, because the commoners found significant only the wicked character of the Turkish domination. On the other hand, significant was the power of the Orthodox testimony constantly repeated, no matter what the personal pain was or the anguish of Brancoveanu's family. In the folk epic the rulers of Wallachia and Moldova were not very popular.

The mythologies of the elite figures are effects of the Romantic and nationalist historiographical discourse, of the popular literature of the 19th-20th centuries and of the scholar culture (historical dramas, stories and historical novels). In return, the folk literary creations didn't favour the leaders who coordinated the social, economical and financial policies and dramatically affected the life of peasantry and merchants. Moreover, in the fight of the boyars' parties to impose their favourites on the throne, the biggest loosers were the peasants. Ottomans were called to support one or another claimant to the throne and they were not happy with the promised payment, robbing the rural and urban communities and taking slaves. Thus, according to the proverbial formula, 'rulers' change' was 'madmen's joy'. Even the rulers who were praised by historiography for their external politics and identity project, are considered mere puppets in boyars' hands – the 'pillars of Tarigrad' (Grancea in Bocşan et Leu (eds.) 1996, 64-70).

The realities of the Fanariot era overlapped in the peasants' explanation in these specific folk creations on the history of older times so that we witness a process of reinterpretation from the relatively recent lifestyle and mentality. Only Constantine Brancoveanu due to his terrible and exceptional death in Romanian history impressed the popular sensitivity. Thus, we may explain the admiration and empathy manifested for this Prince, who may have had under different circumstances other folk representations, taking into account the financial policies and his opulent wealth.

Brancoveanu's ordeal and death and the martyrdom of the entire family, the status of their terrible death and of confession of faith made before their execution have occupied a special place in the propaganda of the Orthodox Church, remembering this tragical death periodically. Therefore, the theologian Niculae

Popescu has described in laudatory notes the personality of the Romanian Prince and his sacrifice for the country during the times of conflicts with the Habsburg Empire, Russia and Cantacuzino's plots, improving significantly the texts of the chronicles (Popescu 1934). The sufferings of imprisonment and the execution of Brancoveanu's family are summed up compared to other texts, which describe these moments of tragedy, the tension being concentrated in the moment of Prince's confession of faith made in the name of his sons. The theologian also describes less known details and unverifiable aspects compared to other narrative sources – terrifying moments of torture and Prince's death: 'Turkish had tormented in various ways the ruler Brancoveanu for three and a half months; they put him in iron chains, cut his face and hands, branded his chest and when they saw that they couldn't get any information out of him, they decided to kill him...' (*Ibidem*, 73). The execution is preceded by a verbal duel between the Prince and the Sultan: to Sultan's mentioned offer Brancoveanu responded vehemently with a speech focused on the subject of faith: 'I won't forsake my Christian law; I was born this way and I will die the same' – said the one who 'filled his country with churches', being unable to do otherwise and being responsible for 'keeping' the faith. Although the order of the sons' death and their age are not thoroughly rendered in order to impress the reader, the episode of Matei's backset is reduced to a mere short cry. The focus of the narrator is on Brancoveanu's execution: 'Peaceful and determined, Constantine Brancoveanu bent and said: 'Lord, may your will come true' and set his head on the trunk. The executioner cut his head; ruler's neck broke, but he didn't split from the first hit from his suffering body. And then the executioner's sword sounded like saws cutting wood until the head of the unfortunate father fell in the slop of his children' (*Ibidem*, 77).

Conclusion

As we have already highlighted at the beginning of this study, the political personality of Constantine Brancoveanu was of great interest for the European public opinion long before the tragic end of his family. In the era of 'political games' that were craftily interwoven in Europe, he was the first Romanian ruler named by the Europeans 'Il Modeno Principe' due to his great personality, culture, his Court, which during his 26 years of reign had undergone a luxuriant activity and cultural politics unequalled in Wallachia. The diplomat and scholar Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli appreciated Brancoveanu's lordship and mentioned him in his report to Leopold I (October 1691) and treating him 'con ogni cortezia et onore' (Hurmuzachi 1885, 392). More detailed are the writings of the reverend Edmund Chishull (an enthusiastic report) and of the English ambassador Lord William Paget (a sobre presentation), who both passed through Wallachia in 1702 (Cernovodeanu, Holban, Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru 1983, 195-224), being impressed by the gardens and palaces of the ruler, by the ceremonials of the Court, by the 'shone feast' offered with 'uncommon courtesy and hospitality'. The same reverend attains the most felicitous portrait of the ruler Constantine Brancoveanu: 'he is a defender of order and discipline, a founder of revival in architecture, a protector of learning. He is suave, he has a kind and obliging nature, he is generous, careful and a great protector of religion ...' (*Ibidem*, 196 sqq). But after his terrible death, Constantine Brancoveanu's death underwent a profound metamorphosis. Since the 18th century till nowadays Brancoveanu has been perceived as the manifestation of *homo religiosus*.

In the past the Westerners were confronted with the phenomenon of accentuated secularisation of society, especially Catholics, seeing in the martyrical death of the Romanian ruler an example, a sort of *imitatio Christi*, but also a manifestation of the political tyrany exerted by the Ottomans. The Romanian historiography have reevaluated in a complex manner the leader's personality in modernity related to the memorial culture (see the memorials in 1914 ([16])) (Xenopol 1914, 2).

In the post-communist Romania, the Romanian Orthodox Church accomplished a 'pantheon' of martyrs and saints of the Romanian Orthodoxism in her impetuosity of affirming the traditional terms so that rulers from Middle Ages, monarchs, partisans of anti-

([16]) The recent memorial texts from Orthodox journals (including those from online sources) are inspired to plagiarism by A. D. Xenopol's article, 'Sfârşitul lui Constantin Brâncoveanu' ['Constantine Brancoveanu's End'], in *Românul*, no. 179, Friday, 16/28 August, 1914. All these recent texts resume what Xenopol wrote with no critical notes and referring to emotional scenes of dethronement and execution on the Bosfor shore on August 15/26 1714. See also Paul Connerton's book *How Societies Remember* (Connerton 1989) on memorial practices of the community that 'choses' to remember especially what satisfies certain political and identity finalities.

communist resistance are included on that list. Unfortunately, Constantine Brancoveanu remained in the collective memory due to his ordeal and his dignified behaviour in the moment of his family's execution. The canonization of Brancoveanu's family and Ienache Văcărescu is due to their execution; the canonization took place on June 20th 1992 and was performed by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Brancoveanu was frequently mentioned in the period of nationalist communism in the official discourse due to his modern spirit and his opening toward the West, feeding thus the protochronist discourse of Ceauşescu's era; nowadays the Prince is remembered as the martyr of the Orthodox faith.

The memorials legitimated by the Romanian Orthodox Church wipe away in the collective memory ruler's lay work, presenting from a different perspective, once again, a personality who during his existence had known power and wealth, physical and moral extreme sufferings, as well as reconciliation with the hardships of History. However, concerning the political value of Constantine Brancoveanu's decisions, we prefer the old and satisfactory analysis, according to which the Prince 'knew to serve the Turkish without leaving the rights of his country; he knew to remove the unconditional rulership of Christians: Austrians, Poles and Russians over the Romanian land; he knew to bind his inhabitants to Moldova through cultural and political means; he knew, even after the political relations with Transylvania had been cut, to maintain the cultural ones. And during all these times he knew how to replace the previous Byzantine emperors as a rightful heir through his great work of Eastern culture, through housing the church leaders of Orient, patriarchs, teachers, through his foundation works. Independent ruler in his country, surrounded with superiour prestige of heirs of Constantin the Great in the entire world of Orient, this was the situation of ruler Constantine Brancoveanu' (Iorga 1914, 51-52).

As far as we are concerned, the historical novel abandoned the celebrated personalities linked with the identity projects in the post-communist times, having few appearances and post-modern stylistic approaches, and being preoccupied with the decryption of the recent past. Thus, even now, Constantine Brancoveanu is instrumentalised as an emblematic figure by the Romanian Orthodox Church and he had partially captured the attention of the historical research as the creator of an era.

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A Proposal for a Comparative Research. Two Gymnasium Libraries in Transylvania of the Enlightenment Period

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Abstract. The present paper analyses the two gymnasium libraries of Transylvania of the 18th century: *Elenchus Librorum Humanisticorum Bibliothecae Regii Gymnasii Cibiniensis* in Sibiu and *Index Librorum Classicorum ad Bibliothecam Gymnasii R[egii] Zalathnensis spectantium* in Zlatna. The comparative research indicated the state and evolution of the gymnasium libraries, starting with the manner of acquiring and data that point the apparition of some books in the structure of collections and content of some volumes. The structure of the two catalogues and especially the big number of volumes of humanistic orientation delineate the profile of the education at the King's gymnasiums in Sibiu and Zlatna, where the subjects of humanistic study (classical Greek and Latin authors, history, poetics, rhetoric, grammar etc.) were of an overwhelming prevalence. The study of the classic authors was part of pupils' education during the Enlightenment times. The titles with practical and scientific content are also present in the catalogues of the libraries, which suggests the realist and scientific tendencies, registered by the Transylvanian education in the first half of the 19th century, phenomenon that characterized the mentioned gymnasium libraries as well. These educational institutions followed, as the titles point out, the directions of the Aulic and provincial educational legislation, applied by other schools of the Great Principality of Transylvania in the Enlightenment era, including the Romanian school in Blaj, Cluj, Oradea, Târgu-Mureş, Aiud, Orăştie, Năsăud and others. The classic Greek and Latin culture prevailed in the school curriculum, but there were also other practical subjects. That was the cultural ideal with some political connotations, according to the educational principles followed at the Aulic and provincial level.

Keywords: comparative research, gymnasium libraries, humanistic orientation, classical Greek and Latin culture, Transylvania

If we can agree on the fact that library is a special sign of distinction for the intellectual profile of a private or institutional possessor and when we interpret the phenomenon from the perspective of 'the third revolution of the book' (Barbier 2013) from the 18th century, then we will understand better the growth of the number of libraries and collections with books at the private and institutional level. That is a consequence of the press phenomenon in the Enlightenment times, when the network of gymnasium libraries diversified as a consequence of the economic development on the European level, including Transylvania, a province of the Habsburg Empire. The continuation of the educational and spiritual preoccupations was registered there for various social categories (Marza 2013, 77), as a result of the reorganization of the school network in an effort of cohesion and modernization of the educational policy (Protopopescu 1966, 47-186, 229-236, 241, 249, 251-263, 283-333; Bozac et Teodor 1966, 142-170; Marza 1987, 34-46; Malinas 1994, 46-62, 119-120; Albulescu 2006, 73-125) ([1]). It was an era in which the commerce with encyclopedias and textbooks had known new cultural and political dimensions, given the development of pragmatic elements of the press and diffusion of books.

Regarding the previous affirmations, we must also mention: organization, rationalization

([1]) See also on this complex matter *Istoria românilor. Vol. VI. Românii între Europa clasică şi Europa Luminilor (1711-1821)* [*History of Romanians. Vol. VI. Romanians between Classical Europe and Europe of Enlightenment (1711-1821)*], Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, 2002, p. 834-880; *Istoria învăţământului din Romania Vol. I (de la origini până la 1821)* [*History of Education in Romania. Vol. I (from Origins to 1821)*], Bucureşti, Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică, 1983, p. 230-416; Nicolae Albu, *Istoria învăţământului românesc din Transilvania până la 1800* [*History of Romanian Education in Transylvania till 1800*], Blaj, 'Lumina', 1994, p. 113-334; *Idem, Istoria şcolilor româneşti din Transilvania între 1800-1867* [*History of Romanian Schools in Transylvania between 1800-1867*], Bucureşti, Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică, 1974, p. 20-94.

and systematization of the education in villages and cities of Transylvania after the second half of the 18th century; the foundation of schools in Blaj during the fall of the year 1754 in the spirit of imperial policy and for strengthening the religious Unification in that part of the Empire; the statist and political directions received by education and instruction at Aulic and provincial level, according to the legislation of those times, illustrated by *Allgemeine Schulordnung* (1774), *Ratio educationis* (1777) and *Norma regia* (1781). Among other relevant aspects in the same region we state the following: the cultural and didactic activism of some intellectuals like Ioan Pioariu-Molnar, Gheorghe Şincai, Dimitrie Eustatevici, Radu Tempea, Petru Maios and others, many of them having great responsibilities; the obvious development of elementary and secondary schools (gymnasiums) in Southern Transylvania and in the mining regions pursuing some cultural economic and political objectives by the Court of Vienna; the cultural and political performance accomplished by *Regium Gymnasium Cibiniense* and in Apuseni ([2]) Mountains by *Regium Gymnasium Zalathnense* (1790-1848); the diversity of the secondary education in Transylvania at the end of the 18th century (1784, the foundation of the military institute in Năsăud; 1792 the opening of the seminary in Oradea by the Greek-Catholic Bishop Ignatie Darabant) (Marza 1987, 34-46) etc.

The proposal for a comparative research of two gymnasium libraries in Transylvania of the 18th century has at its basis the research and interpretation of two catalogues of the libraries and starts from the cultural and political significance of the two educational and representative institutions for the society of the Transylvanian Principality during Enlightenment and *Vormärz*. This was the case of the royal secondary schools/gymnasiums in Sibiu (the nowadays High School 'Gheorghe Lazăr' (Boros 1896; Stanciu 1843; Munteanu 1968)) and Zlatna (destroyed during the revolutionary events in 1848-1849 (Marza 1969; *Idem* 1972, 231-245; *Idem* 1972, 109-115; *Idem* 1972, 347-372; *Idem* 1977, 409-430)) that accomplished an important role in the formation of a class of intellectuals in those times. We mention among those who studied at *Regium Gymnasium Cibiniense* the following: Simion Sterca Sulutiu, Iosif, Molnar, Gheorghe Lazar, Simion Balint, Ilie Măcelariu, August Treboniu Laurian, Ioan Puşcariu, Iacob Bologa, Axente Sever, Nicolae Cristea, Visarion Roman, while at *Regium Gymnasium Zalathense* were educated more of the leaders of the Revolution (1848-1849) in Transylvania: Avram Iancu, Gheorghe Anghel, Petru Dobra, Dimitrie Moldovan, Petru Ioanete. We must also mention Alexandru Sterca Sulutiu, Iosif Sterca Sulutiu, Dionisie Sterca Sulutiu, Ioan Pipos, Ioan Boer, Petru and George Damian, Vasile Fodor, Samuil Corches, Iuliu Mihali, Absolon Popovici, Ioan, Mihai and Aviron Telechi, Tretulian, Dionisie and Alexandru Tobias, Pompiliu Ighian and others.

The two lists with books kept in the school libraries of Sibiu and Zlatna, entitled *Catalogus Librorum Gymnasii R[egii] Cibiniensis* (Marza 1990, 167-176; *Idem* 1978, 329-340) and *Index Librorum Classicorum ad Bibliothecam Gymnasii R[egii] Zalathnensis spectantium* ([3]) (Marza 1972, 85-111) offer us interesting data on the structure and content of the gymnasium libraries in Transylvania of the Enlightenment period according to the legislation of those times ([4]). Moreover, it is necessary to analyse these documents from the perspective of the educational content of the two gymnasiums, which echoed the statist and pragmatic cultural policy at the Aulic and provincial level through the educational curriculum. The school must have been an instrument of strengthening the Habsburg regime and Catholic religion in Transylvania. The institution aimed at educating and forming young people useful to society and obedient citizens to activate in church, educational, military, industrial, administrative and commercial areas both in the rural and urban space (Marza 2005, 33).

([2]) Romania's Occidental Carpathians.

([3]) The National Library of Romania, Batthyaneum Alba Iulia, *Protocollum Regii Gymnasii Zalathanensis*, XI-35 a, p. 429 – 437.

([4]) *Norma regia pro scholis Magni Principatus Transilvaniae Josephi II. Caesar. Aug. Magni Principis Trans. ivssv edita M. DCC. LXXXI*, Cibinii, Typis Martini Hochmeister, p. 56-61, 68-72 (III-IV *Librorum, argumentorum et temporibus distributio pro classibus Grammaticae et Humanitatis*). See interesting aspects in: § *CC De Universitate Bibliohteca, Numophylacio, ceterorumque antiquitatis monumentorum Museo, p. 348-352; Capit. VII. De Regiis Academiarum Hungaricarum Bibliothecis et Museis. CXCIV. De Regits Academicarum Bibliothecarum generatim; § CXCIV. De extructione Regiarum Academicarum Bibliothecarum, p. 362 – 363. Ratio edacationis totiusque rei litterariae Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas, Vindobonae*, 1777.

Not impressive numerically, 99 titles in 126 volumes at the gymnasium in Sibiu (Marza 1990, 174-176; Marza 1978, 338-340) and 250 books in Zlatna (Marza 1972, 98-101), the libraries evolved together with the development of the housing institutions. For the gymnasium in Sibiu, *Consultatio scholastica die 17-ti Julii [1]*810 from the protocol rises the necessary problem for reorganizing the fund of books and forming a catalogue of the library so that it would be useful for pupils and teachers. At the same time, *Catalogus Librorum Gimnasii R[egii] Cibiniensis* is legalized by the prefect Joannes Nepomucenus Eschenbach (in May 1826) and it represents the inventory of the library (Marza 1990, 168). The structure of the collection in Sibiu (similar to that in Zlatna) – *Classics, Historia, Geographia, Artes Liberales, Lexica* and *Libri mixti* – indicates the profile of the lectures honoured by the so-called *scholae latinae* in Transylvania of those times. The humanistic orientation prevailed, although they were also books with scientific and practical inclination. A part of those books is from acquiring of the institutions according to the school legislation. In the case of the gymnasium in Zlatna, there are several donations recorded, donations from the teachers who had worked there. Some donations are specified as coming from teachers Emericus Balas, Constantinus Hene, Gregorius Simai, Antonius Buday (1835) and Josephus Staerker (1836) (Marza 1990, 168).

The comparative approach of the two catalogues is focused firstly on the language of the books. It is not surprising that the Latin titles prevail in both cases, as it points out the importance of the Latin language in the education of Transylvanian gymnasiums in the 18th century. Actually, Latin was the official language in which the lessons were conducted. Moreover, we may find titles in German, Hungarian and even Italian in the mentioned catalogues. Nevertheless, the majority of the titles were in Latin, proving the cult for the classical Greek-Latin antiquity that held a great role in the instructive-educational process of the period (Protopopescu 1966).

From the perspective of the content, in the collection of the library in Zlatna we identified the following categories: 43,2% *libri philologici (poetici, oratorici, rethorici et grammatici);* 13,6% *libri historici et geographici;* 2,8% *libri philosophici et morali;* 1,2% *libri juridici;* 0,8% *libri naturali;* 2,4% *libri arithmetici;* 3,6% *libri teologici;* l,2 % *libri medici.* There were also books on various subjects: 0,9% and in 2,4% there was no title (*sine titulo*) (Marza 1972, 93-94). Similar proportions are to be found in the case of the Sibiu gymnasium library if we take into account the structure offered by the collection, in which we find not only *libri classici*, *libri historici*, *libri geographici*, but also *Artes Liberales*, *Lexica*, and *libri mixti*. That is a valid categorization if we follow the order of the books proposed by the prefect of the library (Marza 1990, 171).

We may notice the frequency of many Greek and Latin authors and historians when we study both catalogues. We mention the most relevant names for the pupils and teachers of those times in Transylvania: Iulius Caesar, Cicero, Claudianus, Eutropius, Fedru, Horatius, Iustinus, Titus Livius, Lucanus, Lucretius, Cornelius Nepos, Ovidius, Platon, Plaut, Quintilianus, Curtius Rufus, Sallustius Crispus, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Terentius, Vergiliu and others (Marza 1972, 94, 99-100; *Idem* 1990, 169, 174-175). In the case of the school in Sibiu we have to admit that there were more books from Germany or books with the mention 'Edition Schraembliana' due to some important subjects in the 18th-19th centuries from Bürger, Gessner and Hölty to Hübner, Bauer, Scheller and Parizek (Marza 1990, 169, 174-175).

Concerning the Greek and Latin classicism we point out many titles of oratory and rhetoric – subjects in which the pupils were initiated at the gymnasium. In Zlatna (Marza 1972, 94, 99-101) we may find the following titles: Nicolaus Avacinus, *Orationes*, Carolus Poreus, *Orationes*, as well as *Tironianum Eloqueantiae*, *Bibliotheca Rethorum*, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, *Institutiones ad Eloquenatiam*, *Syntaxis Ornata* and others. In Sibiu such books are included at the section *Classici* (Marza 1990, 174-175).

In the mentioned catalogues there are also other titles regarding history. In the Zlatna library we find books written by Christophor Cellarius (*Historia* and *Breviarium)*, Ferdinandus Stoerger (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), Martinus Bolla (*Historia Universalis*) ([5])

([5]) It is interesting to find Martinus Bolla's textbook of universal history, *Primae liniae historiae universalis*, I-III, Cluj, 1798-1799. The author is known as one of those who contested the Romanian origin of the Romanian people, the Latin character of the Romanian language and its continuity in the space of the former Dacia. Cf. Popovici 1945, 277-278, 301. He disputed vehemently with arguments the *Supplex* from 1791. For the circulation of the textbook in the school media in Blaj during the times

(Prodan 1984, 90; Bittay 1923, 374 sqv) and others. There are also other important books, among which we mention: *Rudimenta Historica, De Romana Republica, Germania gloriosa, Ritus Romanorum, Koronas Mágyar Kiralynok*, Carl Neugeboren, *Handbuch der Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Hermannsatdt, 1836 etc. During the lessons of history there was a great emphasis on political and military events, information on emperors' lives (*caesarologia* studied in classes with humanistic profile). Pupils from Sibiu could also consult Carolus Palma, Martinus Felmer, Johann Mathias Schröck, Strada Famianus, *De Bello Belgico*, as well as titles like *Rudimenta historica, Annales sacri et profani, Epitome chronologica rerum hungaricarum. Historia Regni Hungariae, Specimen Genealogico-pronologicum ad ilustrandam prosopiam Habsburgo-Lotharingicam*. In fact, it is suggested a certain type of history cultivated in gymnasiums, insisting on ecclesiastical and lay history, universal and province history from the heroic times of Greeks and Roman to important moments from the European modern and contemporary history. As in other cases, we may notice a certain cultural identity indicating the school legislation (Marza 1982-1982, 577-605) ([6]) characteristic to the message of several history textbooks that had circulated among pupils and teachers in the Great Principality of Transylvania during the Enlightenment era.

Libri geographici, as well as the so-called *Artes Liberales* represent another group of books that may be identified in both catalogues. Even if the categories include many books both in Sibiu and Zlatna, we may find works as: Mathias Bell, *Compendium Geographiae Hungariae*, *Geographia* of János Tomka - Szászki, the famous *Real Staats Zeitungs und Lexicon* of Johann Hübner, and also *Atlas Geograph[icus] sive Mappae Geogr[aphicae] Deutscher Atlas* of Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly (Marza 1990, 169-170, 175, 176). Among the books in the Zlatna gymnasium library we were able to identify only *Geographia* written by János Tomka – Szászki. But here there are other interesting books: *Mineralogia* of Johannes Fridwalski and *De Metalurgia seu De Metalis* – a natural presence (Marza 1972, 96-97, 101, 102) if we take into account the economic specificity of the town and its surroundings.

Poetics and rhetoric were subjects with a defined purpose in the educational system of the gymnasiums in Transylvania (*Norma regia* 1781, 56-67, 69-72). This is the explanation for the impressive number of books in the category entitled *Artes Liberales*: *Institutiones ad eloquentiam*, *Method[us] parandae eloquentiae* written by Cyprianus Soarius, Nicolaus Ignarra, *De Palaestra* (*Oratoria*), *Orationes Sacrae* written by Johannes Ker. Molnár, the well-known textbook *Mythologia* by Josephus Philippus Hollius, *Compedium antiquitatum* of Chrystophorus Cellarius, *Praecepta stili bene latini* by Immanuel Johann Gerhard Schellerus, Bauer's textbook, which was often used, *Anleitung zum richti[gen] Ausdruck[en] der latein[ischen] Sprache* etc. These titles confer a special note to the collection from Sibiu (Marza 1990, 170, 175). Among the books from the mentioned category identified in Zlatna, there are three representative titles for oratory and rhetoric: Nicolaus Avacinus, *Orationes*, Carolus Poreus, *Orationes*, Cyprianus Soarius, *Rethorica* and *Manuale Rethorum*, as well as *Tironianum Eloquentiae, Bibliotheca Rethorum, Institutiones Oratoriae, Institutiones ad Eloquentiam, Syntaxis Ornata* (Marza 1972, 94, 99-102).

The utility of dictionaries and lexicons for the gymnasium education is beyond any doubt. And that results from the presence of some examples in those two catalogues, where we find some representative *dictionaria* and *lexica*. We have to mention several titles from Sibiu: Theodorus Schrevelius, *Lexicon*, *Dizzionario Imperiale*, Mathaeus Pasor, *Lexicon latino-graeco-ungaricum*, Ambrosius Calepinus, *Dictionarium*, *Phraseologia* of Vagnerus, *Dictionarium* of Josephus Marton, J. - F. Nolterus, *Lexicon antibarbarum* (Marza 1990, 170, 175-176). On the other hand, in Zlatna were identified books from the same category: *Dictionarium Tris*, *Lexicon Universale* by Fredericus Hoffmanus and others (Marza 1972, 102).

When we study the section *Libri mixti* from the Sibiu catalogue we face an interesting bookish standard, as we see works of philosophy, arithmetic, chrestomathies etc. We should mention the following: Johannes Ker. Molnarius *Phisiologicon*; Alexius Vincenz Parizek, *Erklärung der sonntäglichen Evangelien*; Loscanius, *Institutiones philosophiae moralis*; Pedro da Fonseca, *Institutiones dialecticae*; *Elementa Geometriae*;

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of national revival cf. Mârza, *École et nation (Les écoles de Blaj à l'époque de la renaissance nationale)*, p. 21, 155, 156, 158, 162, 168, 169, 188, 197, 224, 225; *Idem*, 1984-1985, 373-389.

([6]) See also *Norma regia*, Cibinii, 1781, p. 56-61, 68-72 (III-IV *Librorum, argumentorum et temporibus distributio pro classibus Grammaticae et Humanitatis).*

Jan Amos Comenius, *Novus Orbis pictus quadralingvis*; *Rechenkunst* by Klausenberg; *Arithmetica Claudiop[olitana]*; *Deutsche Crestomatie* by Jozsef (Imre) Cserei; Seibtius, *Practica exercitia* (Marza 1972, 102) and others. In the Zlatna catalogue there are also some books that have to be included in the *Libri mixti* category: Marcellus Palingenius, *Zodiacus Vitae*; *Elementa Matheseos Purae*; *Elementa Algebrae*; Jan Amos Comenius, *Ianua trium linguarum*; *Sylvia Parnassi*; *Pia Desideria*; Joseph Staerker, *Kurzer Abrisz der K[aiserlichen] K[öniglichen] Zalathner Schulen*, Cibinium, 1836; *Der neunzehnte April des Jahres 1836 im Bergflecken Zalathna*, Hermannstadt, 1836; *Das Manifest am 24-sten May 1836*, Claudiopoli, 1836; *Anleitung zur Rechenkunst zum Nutzen und Gebrauch der Schulen*, Prag, 1768; *Auszug aus beiden Theilen der Anleitung zum Rechnen*, Hermannstadt, 1809; Michael Feder, *Predigten auf alle Festatge eines ganzen Jahres*, Gratz, 1820; *Auszüge aus den besten Journalen Europas*, Wien, 1793; *Kriminal Gerichts Ordnung für Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, 1788 (Marza 1972, 99-101, 103) etc.

A bookish standard similar to the gymnasium from Sibiu indicates other important titles, such as: *Elenchus Librorum Humanisticorum Bibliothecae Regii Gymnasii Cibiniensis*, descoperit în anexă la *Catalogus Librorum Communium in Residentia Suppresae Societatis Jesu Cibiniensis repertorum, & aestimatortum in Anno 1774 Conspectus[...]*(Marza 1978, 329-340). The list of humanistic books at the gymnasium in Sibiu covers 99 titles, 126 volumes of philology, theology, history, philosophy etc. Actually, the document indicates just a part of the books of the former gymnasium, the one dedicated to pupils from humanity classes (Marza 1978, 329-340). However, there are more landmarks of the Transylvanian education from the last decades of the 18th century related to the stipulations of the educational legislation, respectively in *Norma regia* (1781) (*Ibidem*, 330-331).

The proposal for a comparative research of the two school libraries from Transylvania, starting from *Elenchus Librorum Humanisticorum Bibliothecae Regii Gymnasii Cibiniensis* and *Index Librorum Classicorum ad Bibliothecam Gymnasii R[egii] Zalathnensis spectantium* imposes several conclusions. These documents reflect in the most convincing way that in the decades 3-4 of the 19th century the state and the evolution of the libraries from the acquiring way and data that proves the entrance of books in libraries to the structure of the collections, as well as the content of many volumes. At the same time, the structure of the two catalogues and especially the numerous volumes of humanistic orientation delineate the profile of the education at the King's gymnasium in Sibiu and Zlatna, where the humanistic subjects (classical Greek and Latin authors, history, poetics, rhetoric, grammar etc.) were prevalent. In fact, the study of classics was part of people's education during the Enlightenment era (Lyons 2011, 95-130). However, there are also books of practical inclination that indicate some tendencies toward scientific orientation registered in the Transylvanian education of the first half of the 19th century, including the Sibiu and Zlatna gymnasiums. These educational institutions were following the directions of the Aulic and provincial educational legislation, as the titles from the presented catalogues suggest. Other gymnasiums of the Great Principality of Transylvania from the Enlightenment times were following the same legislation and directions, and the Romanian gymnasium in Blaj is another example in this respect (Marza 1987, 152-156). Other Transylvanian gymnasiums should also be mentioned: Cluj, Oradea, Târgu-Mureş, Aiud, Orăştie, Năsăud etc. The classical Greek and Latin culture prevails in the educational curriculum, although other subjects are also included. Such a cultural ideal with political connotations was related to the educational principles followed at Aulic and provincial level (*Ibidem*, 33).

The organization and the content of the books presented in catalogues of the Sibiu and Zlatna gymnasiums responded to some cultural imperatives imposed to Transylvanian King's gymnasiums. Other gymnasium libraries from the same Romanian historical background of the 18th-19th centuries aligned to those principles ([7]). They represent a special moment from the past of the gymnasium libraries in Transylvania, which may be attached to European librarian innovations and practices of the Enlightenment ([8]) (Barbier 2013, 217-224). Moreover, they plead for the justness of Nicolae Iorga's affirmations even after a century: '[...] no list of

([7]) For a certain cultural identity suggested in school libraries in Wallachia of the Enlightenment era, where the decisive role was held by the classical and modern Greek culture, cf. Dima-Dragan 1965, 269290); Popescu-Teiusan 1964, 183-197; Parnuta 1960, 291-299.

([8]) For analogies with previous situations, cf. Monok 2011, 192-203.

books is indifferent. We would like to have as much as possible knowledge of souls, as much as possible psychologies; we would need the registration of the best and of the worst books, of the wisest and of the most narrow-minded authors in order to understand fully the need for reading of a society, its orientation, its mores, its seriousness or looseness toward the informed and severe judgment of times' (Iorga 1907, 129).

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Laocoon's Prints. The Meaning of Plaster Casts of Antique Sculptures From a History of Art Perspective

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Abstract. To the disappointment of the amateurs of facile classifications, the article shows that originality was not looked after as a purpose in its own, as it entered the stage as a *passe-partout* notion, with the participation of which imitation was explained in a more honourable way. There are, accordingly, two coexisting tendencies, and none of them prevails; originality is rather an unexpected guest, a concept with a restrained public. It represents a tacit counterweight to the popularity of surrogates and to the re-canonizations of the mimesis. But the most important aspect is that this kind of *originality* does not oppose *imitation*, being rather synonymous with the *new*. The people of the 18th-19th centuries were not rushing to decide what is and what is not authentic, preferring to discover what was left to imitate. The originality was thus born as a side effect, on the edges of a very old art of reproduction, infinitely re-conceptualized and redefined.

Keywords: Greek statues, art history, plaster casts, restorations, aesthetics, truth and beauty

The hypothesis of this article, related to the history of historiography, was suggested by Marcel Sendrail: 'Even if we take into consideration a well-defined type of art, the norm is not shown with the sincerity that the doctrinaires would like. There is always a surviving hesitation between the normal and abnormal. And it is precisely in this indecisive zone that the feeling of beauty chooses to satisfy its wishes, not without a slight malicious intent. A long time ago someone noticed, for example, that if archaisms accommodate perfectly the conventions of verticality and symmetry, any art that searches for maturity, searches for perfection in imperfection and seeks to put in those bodies small deviations through which it believes the works of art will gain an extra charm. Let us measure, with regard to Greek Statues, the road taken in half a century from the Angry Woman at the Acropolis to the praying Women of Barberini, and we will see how the aesthetic emotion is born from the imperceptible contestation of a too strict orthodoxy' (Sendrail 1983, 174). I therefore decided the title for this chapter should be 'The prints of Laocoon', because of the fate of the group of statues that was discovered in 1506 in a Roman vineyard. Giorgio Vasari wrote that in 1515, Francis the first, the King of France, claimed it was his, from the spoils of the war (Vasari 1968, 62-63).([1]) But in order to retain the original statues, the Pope Leon X, commissioned Baccio Bandinelli (1493-1560) to make a copy of them. The artist wanted to make the copies nicer than the originals and it therefore took him more time than expected (Vasari 1968, 63). So when Clement VII, from the Medici family, became Pope, he called (1532) Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli (1506-1563) to help and he gave Laocoon the right arm which he was missing (Kultermann 1977, 111-112).([2]) Clement VII was ecstatic about the copy and did not want to give it to Francis I, so he sent it to Florence and gave other antiquities to the French. The real right arm, discovered in 1905, was only accepted as being the original one in 1950. Eckart Marchand added that during Julius II's reign as Pope, Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570) – a specialist in festive decorations and ephemeral ceremonial sculpture – also made a wax copy of Laocoon, which paved the way for a whole

([1]) Details about this famous copying episode can be found in Giorgio Vasari's book, in the chapter about Baccio Bandinelli.
([2]) A version of Laocoon's missing arm was also made by Michelangelo, but this was lost.

series of copies and replicas (Marchand 2010, 67-68).

Looking through an art dictionary, I found a succinct definition of a cast: 'a faithful reproduction of a sculpture, made in relief, ronde-bosse, like those parts of a human body (cheek, hand, foot, etc.), obtained by a print (in soft wax, a mix of plaster and water, glue and resin), which gives a negative mould into which the plaster cast is made (fr. *moulage*, it. *calco*, germ. *Abguss*, *Gypsabguss*, engl. *plaster cast*)' (Rachiteanu 1995, 294). In Jean-Jacques Wunenburger's opinion, a cast is the 'isomorphic reproduction of the model', the 'most faithful form of mimetic images' (Wunenburger 2004, 72). It re-emerged when, in May 1968, Parisian students destroyed several works from the museum of the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, which determined the authorities to move what was salvaged to Versailles, two years later (Pinatel 1992, 307). Amongst these was a plaster cast of the famous *Hercules Farnese*, whose feet and left calf had been destroyed by the protesters (Pinatel 1992, 312). Unfortunately, even these lines have been taken from an article: *Faut-il dètruire les moulages?* (Pinatel 1992, 310) ([3]) The question in the title challenged us to go back in time, to lay out a history of attitudes towards the dilemma of original-copy. We will thus be able to reveal the way in which the theory of mimesis was perceived and applied in different stages of the history of sculpture and justify or, depending on the case, discredit the controversial habit of copying, in its different aspects (casts, imitations, reproductions, replicas, emulations) (Townsend 2000, 20). ([4]) From a methodological point of view, this procedure did not demonstrate, as Dabney Townsend thought, an interest in the way these objects are perceived now; it rather suggests the need to integrate their entire history in the idea that we have of them today (Townsend 2000, 166).

At the beginning of the modern era, art history was saved out of symbolical replicas rather than from real remains. Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) description of the sculptor Lione Lioni's home (1509-1590) is relatively well-known: 'Going though the large door, through a small room, one gains access to an inside courtyard in the middle of which there is, resting on four columns, the equestrian statue of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, a plaster cast made immediately after the one that can be found on the Capitol. By means of this statue, Lione wished to submit his house to Marcus Aurelius. […] In his beautiful and spacious house, Lione also has, cast in plaster, all the most important works of art, ancient or contemporary, that he could get hold of' (Vasari 1968, 302). Seeing as we are talking about the house of a professional sculptor, maybe Vasari's comments are not relevant to the magnitude of his taste for making things look like antiques. One thing is certain, that the people of the renaissance did not necessarily copy a certain style, but they honoured its age (Townsend 2000, 160). In other words, the duplicates of the important masterpieces did not come directly from the past but they made the past attainable (Lowenthal 2002, 331). And the casts from Italy, given to the King Francis I and made into bronze statues at Fontainebleau (before March 1547, when the death of the monarch stopped the works) suddenly awakened the interest of the other European Courts: suddenly, having such copies was an attribute of the princely powers, like hammered coins (Cupperi 2010, 82). Walter Cupperi suggested that, first and foremost, these copies were attractive as garden decorations and technical achievements, and only secondly as artistic fetishes; at the beginning a copy of a copy, made by the French, was enough, after which only a copy of the original was accepted. The fact that the 'le vallet de chambre du roi' was Francesco Primaticcio from Bologna also led to the rumours that he had a part to play in the King's interest in the *all'antica* style and the Italian masters (Cupperi 2010, 83). Helped by helpful intermediaries like Primaticcio, these artists made themselves necessary to the North of the Alps and opened up a prosperous business selling plaster casts (Schreiter 2010, 140-141).([5])

([3]) ***, '*Revue de l'Art*' 1992, pp. 5-9. One of the main reasons for their destruction was the fragility of these objects that made them hard to preserve. The old casts were strengthened on the inside with reeds, chestnut tree wood or even metal rods, this made them breakable at the slightest movement and susceptible to damage caused by humidity.

([4]) Dabney Townsend believes that a copy is just a small case of imitation. He says the following: 'One of the main distinctions between a copy and an imitation is simply the fact that sometimes the imitations are better than the original. Although a copy cannot do anything more than the original, an imitation can. All copies can be seen as imitations, but it would be wrong to believe that all imitations are copies'.

([5]) The travels of the Italians through an 'antiquarian' Europe were followed by Charlotte Schreiter. She discovered that the ever increasing interest that the German world had for these casts, especially after

The proof that the French were great creators of art even in the Renaissance period, is clear from the research done by Walter Cupperi, who documented the *Jüngling* case: a bronze statue representing a young man (hence the title) that was discovered in 1502 (Cupperi 2010, 87-90). After the Emperor Maximilian I of the Habsburg dynasty showed a lack of interest, it was bought by Matthäus Lang, in 1519, who was the counsellor and bishop of Salzburg. Lang died in 1520, however and for three decades the statue remained the property of the diocese. Over those three decades, the taste for antiques became a synonym for nobility and the statue aroused the interest of Ferdinand I of the Habsburgs, the archduke of Austria and grandson of Maximilian. He therefore requested for the *Jüngling* statue to be given to him by the new bishop of Salzburg, Ernest of Bavaria. Because Ernest's two brothers were also vying for the duchy of Bavaria – adds Walter Cupperi –, giving Ferdinand what he asked for was a good way for the bishop to ensure he remained on good terms with the Habsburgs. In January 1551, with the approval of the church, Ernest had to have a copy made for himself and to send the original to Ferdinand. But a letter came from Maria of the Habsburgs, Ferdinand's sister and the governor of the Netherlands, which changed the destination of the 'Young Man'. Knowing that Maria was fascinated by antiques, Ferdinand had given her the statue, on the condition that, during the Diet of Augsburg (autumn-winter 1551), Maria would support him in winning the crown of the Holy Romano-German Empire, against Philip II of Spain, the son of Charles V (Cupperi 2010, 90). It was time for the archaeological enthusiasm of the humanists to settle down with the political magnificence and the joy of showing that one was up to date with the legends of Mount Olympus, especially those made out of marble. The ambassadors from the Eternal City were therefore required to inform their masters when an ancient marble statue was newly discovered. And the decisions of the monarchs depended on the amount of rivalry that was ever-growing: in 1540, Primaticcio brought the King of France 33 crates of plaster casts, the copies ordered by the Emperor Maximilian II (a *Hercules*, an *Aphrodite* and a *Mercury*, as well as the bust of Socrates) were transported in 1569, on a bier (Delumeau 1995, 111).

Under the influence of the archaeological enthusiasm, mimetic and antique-loving tendencies grew (Bazin 1968, 79). Working in Rome, the French sculptor Nicolas Cordier (1576-1612) showed off his passion for Greco-roman art by creating sculptures that were made out of fragments of marble he found whilst he searched archaeological sites (Bazin 1968, 79). Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), who was also a part of this trend, was making his debut as an artist by restoring ancient works of art like *Ares Ludovisi* (a Roman copy of an original Greek statue from the Antonine period) (*Ibidem*).([6]) In order to underline the specificities of the way of thinking, which defines the renaissance, it seems useful to us to mention one of the truths that was common knowledge in the 16th century: being a restorer was so badly paid, it was more profitable to be a falsifier (Arnau 1970, 79). It is interesting that this activity did not stir up indignation and was not considered a fraud (Arnau 1970, 77). Quite to the contrary, the falsifier was appreciated more when his 'work of art' was more convincing, as they appreciated his hard work and the skills it took to imitate the ancient artists and to be almost on their level (Townsend 2000, 159). If in the Middle Ages, art was a 'superficial termination of material' (U. Eco), during the renaissance, the simple act of copying statue became a sort of godly art. 'The late renaissance not only believes that the world is full of life, but it also wants to translate that vitality into images', said Eugenio Battisti (Battisti 1982, 218). It was no longer about competing against Creation, but about directing its metamorphoses, about mastering the five elements in a way that would enable artists to compete against nature. Maybe the clearest case of confusion between mimesis, copying and falsifying is the so-called 'Sleeping Cupid' by Michelangelo. Lorenzo of Medici suggested he sold it in Rome but not before making it look older, by burying it in earth filled with acid. The sculpture was backdated by 1500 years and the 'antique' was then sold for 200 ducats to Riario, the Cardinal of San Giorgio (Battisti 1982, 218). This episode, which is well-known, is classified

1760, led to the riches of the Ferrari brothers. She mentions that in the 18th century, the requirements were already that the copies were to be *made after the originals*, the Italians raised suspicions by the speed at which they sent the orders off. Seeing as their businesses in Germany were made up of many intermediaries, they did not return repeatedly to Italy to make their copies time after time: they asked for the casts of the casts already made for the Venetian collection of Farsetti.

([6]) He completed the right leg of the statue and it is rumoured that he added the little Cupid.

in what Victor Ieronim Stoichiță would call the 'Pygmalion effect' or a 'historical anthropology of simulacrum' (Stoichiță 2011, 114). Stoichiță makes a difference between a copy and a simulacrum, as he writes a complex piece about this subject: a copy knows its origins off by heart, whereas the simulacrum can only just mimic them. It is a made object, an artefact, it is 'something else', using the 'resemblance effect', he underlines patiently the stability of the western representations, based, on nothing less than the idea of *mimesis* (Stoichiță 2011, 7).

The creation of fakes also met a need caused by one of the great aesthetic prejudices, which considered that an incomplete statue was frustrating and must be 'completed'. As ancient sculptures were considered in the neo-platonic spirit examples of trans-historical perfection, it was inconceivable that such 'archetypes' could exist in a limbless or broken form (Forero-Mendoza 2002, 34-38).([7]) Through Toma d'Aquino's 'organic aesthetics', the 16th century had received the three criteria by which to judge a work of art: *integritas*, *proportio* and *claritas*. And if we believe Umberto Eco, that *integritas*, especially, 'must be understood like a presence, in the organic entirety, of every part that fights to define it as such […]. A human body will be misshapen if one of its limbs is missing; and we consider mutilated people ugly because they are lacking the ratio between the parts and the whole' (Eco 1999, 111). The validity of this theory in the following centuries is insisted upon by exegetes: 'the clergymen and laymen of the renaissance showed a great delight in classic sculptures, says Frank Arnau. Deteriorated statues troubled their aesthetic sense. They sent ancient statues to be repaired; even the lobe of an ear could be replaced. Everything had to be perfect from an anatomical point of view' (Arnau 1970, 78). Hans Sedlmayr wrote the following: 'It is clear that, from the 16th century, busts were sculptural projects, they appeared before, from an outward point of view, busts as an autonomous art form. But it is clear that the baroque busts are always projects and nobody ever thought about using the project for a final work. […] This is also valid for classicism and romanticism and it is even more valid for the earlier periods, - the Middle Ages and Antiquity. As an autonomous artistic theme, Busts seem to have made their appearance for the first time with Rodin' (Sedlmayr 2001, 128-129).

Plaster casts did not put the viewer in the presence of what once was, but they had the advantage of reminding people of a prototype, of canonising it and popularising it, making it ubiquitous (Sicca et Yarrington 2000, 4-8).([8]) If the original made it easier to be in touch with the past that it came from, its copy would not offer that lost era, but would made it easy to imagine, describe and understand. It must be said that in the 17th-18th centuries there was a whole fashion of collecting casts: enabling people to imagine works of art that were hard to see, they contributed to the remaking of a chronological timeline of the stages of art history. If a link was made between them and other objects, the copy would succeed in doing what the original – a tribute to the idea of uniqueness – could not offer. The cast became the bearer of historicity, meaning that it started by illustrating archetypes or *typologies* and ended up suggesting *evolution*. The first collection of such objects did not have a problem with their authenticity, but with the development of knowledge (Lowenthal 2002, 331). They were not interested in empathising with the relic but in informing the spectator by giving him the most faithful image possible of the original work. The museum was described as being scientifically interesting and not aesthetically-affectively interesting; copying a work of art was also a way of taking a step back from the moment the original was created in (Lowenthal 2002, 344). As Lowenthal said, the copies give meaning to the past but do not make it actual. And if we do not put them in their historical context, they can no longer say what

([7]) The author talks about *Phaidros*, demonstrating that in Plato's conception, beauty was a characteristic that came from the intelligible and eternal essences. It had nothing to do with what was empirical, dominated by mixtures, contingencies and hazards, which bang against each other and degrades each other. Earthly beauty did not have her substance; it was a reflection of a superior permanent and stable existential register. The main 'symptom' of this immutable beauty was an untouchable integrity. A man-made object could not aspire to this statute if it were not, first and foremost whole, undamaged. The ontological definition given to beauty was taken a step further by Aristotle, in his antithesis between *form* and *substance*: form implies order, reason, and perfection whilst substance means the opposite – chaos, lack of balance, imperfection. As a consequence, beauty was the same as formal perfection, harmony, plenitude, balance, and ugliness was always maintained by incompleteness, maimed bodies, alterations, dislocations and the instability of forms.

([8]) At the beginning, the English were satisfied with some small copies brought by the travellers from the 18th century who had left on their so called 'Grand Tour'.

bit of history caused them to be sculpted. And by not re-making their past, we cannot understand the efforts of the people, who at the end of the 19th century, fought to get as many casts as possible from the big museums of the world. Their story is hard for us to understand.

This is how, at the end of the 17th century and all through the following one, classicism hesitated between an indirect, idealist or summarizing knowledge, gained from the copies, on the one hand, and direct, optical and exhaustive knowledge coming from the originals on the other hand (Himmelmann 1984, 204). Caught between artistic and archaeological interests, the casts had the advantage of either the *meditational reception* of the aesthetician, or the *imitative investigation* of the archaeologist or student of the Belle Arte (Himmelmann 1984, 120-121). It was endlessly exposed either to sensory effusions, typical of travellers and art amateurs, or to the 'completing', recuperating eyes of the scientist (Himmelmann 1984, 204). In the first case, the viewer identifies himself, enthusiastically with a used and maimed original work of art, but which he has finally managed to see for himself (Menant 2011, 262-265).([9]) In the second case, the archaeologist, collection or museum curator copied the work of art in order to complete it with the missing parts, and, last but not least, to integrate it in a temporal succession, in a certain school, a current, an era. By making a cast, they took a step back from the work of art; they put it into history and made its image available to a multitude of curious people, who wished to study it, to date it, to put it in catalogues, to compare it (Levy 1997, 88-114).([10]) The reproduction was not a double, but an interpretation of the prototype (Delon 2011, 284-285).([11]) It 'uprooted' the work of art, making it just a message, reduced as much as possible down to the essential. The original was in this way 'depersonalised', and forced to integrate into different artistic genealogies, which were different to the one it came from initially (Himmelmann 1984, 112). This is how the number of different pieces in your collection became more important than how unique each one was, says Himmelman. Plaster casts were still very useful in collections and museums of the 19th century because they perpetuated the meaning of the work of art, not the authenticity of the material out of which it was made (Himmelmann 1984, 169). Besides, the cost of the original had not grown due to the apparition of copies. That only happened once there was a mechanical reproduction of whole batches of copies (Benjamin 2002, 109-110).([12]) An important role in the apparition of these new sensitivities was played by the apparition of copyright laws, that covered the works of the artists, how they could be used, totally or partially by third parties (Maltese 1979, 114).

Until then, casts had had an incontestable prestige and had been treated by classicists as a work of art in its own right: often they 'completed' a prototype that was possibly maimed, maintaining its memory, or more correctly, the idea that had created it (Himmelmann 1984, 175-176). To complete means, for the moment, to give meaning to. Once upon a time, 'repairing' a statue, which today would make many people indignant, gave Benvenuto Cellini the occasion to enchant the

([9]) It was the time when the so-called art critics had to write about works of art which many of their readers would never be able to see. Writing about these analyses was one of the procedures by which the 'unattainable' works of art became 'visible'.

([10]) The idea that copying something sometimes meant taking a step back from the prototype can be seen in the case of the opposition to the reproduction of the statues from the holy places: they had a *ritual value* which, after the apparition of copies, was 'degraded' to the statute of *exhibitional value*. The existence of a copy made the original more secular. The article discusses a contentious question from the beginning of the 18th Century, between Pierre Legros, a sculptor, the author of the statue of Stanislas Kostka, and the Jesuits from the church of Sant' Andrea of Quirinale. The idea of the artist of moving the sculpture from a sacred place, which was difficult to access for visitors, to a non-scared but easily accessible place aroused the indignation of the monks. The idea of making a copy of the statue was not met with any more enthusiasm for fear that the replica would have an effect upon the 'aura' of the original. As Walter Benjamin put it, years later, the first maintained the exhibitional value of his opera, whereas the Church held onto its cultural value.

([11]) In Diderot's vision, art no longer reproduced what was real, but expressed the way in which it was perceived. It was not the artist who reinvented reality when he created, but rather; reality was reinvented in the eyes of the viewer, when he saw the sculpture or the painting.

([12]) Walter Benjamin looks through reproduction techniques, showing that the manual ones did not have any effect on the authority of the original. Really iconoclastic was the mechanical reproduction, a photo, for example, because it was much less dependent on the prototype. This reproduction could take a copy to places where the original could never go. Moreover, reproduction in batches cancelled out the quality of 'event' tied to any work of art but also the idea of it being a witness of history, because it 'modernises' it and cuts out its ancientness.

duke Cosimo I of Medici: '... it is a statue of Greek marble and represents a real marvel; I do not recall ever having seen amongst the antique statues such a beautifully sculpted boy's face. This is why I suggest to your Excellency, that I repair his head, arms and legs myself. I shall add onto him an eagle so that we can give him the name of Ganymede. Although it is not fitting for a man of my qualifications to repair statues – this being the job of a mender – *the majesty of this great artist forces me to serve it*. […] Around the same time, some antique statues were discovered near Arezzo, amongst which was the *Chimera*, that is to say the bronze lion which can be seen in one of the rooms next to the Large room of the duke's palace; with the Chimera they found a multitude of smaller statues, made from bronze, covered in earth and rust, each one of them had a head or arms or legs missing. The duke found great pleasure in sitting down and cleaning them up himself, with the help of a small jeweller's chisel. […] A few evenings later, the duke put me to work again, so I started to make the missing limbs for the statues (s.n. A.M)' (Cellini 1959, 397, 424-425).([13]) But the renaissance admiration for the ancient artists has never led to a monotonous plagiarism of the Great Model. E.H. Gombrich saw in these copying exercises an effort to purify the Greco-Roman inheritance. The medieval barbarianisms were set to one side and they saved themselves through reproducing and re-contextualising a multitude of 'patterns' or sculptural processes that were truly antique (Gombrich 1981, 239). For example, they would take the scene of a man falling off a horse from Traian's Column and was adapted to other sculptures but with different attitudes or with extra objects – like a shield – that hid the origins (Gombrich 1981, 243). Through such imitations and especially assimilations the *all'antica* style was born. This style required a certain selection and a large amount of generalisation; this is why it was recommended to artists in the second half of the 18th century to overcome their accidental and fortuitous perceptions, thus drawing nearer to the *ideal* (Hobson 1997, 580). Imitation no longer risked uselessly copying nature which was what Hegel had feared (Hegel 1966, 68).([14]) Such a danger existed, even when the sculptures of antique inspiration were only ordered to decorate the French gardens and their 'supervised' landscapes. In the park of the Marly castle, Diderot realised that 'in a garden there should not be many statues, but here there seem to be too many. Statues should be considered beings that like solitude and who seek for it like poets, philosophers and lovers do, and such beings should not be found at every corner' (Diderot 1982, 36).([15]) And, discussing a subject closer to what we are looking at, Goethe proved in 1769, that the difference between original and duplicate obtained through casting was not as bad as nowadays: the latter seemed to be a 'promoter' or a 'lawyer' for the former. Otherwise, they would not have aided the meditations of the scholars, and their desire to come back later, to verify their first impressions. 'I arrived in Mannheim – he tells –, I curiously rushed to visit the collection of antique art of the city. From Leipzig, due to the works of Winckelmann and Lessing, I had heard talk about these important works of art, but I had seen too few of them. Apart from Laocoon and the faun with cymbals, *there were no other plaster casts in the Academy's collections.* […] I received a warm welcome from director Verschaffeldts. One of his collaborators opened the room for me and then left me alone to observe and rejoice. […] The splendid statues of the antiquity were not only lined up against the walls, but also in the middle of the room, in no particular order, so they seemed to make up a forest of statues, an ideal assembly, through which you had to make your way, in order to get anywhere. By opening or closing the curtains, the light was projected in the best way onto these amazing figures, which could also be moved by turning their pedestals. […] After studying so many sublime works of art, my taste for ancient architecture could not help but be aroused. I found the *plaster copy* of a capital of the Rotonda and I do not deny that as I observed the large and elegant leaves of acanthine, my admiration for Nordic architecture started to

([13]) It is important to mention that Ganymede was an extremely good-looking young man that even Zeus had fallen in love with. This is why the father of gods transformed into an eagle that took the boy to Olympus. In Cellini's time, it was not the accuracy with which you restored a statue that was important, but the 'esoteric' aspects: the knowledge of the symbolical substratum of the work of art, the allusions to Greek mythology. Any work of art, however small, was a good reason to show your knowledge of the Classical Antiquity.

([14]) 'Winckelmann, filled with the contemplation of the old ideals, opened up the way for a new perception in the study of art, freeing it from the points of view that ordinary goals offered, and also *from those of the simple imitation of nature* (s.n. A.M.)'.

([15]) This is the letter addressed to Sophie Volland on 10th May 1759.

wane (s.n. A.M.)' (Goethe 1967, 66-68). Goethe's story reminds us somewhat of Diderot: we can see that those storehouses for casts (easily made into impressive places by means of the curtains and the mobile pedestals) were not meant to receive a large public. Although they belonged to the Academy, they were at that point hoarding them privately, and they were only available for the solitary pleasure of collectors or a couple of curious people. They gained popularity gradually, towards the end of the 18th century.

Although Greek art was supreme for Winckelmann, he did not agree with the copying of sculptures as a goal *per se*, with no critical judgement. He did not share either the opinion of his French counterparts, who, a century before him despised spontaneity and considered the idea of originality as something bizarre or ridiculous (Mortier 1997, 811). Quite the opposite, his conception of the 'ideal beauty as a representation of the general beauty' proves to us that he saw in the reproduction of the statues a method of synthesis and harmonization of the best works of art of the ancients. For this reason, he thought that eclecticism and compilation were somewhat useful as they brought together the 'beauty spread out' in original fragments, but that were isolated and incoherent: 'just like the bee that gathers the nectar from many different flowers, the idea of beauty is not limited to one single individual beauty, like many of the ancient and modern poets' ideas about beauty state, and as today's artists seem to believe, but seek to reunite the beauty from the chosen forms of many different beautiful bodies' (Winckelmann 1985, 182-183). Combining, hypothetically, the head of a first statue with the torso of a second one and the arms of the third, would suggest a hierarchy of the most beautiful works of art ever made by the Greeks. His 'top' went into the finest details, however, down to the locks of hair, the eyebrows or the folds of the clothes. To copy a sculpture was, in his opinion, a sort of prize for the artist who created the work, a modest form of museumification. On one hand, what was 'new' seemed to him like an epi-phenomenon of the 'old', an imitation; but on the other hand, appearances of ancientness should not be made a fetish, as they often hid late copies of a prototype. He put an equal sign between a new thing and degradation, what bothered him the most were tricks and duplicates that were made to look older and which mislead him: 'a statue that seems Etruscan or from an era before Greek art is not always authentic: it can be a copy or an imitation of an older work of art, which was a model to several Greek artists in different times […]. Or, if we are talking about statues of gods, which, judging by other signs and reasons cannot be as old as they seem, it could be that the author has adopted an older style in order to awaken more veneration' (Winckelmann 1985, 257). And compared to the times of Benvenuto Cellini, when completing statues was just a small detail in the scheme of things, the time of Winckelmann showed the negative character of this renaissance habit. This is what he wrote in a book published in 1764: 'the most errors of the experts on Antiquity's statues come from their overlooking the add-ons and restorations; because they could not make a distinction between what was added on to replace bits that had deteriorated or been lost, and what was really ancient' (Winckelmann 1985, 47) and he carried on to say: '...research into art has always been my main interest and it needed to start with the ability to discern what was modern from what was ancient, what was authentic from replacements or add-ons. I immediately discovered the overall rule that secondary parts of statues, especially arms and legs must be considered, generally speaking, as being modern, this applies to all the parts that were added on; it was hard for me at the beginning however, to decide by myself about the heads of some of the statues' (Winckelmann 1985, 122). This was an acceptable situation, compared to what Diderot heard from an expert: '[…] Baron Gleynach has travelled much. He is the one who made conversation flow upon his return. He spoke to us about […] the barbarism in the Court of Sicily, which left a triumphal carriage from the Antiquity, covered in bas-reliefs and horses, in the hands of some monks, to melt it down and make some bells' (Diderot 1982, 38).

A few changes of attitude appear in the 19th century, as knowledge about objects and recreating the context in which they had been made became more important than collecting them (Rheims 1987, 379). Maurice Rheims compared the 18th century to the 19th, stating that the former was an 'antique-maniac' age and the latter a period obsessed with anything that was past (Rheims 1987, 378). Considering the fact that the 19th century arrived with the persecution of anachronic restorations, Rheims admired the way in which people had started to place value, premeditatedly, on the 'fragments' that had survived over time. The Philosophy at the base of this new type of behaviour could be summed up thus: let us be happy with what the centuries have left us, and not complete our knowledge by

any means possible and not create, by adding things on, fictive histories, creating more past than we need. If you look at things this way, you reach the conclusion that the lack of many vestiges left by a past civilisation is in itself a historic fact, which we would distort if we sought to multiply the sources of our information. The remains of a statue are, despite of their desolating and poor aspect, a stage of their own in the biography of that object; therefore the damages suffered are a visual certificate that proves the history of the work of art and the way in which it came through so many centuries to get to us.

The Philosophy that entitled the restoration of the ancient statues during the renaissance and till late in the illumination period, can be summed up with the following axiom: Beauty was the face with which the idea of Good made itself visible to man. The confusion between restoration and rationalisation of images disappeared however, especially from the second half of the 19th century, by moving the accent away from the *idea* to the *expression*, from the content to the form (Himmelmann 1984, 171). They no longer desired the reconstruction of a lost or broken whole, the fragment in itself was now more important, precisely as it had been found, and the wear on the object made it all the more sought after as it was the mark of the length of time the fragment had lived (Himmelmann 1984, 172-173, 196). This was an important change, which came about in a mimetic way, excessively so: '... our young artists try to imitate everything – said David d'Angers in July 1831 – even the ancientness of the old works of art' (d'Angers 1980, 76). Greek art was no longer seen as the mirror of archetypes or high moral virtues – as Winckelmann described it – beauty no longer teamed up with Good, but chose Truth instead. In 1911, Auguste Rodin, who was considered the last romantic sculptor, said to Paul Gsell: '... in Art, nothing is beautiful except that which has *character*. […] And seeing as only the force of character is the beauty of Art, it often happens that the uglier a being truly is, the more beautiful it is in Art. […] In Art what is ugly is what is fake, what is artificial, whatever tries to be sweet or beautiful instead of being expressive […], everything that is soul without truth, and everything that is just a parade of beauty or grace, everything that lies' (Rodin 1968, 21). Due to the new changes of conception, the decline of the taste for 'completion' seemed to happen on its own: the time of familiarity with the Greco-Roman period finished, admitting it was inaccessible and acknowledging the distance between them and that past (Haskell et Penny 1999, 139). Art and science were separating: reconstructions were now just an attribute of museums and in their turn, art critics considered 'romantic' any sculpture that was not reminiscent of or a copy of an older work of art (Benoist 1994, 56).

To sum up what we have looked at till now, we can see three different stages in the history of reactions to casts/copies: a) they were 'another kind of original', a 'reborn' one or 'helped', without acknowledging the fact that this would imply it was counterfeit; the explanations and perceptions of things were then owed to a logic of adjacency (to liken two things or to draw them together physically was one and the same thing as making them 'family' or creating a relation of causality between them), the copy was a relic of the original and inherited a bit of its 'aura'; b) they had the statute of effigies, of 'substitutes' or symbols of the original; the latter being almost hidden within the reproduction, but accepted to be represented by it; c) they were a sort of 'citation' or paraphrase of the prototype, without keeping any of its authentic substance. The 19th century is overwhelmingly invoked as a period of originality. In fact, under the pressure of the new technologies and particularly of photography, the usages and prestige of all forms of reproduction are reconsidered. There coexisted three variants to bear a relation to plaster casts and to the 'completions' and 'restorations' of the old masterpieces: 1) the *backward-looking variant*, seeing imitation, in all of its forms, as a way to re-teach a Greek-Roman standard, with global applicability and unlimited validity; by copying the ancient art, we save – they thought – the only origins we all acknowledge; 2) the *probabilistic variant*: by copying and adding something to the original, one was looking for a new plenitude, a new sense, carrying on the creator's thought; the best form of conservation seemed to be continual creation; 3) the *present-looking variant*, which saw the chopped sculpture *per se* as an autonomous work and the limbless trunk not a truncation, but a review, the conclusion of a long biography; the chopped torso was not the image of an unfortunate accident, depriving us of the joy of the wholeness, but a visual episode, naturally developing from others. However, maybe the great gain reside in the involuntarily difference between the false and the fictive: while the former degrades the prototype and cheats the watcher, the latter brings us closer to the

masterpiece and clarifies it for us; in other words, it redefines the 'already known', rendering it to us in a manner more adequate to our desire to be, periodically, other individuals. To the disappointment of the amateurs of facile classifications, the paper shows that originality was not looked after as a purpose in its own, as it entered the stage as a *passe-partout* notion, with the participation of which imitation was explained in a more honourable way. Accordingly, there are two coexisting tendencies, and none of them prevails; originality is rather an unexpected guest, a concept with a restrained public. It represents a tacit counterweight to the popularity of surrogates and to the re-canonizations of the mimesis. But the most important is that this kind of *originality* does not oppose *imitation*, being rather synonymous with the *new*. The people of the 18th-19th centuries were not rushing to decide what is and what is not authentic, preferring to discover what was left to imitate. The originality was thus born as a side effect, on the edges of a very old art of reproduction, infinitely re-conceptualized and redefined.

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Romanian Travelers to the East between the Quest for the Exotic and Diplomatic Mission

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Abstract. Travel has a long and complicated history, and has always been an experience observed from the European point of view. A journey is more than just a walk from A to B, it's a bildungsroman, and it's an identity interplay between us and others, because, in most of the cases, travel is an initiatic journey for self-knowledge, self-worth, and recognition. Confronted with the reality of the *other* we cannot help ourselves from comparing what we see or fell, hear, smell, with the familiar without pointing out the differences, the strange.

Our study aims to analyze the types of travel writings by the Romanians who, for various reasons, journeyed into the East, starting from the Near East (the Ottoman Empire).

Keywords: travel, perception, stereotype, travel writings, identity, cultural encounter

Peter Burke named travel history among the subjects favored by the cultural historians who took upon the study of cultural maps. (Burke 2004, 59) Because any journey begins with the existence of a map, physical or mental, of the destination ([1]).

An example can be found in Timothy Youngs work *Travel writing in the 19th century* that begins with a quote from *Trough the Dark Continent* by Henry Morton Stanley (Youngs ed. 2006, 1) Stanley says to his travel companion that European's recent map of the African continent is blank, empty, and that he's taken upon himself to populate with cities, wonderful images of the people that occupy them, while being anxious to see if his predictions are true.

Travel literature doesn't represent an objective or photographic record of the traveler's experience in another foreign land. These types of writings are the subject of normative social influences such as the author's cultural background.

In this study we will try to answer some questions regarding the travel records of the Romanian travelers to the East: were they products of the Western cultural phenomena? Did the political situation between the Romanian Principalities and The Ottoman Empire played a key factor in the characteristics of the *gaze*?

Casey Blanton's definition of travel literature will provide a starting point for the analysis. From his point of view, based on psychological relation between the observer and the observed, the topic of the travel books is the result from 'the interplay between the philosophical preconceptions of the traveler and the test to which they are submitted'.(Blanton 2002, 1-3) Outlining some of the features from travel literature, Blanton names some of the obvious ones: the existence of a narrator/ traveler with no specific purpose, just for the pleasure of travel; a narrative style that borrows from fiction to set a climax and anticlimax for the action and the characters, a setting fitted for the action, and a commitment to picture the odd and the exotic, but using familiar methods.

When trying to discover similar patterns among the Romanian travelers we ought to make several distinctions. First of all, the Romanian Principalities where among the regions chosen by the Western travelers as being part of the East. Secondly, from a social standpoint, there were two major social classes: the boyars and the peasants, and in between, the incipient bourgeoisie. The reason behind these explanations is mainly, due to the social changes produced by the Western imports.

The social role of the 19th century Romanian elite is borrowed from the Western,

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especially French, aristocracy, in an attempt to gain some prestige when faced with the examples provided by the western world. (Olariu 2006, 45)

And so, we can use some of the definitions we discussed so far in order to analyze the writings of the Romanian travelers.

At the border between the 'reality' of the descriptions and the subjectivity of the narrator/traveler's *gaze*, travel writing is considered by Florin Faifer a domain that ranges from the murks of the subconscious to the 'universe of the fictional'. (Faifer 1993, 6-7)

Travel literature has been used by Romanian researchers in an attempt to better understand the events from the Romanian Principalities in the 19th century using the descriptions made by foreign travelers. And, of course, are a valuable source for cultural historians because they are the products of encounters between different cultures, a product and a process.

We will attempt to use the theories and characteristics mentioned above in order to discuss the works of Vasile Alecsandri, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Dimitrie Ralet, Alexandru M. Lahovary. We will try to point out the image attributed to the Orient by individuals who, somewhat journeyed inside their cultural comfort zone (they were aware of the oriental cultural background and the descriptions that depicted them as existing within the East). Their perceptions of the Orient, as defined by the Western cultural norm, is quite revealing and draws a certain evolution of mentalities concerning the relations with the East.

Irina Mihai-Vainovski thinks that in the second half of the 19th century travel literature undergoes a process from the Romantic exaltation to the scientific inquiries made by the so-called 'intellectual travelers'. (Mihai 2009, 11-12) We would add to these categories the works of those sent to Constantinople on a diplomatic mission (and tend to put the political affairs first, and their perception is heavily influenced by the outcome) and the descriptions brought back by some Romanian artists, like Theodor Aman.

Between 1848 and 1856, the main features of the travel writings of the Romanian travelers can be summed up in a Romantic quest for the exotic, for those aspects that are outside the concept of civilization. The authors tend to give the impression that they took a mirror down the street and their descriptions are the image resulted.

The interval between the 1860 and 1880 was named by Irina Mihai as the 'classic period' of Oriental travel when there is a rising interest for the African continent and some of the territories under ottoman rule (Oriental Rumelia, Bosnia, Albania).We can find articles published in magazines and newspapers of the time by Iulian Grozescu, Ioan Maiorescu, Iacob Negruzzi, Ieronim Barițiu, Cezar Bolliac, etc, that try to inform the public regarding the oriental 'delights'. Their content is more balanced between fascination and reality, and more specific about the ethnographical detail. (Mihai 2009, 15)

Maybe this phase owes its characteristics to the political and diplomatic relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire. Another possible explanation can be provided by the Western influence and taste for the Eastern travel adopted through their period spent studying in Western universities.

We can trace the second hypothesis in some of the articles published in Romanian papers taken from the foreign press, often published without any alterations (copied from their original form), or paraphrasing the terms that didn't have any correspondent in the Romanian language.

Irina Mihai called some of these articles 'de-exotised' because they were adapted to fit the level of understanding of the Romanian public by containing comparisons of types of costumes and descriptions with long explanations. (Mihai 2009, 16-19) The French cultural pattern for the oriental travel can be found in the presence of works by Lamartine or Chateaubriand or Victor Hugo in any personal library owned by the representatives of the Romanian elite. Travel becomes a way of life in the 19th century, a trademark for one's status.

As well as any other cultural phenomena, the history of travel has its moments of spontaneity, and reaches a stage in which scientific inquiry and critical appraisal are dominant.

The oriental temptation is present in the Romanian poetry: *The herder of Bosphorus* by Vasile Alecsandri, *The flowers of the Bosphorus* written by the one who also wrote about the historical legends of the Romanians, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, etc. Also, the ones who traveled to the Orient didn't have the chance to publish their experiences in independent volumes, but chose to send articles to the local newspapers such as: *Curierul românesc, Albina românească, Foaia duminecii, Mozaicul, Icoana lumei, etc.*

providing their readers with means for travels with the power of imagination. These papers also translated various pieces from foreign travels to the East (made by Lamartine, Chateaubriand or Nicolas Forbin). (Faifer, 76)

The concept of the exotic becomes, by the end of the 19th century, a concept familiar to the cultural Romanian elite. Oriental interiors in the Western-fashioned residences of the Romanian intelligentsia (not only ottoman, but Chinese and Japanese, also) become a trend. There are more and more journeys into the exciting East and more frequent, and tend to break the comfort zone targeting regions such as Tierra del Fuego, Australia etc. The Far East is the main attraction and, when revisiting the Middle or the Near East 'it isn't a foreign or unknown land to the Romanian public, and Romanians don't perceive themselves in a competition with the East in tracing their own identity'. (Mihai 2009, 32-34)

One possible reason for this shift in perception regarding the discourse about the oriental can be found in the unfolding of the events in the Romanian Principalities towards a national state. But we can add the Westernization of the Romanian elite might have played a part in the shaping the context for these changes.

Romantic exoticism and Romantic nationalism

The purpose of this study doesn't reside in the determining the authenticity of the descriptions for the Orient and the public reaction. But every analysis of the travel literature must establish the certain report between the body of text and the reality of the event.

There are difficulties in establishing this relation because it entails a multitude of variations. Starting from an idea that the text has its own reality, we are dealing with the text that declares reality as its own meta-structure, but, also, with a text that decides to break away from reality. (Anghelescu 1988, 5)

The travel memoirs, even the ones written by the Romanian travelers, have a fundamental and unmistakable characteristic over time. And that is the tendency to describe to their readers information unknown to them, to retell, as precise as possible, the itinerary of the journey, with details about various smells, or sounds, colors and types of physiognomies. Travel writings, though a significant historical source, represent the subjective reflection of the *Other* through the traveler's lenses, becoming the result of a cultural encounter with the claim to truthfulness.

In our opinion, the Romanian travelers to the East didn't sought an exotic escape from an over industrialized landscape (because it wasn't the case in a predominantly agrarian economy), but the desolation and degradation found in the oriental depictions/representations had the purpose of convincing them that they made the right choice at the crossroad of the 18th-19th centuries.

Belonging to the so-called 'revolutionary generation', Vasile Alecsandri and Dimitrie Bolintineanu are among the first ones to publish descriptions of oriental voyages. They are, also, pioneers in breaching the oriental comfort zone, traveling to Africa, a breach considered by Mircea Anghelescu as a consequence of the 1848 Revolution, a catalyst for surpassing the traditional itineraries. (Anghelescu, 1983, 9)

These traditional routes mentioned above were the journeys undertaken by the sons of the Romanian boyars to the Western universities in order to study and reduce the gap between the Romanian Principalities and the Western world.

The travel writings of Vasile Alecsandri and Dimitrie Bolintineanu, although they have the same stylistic characteristics as the ones written by French or English travelers, they constitute the materialization of an Orient filled with poetry and harmony, and feminine beauty. We can observe a certain influence in picking up some of the leitmotifs of French romantics such as Chateaubriand and Lamartine, their attention being drawn by the street movement, poly-ethnicity of the bazaar and human types. The result from the confrontation of what was expected from the oriental landscape and the reality of it consists in an ambiguous and heterogeneous writing.

Vasile Alecsandri publishes his impressions from the African/Oriental travel in an article *My travel diary. Morocco* in the edition of 'Telegraful' from 1868. It tells the story of a long journey that began 1853, in the south of France, passing through Spain and ending in the north of the African continent. An itinerary quite familiar and almost identical to the one used by those who were searching for the exotic. The most interesting aspect regarding the memoirs of Vasile Alecsandri is the use of a character, fictional more or less, who is presented to the reader as a companion met in unusual circumstances. Angel, the British, draws a mental map of their expedition.

Angel suggested that 'from Marseille we go and visit the whole of the Spanish coast: Barcelona, Valencia, Cartagena, Malaga, etc., up to the Gibraltar rock. From there we travel to Cadix, and from there our Spanish voyage truly begins by visiting: Seville, Cordoba and Granada. And then we reach Madrid, where we stop for as long as we like, before returning to France'. (Alecsandri 1960, 200)

Impressed by the Mediterranean views, Alecsandri remembers episodes from his previous travels. In 1845 he took a short voyage to Constantinople where he met the consul of Tripoli, Dickson, who was very fond of Turkish coffee. (Alecsandri 1960, 204-205) Alecsandri also gives various details about Turkish cities Brussa, the old Ottoman capital, Ghemlic, and a romantic description of the natural wonders of the road.

The encounter with the *Other* is rendered using as term of comparison the notion of *home*, of his native land, and so, the exotic romanticism coexist with the nationalist romanticism in his travel stories. At the end of his journey in Spain, he leaves France on a ship. Alecsandri's sea journey facilitates a moment of meditation about his country's situation: 'among my thoughts and dreams, my country reveals herself as a loving mother calling me to her bosom. Oh! Beloved country, oh! My beloved heaven. Wherever I may wonder in this world, I am accompanied by your holy image'.(Alecsandri 1960, 216) He then proceeds to remember his favorite scenes from Italy, France, and the picturesque oriental landscapes.

The same motif, associating his homeland with and oriental situation, is present in *Suvenirele* din 1855 in his famous letters to Ion Ghica. Travelling to Crimea, he reaches Sevastopol, a city of great importance to the recent Romanian history (a battle from the Crimean war), naming it the New Jerusalem because of the Oriental Question. Sevastopol becomes in Alecsandri's description 'a sacred place for us, Romanians, where the future of our countries is being made. (…) under the influence of those thought and driven by a great curiosity a decided to do a pilgrimage into the old Tauride, accompanied by a friend who previously visited the region'.(Alecsandri 1998, 288)

The construction of the *Other* begins, from an anthropological point of view, as a *gaze* of the Western world over the non-European people, situated outside of the civilized world's standards. And the story of this encounter becomes the expression of crossing the cultural boundaries using a fixed point, home. For Vasile Alecsandri, home is a national remembrance, as noticed in his letter to Ion Ghica, or is a nostalgic meditation about the concept of a homeland. This home is always present in his evocation of the Oriental journey, the East becomes a term of comparison between the familiar and the foreign, with emphasis on the familiar, of that loving mother/country.

Vintilă Mihăilescu argues that there is an anthropological and universal fascination about the distant, the foreign and the strange, and that strangeness is ambivalent. It can be the object of feelings of hate and rejection (the Herodotus's rule) or, on the contrary, one of admiration and attraction. (Mihăilescu 2009, 63)

Alecsandri includes himself in the European world, pertaining to the civilized world, taking upon himself the role of an omniscient narrator. On the 27th of September, at 8 o'clock in the morning, he reaches the Gibraltar where he can already see the shores of the African continent. He perceives the landscape beneath his gaze as the juxtaposition of two opposite worlds: the civilized Europe and the wild Africa, admiring the majestic spectacle of this union. (Alecsandri 1960, 242)

His scrutiny crosses city walls, bad roads, admiring the sights offered by the symbiosis of nature and human constructions, but considering its people a 'population of sick and foolish men. The indigenous people I have met so far have an air of suffering and saddening misery; I have not seen yet a jolly face' and Tangier is like a 'city burnt by a big fire, shaken by an earthquake'. (Alecsandri 1960, 244-249) Although Alecandri is obviously disappointed when faced with the confrontation between reality and expectation, it doesn't prevent him from dreaming away to the Orient with immense gardens and silvery waters.

Nature has the Romantic aura of a deity and Alecsandri gives the reader a slight sensation that the aesthetic pleasure of the journey is solely provided by its wonders. When speaking about the governor of the city of Tangier he pictures him as an oriental, barbaric satrap, living isolated from his people. Based on this description of Tangier's ruler, he concludes that, if in Morocco, a place where Europe meets Africa, one can find such barbaric manifestations, in the center of the continent, what degree of wilderness must characterize the populations living there. (Alecsandri 1960, 254-255)

When speaking of Alecsandri's counterpart, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, the Orient

means the city with a certain significance for the Romanian contries, Constantinople (he joins Alexandru-Ioan Cuza on a diplomatic mission to obtain the sultan's recognition of the united Romanian Principalities), but also, the Holy Land, and the northern Africa.

Given the fact that Bolintineanu received a scholarship in Paris (1846-1848), he had the opportunity to read travel novels that were in fashion then such as Volney's (whom he quotes often). But, unlike Bolintineanu's French counterparts, he came from a part of Europe considered to be oriental in nature. Luminița Munteanu views Bolintineanu's take of the oriental image as one dominated by the Western norm, existing outside of civilization, passive, the fundamental opposite of the active and progressive spirit of the West. (Munteanu 2009, 77-78)

The Danube is considered by many of the Romanian travelers, including Dimitrie Bolintineanu, as a liminal space, a hybrid space between Us and Them. But, on the other hand, in his description, the river becomes 'a cradle of liberty (…) a witness for the greatest deeds' (Bolintineanu 1915, 12-13) filled with beauty and riches, speaking about its ancient history. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of alterity, consists of the self-analysis that creates self-images. The relation between Us and Them in the case of the Romanian travelers to the East from this interval (1848-1880) often contain allusions to a national ideal and tend to describe the oriental populations using pejorative terms and poetical eulogies to *home*.

The self-images that can be found in Bolintineanu's accounts can only be understood in tandem with the stereotypical images taken from his lecture of French authors as he confesses at some point: 'I haven't yet read a book about travelling in the East in which the author doesn't mention a bearded and raggedy dervish'. (Bolintineanu 1951, 284) He then continues the series of unappreciative stereotypes regarding the oriental people, mixed with a slight note of optimism: 'everything in Turkey seems to be a ruin: people and places; and this decay affects even its government. The foreigner who sees these things for the first time thinks the Turkey is fading. But it's on the verge of major changes'.

Bolintineanu's opinions about the political situation of the Ottoman Empire (always named in the text as Turkey, as a secular state), are due to better understanding of the status of the Empire given the relations between the two states. The cultural differences are fewer than in the Western example. Luminița Munteanu considers that these constant references to other travel books as a nuanced and ironic remark regarding their lack of real knowledge about the real Orient. (Munteanu 2009)

Călătoriile pe Dunăre şi în Bulgaria have been considered to be a witness to debunked discourse of the East because they were made under the constraint of exile (as a punishment for his role in the 1848 Revolution, Bolintineanu was banished from the Romanian countries until 1857; his travel accounts were published a year later). (Munteanu 2009)

But that doesn't prevent him from re-creating an oriental atmosphere with beautiful women, exotic and mysterious places e.g. □am, Candili, Scutari, Brussa. He uses various toponyms and anthroponyms, names of types of clothing or objects of everyday use. This type of discourse adds, if it was still necessary, to the intention of giving the reader the impression he was more acquainted with the reality of the Orient.

Unlike Vasile Alecandri, Bolintineanu tends not to adopt the Western perception of the East in its entirety. Regarding some of the specifications made about the demography of the Ottoman Empire, he contradicts what was generally known to Western public (the Europeans believed that the decrease in population was due to their religion that allowed polygamy, but Bolintineanu states that such assumptions were false and based on a religious aversion). (Bolintineanu 1951, 269)

His work about the journey through Asia Minor is filled, almost annoying at some point, with so much historical, demographical, social information that it resembles more and more with a travel guide or encyclopedia than a personal experience. He quotes the writings of Nicolas de Forbin. During his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he doesn't act like a pilgrim, but, rather in a matter similar to a tourist who came to discover what happens at the Holy Tomb on Easter.

He insists, with a Romantic mindset, to describe buildings, natural landscapes, sacrificing the human element. *Călătoriile* have a bookish feeling, with long historical accounts about various cities, biblical episodes e.g. the battle of David and Goliath. Following the itinerary established by his travel memoirs we can have a compound of romantic exaltation, historical and relevant facts in a tourist guide manner and personal opinions regarding aspects of culture. And what is more intriguing is that

the author never visited all those places, re-telling the first or second-rate story of a fabulous oriental journey, checking the usual destinations on an usual Eastern tour.

The Orient through an artistic eye: the case of Romanian artists

Having declared that his sole purpose for his voyage to Constantinople is to present his recent painting *The Battle of Oltenița* to the ottoman sultan after being received so well in the Parisian cultural circles, Theodor Aman doesn't publish his experience (he prefers to correspond with his brother on the matter). It seems to be important for Aman to specify to his brother the reason behind his trip to Constantinople in a letter dated October 1854: the possibility to see the French troops in their glory and watch the war's unfolding. (Istrati 1904, 11) Unlike other orientalist painters, Aman doesn't assert a need for an escape from a suffocating and industrialized society, or a longing for spiritual renewal, as in the case of Victorian orientalist painters.

In his letter exchange with his brother, Aman fulfills the role of a narrator to a public with little knowledge about the Orient. Maybe his artistic education has a say in the matter, but he describes the scenery with precision and an abundance of details: 'I thought I was dreaming because it is indeed something enchanting, the shores of Bosphorus being bordered by gardens, the exquisite columns decorating the houses, the multitude of boats that form the port, convince the tourists to declare that it is the most beautiful place seen by someone anywhere in the Universe'. (Istrati, 13)

After the enthralling scenery at the crossing of the Mediterranean Sea and the entrance in the old Byzantion, Aman has a similar reaction as a westerner to the reality of an oriental, crowded city, the confrontation between the ascribed exotic beauty and the filth of a transit area. 'But what a disappointment upon entering the city, those foul streets, innumerable dogs, those barefoot Turks with barbaric appearance. The women, whom, in another cities I have admired their poetic allure, are nothing but ghostly figures, differing only in color (…) contribute to a feeling of regret from whoever visits this ancient city'. (Istrati 1904, 13) Aman uses all of his senses to perceive the oriental flavor of the city, documenting every little detail of the surroundings, informing his brother about several Turkish traditions. For instance he wrote that the men would gather and dine every Friday evening, with women divided in a different group – Aman makes some observations regarding the structure and gender roles in Turkish society, keeping also in mind some of the culinary customs.

'The men, as it is their custom, are placed in separate groups from the women, they drink and smoke. When I say drink it means coffee because, due to their Islamic religion, wine is forbidden, but they often drink it whenever they are home alone'. (Istrati 1904, 13-14)

Theodor Aman was acclaimed among the Romanian cultural elite for his series of odalisques, greeted as works of significant beauty. Depicted in several stances: smoking hookah or playing the mandolin, or sitting in a Turkish style, laying on the divan, the erotic aspect of this kind of subject is slightly diminished, the ambience being one of detachment and the indolence of a Moorish afternoon. With a nonchalant and dreamy attitude, the odalisque's source of inspiration can be traced back to his journey from Sevastopol to Smyrna. 'Smyrna, where I could only admire women's beauty, but their waist were ill-proportioned with the allure of their heads and their eyes filled with fire'. (Istrati 1904, 12)

He speaks often of the female figures he met in Istanbul, Pera, and some other cities in Asia Minor, which always had an expression of eternal somnolence, a recurring assertion in the letters sent to his brother.

Aman's oriental perception is profoundly shaped by the western cannon, and that can be seen in his sequel of paintings of harems or odalisques, several types of human characters (sketches such as *Mosque, Turkish fighter, Turkish coffee shops, Oriental architecture, Street from Constantinople*). This sums up an image comprised of stereotypes borrowed from orientalist stream in the Romantic painting in the 19th century.

One of Aman's peers, the painter Gheorghe Tattarescu whose main focus consisted, mainly, in the religious artistic theme or the historical allegories, also took a short voyage to Istanbul. The art historian Ion Frunzetti mentioned that in 1851 Tattarescu used this journey to reach out to some of the exiled participants in the 1848 Romanian revolution.

A small notebook with several sketches was used as a proof for his oriental voyage with views of Athens, drawings of the *Temple of the wind, Mountain peaks in the Balkans, Bosphorus, Prinkipo Island, Karavanserai, Andal-hipar* (one of the two fortresses that stand

on each side of the Bosphorus), *Brussa* and many more. Although the oriental scenery attracts his gaze and artistic prowess, considering them worthy to be subject of an entire sketchbook, 'they are merely travel notes, results of a different frame of mind from the Romantic travelers infatuated with the exotic scenery, such as Delacroix or Raffet (…) landscape is not a subject favorable to Tattarescu and his oriental voyage has no effect on his style'. (Frunzetti 1991, 185-186)

Through the eyes of a diplomat

Until this moment we attempted to analyze the Orient's representation through visual, auditory and olfactory experiences by some of the artists and men of letters. This section of our study aims to discuss the features of a discourse outlined in the memoirs and notes pertaining to members of the Romanian cultural elite sent on diplomatic missions in Istanbul.

We will begin with the work of Dimitrie Ralet, a significant member of the boyars, who dabbled with literature, but was, also, a gifted politician who played an important part in the 1848 Revolution (a liberal with modernist views). Ralet was nominated along with Costache Negri by the Moldavian ruler Grigore Ghica to find a solution to the situation of monasteries dedicated to the ones from Athos. His account *Souvenirs and travel impressions in Romania, Bulgaria, Constantinople* was published in Paris in 1858.

Recurring mentions in his notes are those consisting in assertions about the political, judicial and the various conflicts with the suzerain state, Ottoman Empire. Ralet's accounts do not have the usual structure of a travel report, instead they have a slight tendency to be a manifesto for the independence of the Romanian countries.

Touched by the natural wonders, he described his journey on the Danube River with details about every city encountered; when he had an opportunity he informed his reader about famous battles that occurred in the places he visited.

Approaching the Bosphorus shores, he talks about the history of the old city of Byzantion, using more details and a somewhat critical point of view to discuss the variegated mix of ethnical costumes, the bright colors of those ensembles in opposition with evident signs of poverty. (Ralet 1979, 45). Ralet makes a habit of informing his readers about the specifics and main members of the ottoman society (his knowledge of such details is due to the numerous contacts between the upper-class Romanians and Ottoman officials). He makes note of the new and old melting pot (the 19th century Tanzimat), the infusion of various populations Muslim and Christian, the Europeans that began to wear oriental clothing and Turks which had to renounce them in favor of the western attire.

Ralet, in behalf of his diplomatic role, had the chance to witness up close the diplomatic ceremonies and customs of the Turkish Divan, commenting on how obsolete they were. The Sublime Porte kept a disproportionate arrogance during the audience.

Unlike other authors discussed previously, Ralet uses quite frequently the term *oriental*, when speaking about a council of elders, regarding some of the customs and functions, types of clothing and even a proverbial oriental apathy, when patience is a virtue. This kind of assertions can be understood in the context of the voyage's purpose: a consular service.

A peculiar sequence of his stay in Constantinople was dedicated to a rather unexpected encounter with what he called 'a ghost of the past'. On one of his touristic walks in the old part of the town, he came across a Divan with elders sitting silently, dressed according the norms of the high Ottoman officials. Among this gathering he noticed a familiar figure, that of one Walachian former rulers, in an oriental costume: a cutlass around his waist, a piece of garment denoting his rank (căbăniță), tall fur cap and a mace in his hand. (Ralet 1979, 86-90) It was a scene from a history museum, 'a place filled with dreams of the past', Ralet took the image of an old buttonwood to picture the Ottoman Empire as a state threatened from all of its borders, shaken by the numerous fought wars, but protecting and still keeping its will to live.

During his visit to Boiagi-Kioi, a village with many liaisons to the Crimean War, Ralet took the advantage to bring up the Romanian involvement in this conflict and the implications of its actions.

The reader doesn't miss in Ralet's travel notes the usual oriental images of slowness and passivity that makes the people's temperament one of laisse faire, laisse passer, uncaring and pessimistic about the future, giving in to carnal desires. Also, the writer informs his audience of the differences between the Orientals and Romanians, the latter being part of the sort of people meant to inquire, to discover, to progress, to spend their existence in the fast lane, never

stopping until they reach the very end. This paragraph placed beside the one at the beginning of his journey when he talks about the Romanian people in terms of an oriental race makes an interesting point about the never-ending fluctuation between the East and the West, between being oriental by acculturation and westerner by cultural heritage.

His last chapters of *Souvenirs and impressions* take into consideration the contradictory aspects of Ottoman society and everyday life, making extensive notes about the role of women, with personal observations about literature, language, music, poetry and so on.

Ralet concludes his oriental voyage with state affairs raised shortly after the signing of the Paris Treaty (1856), discussing the current political situation of the Romanian Principalities and claiming that the events so far were never intended to bring any damage to the relations with the Ottoman Empire.

His travel writings are among the most detailed work so far by any Romanian traveler, with significant details regarding the Ottoman culture and society, and hinting at the issues of the two provinces struggling for autonomy.

Half a century later, we have the *Diplomatic memoirs* of Alexandru Em. Lahovary who was the Romanian Minister Plenipotentiary at Istanbul during the interval of 1902-1906, a period of conflict between the two states caused by the Armâni from the Ottoman Empire. His account is mostly filled with details about the Sultan Abdul-Hamid and the diplomatic affairs.

Alexandru Lahovary tries to shed some light on the personality of one the most controversial sultan's in the recent ottoman history, he is adamant in describing the high ranking officials and the evolutions of the political talks. (Lavohary 1935, 10-11)

He has very few remarks about the oriental customs and mundane aspects, when compared to the political ones. But Lahovary assures his readers that 'Wallachia and Moldavia were never the subjects of Ottoman rule. They were only vassals of the Empire'. (Lahovary 1935, 19-21)

Unlike Dimitrie Ralet's travel account, Lahovary gives less or none, for that matter, an exotic feeling replacing it with matters of the state.

The travel literature discussed above draws a certain image about and Orient meaningful only when viewed through the political and diplomatic aspects, reminding the audience of the relations existing between the Romanian countries and the Empire.

In order to conclude our study, we would like to point out that, although Romanian travelers use a literary genre borrowed from the western culture, they distance themselves from similar works by including elements regarding their own identity and history, with an oriental background. We can assert that the idea of writing about the Orient not only in political and historical terms is a way of placing a gap between them and the oriental heritage and transforming it in a literary representation/image

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Woman as a Nation's Symbol: The Romanian Case

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Abstract. Out of all the definitions scholars gave to the concept of a modern nation the one that best fits our approach refers to the nation as a 'virtual community'. We understand 'nation' as a mental construct based on a set of symbols. The present study will make reference to one of these icons, which is the female embodiment of a nation. The subject of our analysis is the Romanian society during the 19th Century. There are two objectives to be pursued: the first is to reveal the historical context in which Romanian artists felt the need to represent the nation as a woman's body and, secondly, to see if this new national perspective in regard to women was a consequence of the changes registered in the general perception of women's place and role in the Romanian society.

Keywords: women, nation, symbol, allegories, paintings

We hear about the feminization of politics, of feminism in international relations, in art, science, even in history, where the expression '*herstory*' refers to writing about the past having women as 'major characters of a play", from a feminist point of view. There is no need to criticize these approaches, as long as they do not mystify the truth, of course, and as long as, for instance, they do not try to find manifestations of feminism before the modern age. They mark in fact the progress made by women in intellectual and cultural domains. They are the outcome of women scholars who are interested in setting women in an appropriate context in their fields of activity. Indeed, female scholars tend to be the first to be interested in these kinds of approaches, yet male scholars also support their colleagues' efforts. This is proved, in history for instance, by the fact that some of the best historians on women's history are men (G. Duby, for example). Yet, gender does not matter, or should not matter, where women's history is concerned. Moreover, historians had indeed recovered much of women's past. There are still gaps that must be filled, especially regarding the Romanian historiography. This is one of the goals we try to achieve through the present study: to reveal the connection between women and nation. It is our aim to identify how the Romanian nation has included, at its birth, the 'other half of the nation' (Lungu 1879, 69). Also, we intend to identify the mechanisms by which the nation incorporated women among its symbols.

In the first part of the study, we will discuss the connection between nation, nationalism and gender. First, we have to find a suitable definition for nation. But this is not an easy thing to do despite the generous literature we have on the subject (Hobsbawm 1992; Gellner 1997; Anderson 2006). From all the definitions at our disposal, the one that best fits our approach deals with the symbolic understanding of the nation. The nation is a mental projection, a mental construct disseminated through education. It is, as Benedict Anderson argued, an imagined community, an imagined political community - and imagined both as inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson 2006, 6) – which turned into a real one by using a set of symbols. E. Hobsbawm names them 'the holy icons' which make a nation 'feel like being a real, palpable thing' (Hobsbawm 1992, 71). This symbolic feature of a nation justifies our approach once more: that is because we treat women and nation, likewise, symbolically. Nation is the outcome of an 'ideological process'; women were 'imagined' as well, either as goddesses, angels or demons. They were either idealized or diabolized. In fact, we consider that each society, whatever the age or nation, has elaborated a portrait of an ideal woman. There is an 'imagined woman' in each nation. Likewise, both women and nation, as mental projections, are idealized. For instance, the imagined woman is never the replica or embodiment of the real one. It is also true that, if we use the progressive

method, the visual representations of women multiply from one age to another; and that the 'visual language' can best reflect this progress towards gender equality promote by women. See for instance the miniature of J. Le Grant, *Livres de bonnes moeurs*, from the 15th century and Eugèn Delacroix's *Liberté* and you will have a glimpse of this complex process of building the modern woman. Whereas, during the Middle Ages the most common images of women were those of 'saints' and 'sinners'– as the medieval age favored the opposing images of Virgin Mary and Eve – the Renaissance, due to its admiration for the classic cultures, would enrich the female portrait ([1]): from then on we have women as they were during Antiquity – personifications of such abstract notions as Victory, Justice, Peace etc.

The modern age would also contribute to this feminine portrait which gains new features, more realistic ones, it might be said. We would still have the image of abstract notions embodied by women ([2]), but from now on we would also have female embodiments of nations. One can argue that 'nation' is also an abstract notion, but the Nation/Woman allegory is different from the others. Allegories of Peace, War, and Justice etc. required a certain cultural level, whereas feminine allegories of the nation were for everyone; their message seemed to be easily understandable by everyone, even by those who were illiterate, as they incorporated symbols of a sort that all could understand. This visual propaganda, as some scholars argue, was the best way to approach the common people (Agulhon 1976, 144). Indeed, comparing the two types of allegories, the representations of abstract notions were more difficult to read as they were inspired by models from ancient times. Thus, in order to understand their message, the viewer needed some classical knowledge. But should we consider the allegories of nation as being more easily understandable than their predecessors? From P. Burke's point of view we might give a positive answer to this question. The historian argues that nationalism is relatively easy to express in images, whether they caricature foreigners or celebrate the major events of a nation's history, whether they evoke the style of the folk art of the region or they depict the landscape characteristics of the region (Burke 2001, 64). But would they, in fact, be easy to read? How and who could read these images, these paintings representing the nation as a woman? Because, before attempting to read images 'between the lines' and to use them as historical evidence, it is only prudent to begin with their meanings (*Ibidem*, 34). Moreover, can the meanings of images be translated into words? (*Ibidem*).

These are among the statements we try to validate in the Romanian case, too. First, we do not have to think that when the nations were born the past allegories vanished; on the contrary, from the French Revolution onwards, the visual language was enriched with new, modern allegories (like Nation), and many attempts were made to translate into visual language the classic ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity (*Ibidem*, 19). We must also stress the fact that these feminine representations of nations would have been inspired by such representations of abstract notions as those previously mentioned. Moreover, of great relevance is the fact that these national allegories seem to interact with each other. See for instance Russian propaganda posters from 1914 representing altogether France, Russia and Great Britain as feminine figures.

In what follows, we will discuss the connection between the emergence of these feminine allegories and the nation-building process. It is not so easy to connect the two aspects given the fact that the literature on nations and nationalism rarely addresses the question of gender. In fact, most texts on nationalism do not take gender as a significant issue (Walby 1999, 235). Although the subject is analyzed only marginally, the few existing studies written so far have proved that there is a close connection between the emergence of nations and the progress made on the women's question (Yuval-Davis 1989, 236-237). We have to take into account that they are both aspects of modernization and are thus interconnected. Moreover, they would 'use' each other. A nation would use female allegories as propaganda for constructing 'the real nation". Meanwhile, women, in their effort to gain civil rights, appealed to the role they were given in forming the national identity. In summary, women were involved in the national and ethnic processes both as subjects and objects. Anthias and Yuval-Davis suggest that there are five major ways in which women were involved in the nation-building process: '1. As biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities; 2. As

([1]) In respect of the progress/evolution of women's condition from medieval to modern times, it can be seen as a 'portrait in progress'.

([2]) See, for instance, Eugène Delacroix, *Liberté* or the Statue of Liberty etc.

reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups; 3. As participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture; 4. As signifiers of ethnic/national differences – as a focus and symbol in ideological discourse used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories; 5. As participants in national, economic, political and military struggles' (*Ibidem*). These five points can be seen in the process of constructing the Romanian nation, too. Indeed, they are more obvious among the Romanians from Transylvania due to their distinct political status in the Austro - Hungarian empire. But they are also noticeable in Romanian discourse from the society of the old regime. What must be stressed is how this process of nation building seems not to mark gender differences any more. This is probably the result of the effort of intellectuals to create and strengthen the nation's unity. But we should not exaggerate facts. This openness towards women's involvement in the creation of the nation tends to be temporary. Once again, there seems to be a difference between discourse and reality. A sort of gender equality is accepted mainly in extreme situations such as revolutions and wars ([3]). But after the crises are gone there is a tendency to re-establish normality when and if possible. Where the symbolic status of women as icons of the nation is concerned, it jarred in most cases with the inability of real women to fully get involved in politics (Hewer 2008, 49).

Despite this fact, no one can deny that during the 19th century we witness the emergence of a new feminine ideal. It emerged as a consequence of the transformation brought by the modernization processes the European societies were going through. During this period, it occurred, in France for instance, an urban background saturated by feminine figures: monumental sculptures, religious allegories, advertising posters etc. (Perrot 1997, 17). The 19th century also introduced feminine allegories of national and political regimes. From now one, we would have the new image of woman represented as the people's mother (Băluță 2002, 65). This is also the birth period of feminine figures transformed into myths and included in the national iconography. These feminine allegories of nations tend to have common features whatever nation designed them. They either represent images of real or imagined women who brought themselves to notice or they personify noble features such as purity and modesty, commitment and sacrifice for both the family and the country (*Ibidem*, 66). They are all young women, usually dressed in ancient clothes, looking to the past (Mosse 1996, 9) and wearing several easily identifiable national symbols. These features tend to be constant across the ages. These allegories were not usually dependent upon changes in the nation itself, monarchical or republican; they 'represented through their constant visual presence the ancient values that the nation was supposed to hold' (*Ibidem*). Look for instance at Marianne, the national symbol of France; Germania, the national personification of the German nation, Britannia, the national personification of great Britain; Albania; Bulgaria; the Finnish maiden, the national personification of Finland; Greece; Romania *etc.*

These allegories share several common features of course, but they are adjusted to national goals: emancipation from a foreign authority, the fight against the old regime *etc*. Sometimes even the context they emerged in is similar. Images of the nation as a woman, especially in Romantic art and literature in the 1820s and 1830s, served to dramatize national oppression and, implicitly, the need to rally to its defense (Hewer 2008, 49). For instance, the armed figure of Marianne was used to inspire resistance against the enemies of the French revolutionary nation (*Ibidem*). Germania appeared somewhere around 1813 – when Germanic countries were at war with Napoleon. After an eclipse, the symbol reappeared in the 1840s and reached another apogee in 1870, during the war against France (*Ibidem*). The nation is also represented as a warrior goddess, embodying the nation fighting against its enemies (Perrot 1997, 19). Britannia, whose origins can be traced back to the Roman conquest of Britain, gradually evolved from the symbol of a conquered province to the icon of a powerful empire (Hewer 2008, 48) ([4]). An allegory of Greece would be painted by Eugène Delacroix in 1827, inspired by the Greeks' struggle for independence. Bulgaria would also emerge in the context of the national building process. It would inspire Georgi Danchov in painting *Svobodna Bulgaria* (Free Bulgaria).

The previously mentioned allegories emerged or were converted during the nation-

([3]) Reference can be made to the 1789 French Revolution and the 1848 revolutions as well as to the Great War.

([4]) But we must mention that England also has an allegory inspired by a real character: that is Queen Victoria.

building process, but they should also be seen in the modern context of the age, because the latter also designed not only a new, modern woman, but also a new, modern man. As George L. Mosse argued, nationalism was a movement which began and evolved in parallel with modern masculinity and it was this modern society that diffused the ideal of modern masculinity (Mosse 1996, 7). Yet, he argues that the position of manliness was not unlike that of femininity, that masculine and feminine figures became public symbols at the same time representing the nation (*Ibidem*, 8). Women as national symbols, however, did not embody generally valid norms such as the virtues that masculinity projected but, instead, the motherly qualities of the nation, and they pointed to its tradition and history (*Ibidem*).

We will focus, in what follows, on the allegories of the Romanian nation. Our intention is to expose and analyze the mechanisms, the processes and the context in which these personifications emerged. We also intend to identify whether or not they were designed in order to increase 'national solidarities' (Băluță 2002, 66).

The present study revolves around several basic questions: why did the Romanian nation, its scholars, need such an allegory? To what extent did the emergence of this feminine portrait denote a change in the general perception of women's role in the society? Were they just an artistic product of the painter's imagination or do they have a deeper significance, marking as well a change towards the perception of women? Whom were they addressed to? Were they meant just for the private eyes of the artist/owner or were they designed for a specific 'target-public"? ([5]). Should these painters be considered as 'political philosophers"? (Burke 2001, 60).

The answers to these questions will be drawn from an analysis of the most famous allegories of Romania signed by Constantin D. Rosenthal and Gheorghe Tattarescu. Besides these two, there are other painters who gave life to such allegories, for example, Theodor Aman and N. Grigorescu ([6]).

We chose only the visual language for this approach without forgetting that there are several other feminine allegories of the Romanian nation which can be found in other forms, literature for instance. Why choose the visual? Beside the reason we have already mentioned we might add another: that is because, with the second half of the 18th century, Western Europe – not alone we might add – was entering an ever more visually oriented age, exemplified not only by national symbols, but also by the effect of sciences, such as physiognomy and anthropology, with their classification of men according to standards of classical beauty (Mosse 1996, 5). We must also add the fact that during the 19th century Romanian painters were also commissioned to record such events as wars (Ionescu 2002).

Romanian historiography has paid special attention to the Romanian nation and nationalism. They were studied in their entire complexity. Even the correlation art/nation and nationalism had already been the subject of analysis. It still is a major subject of interest, and not only for the historians, taking into account, for instance, the exhibition organized between 12 September 2012 and 31 March 2013 by the Romanian National Art Museum. The exhibition is a proof of the constant interest in the Romanian nation-building process. The exhibition 'The National Myth – the Construction of Romanian Identity (1830-1930)' included among its exhibits such famous paintings as those of C. D. Rosenthal and Gh. Tattarescu ([7]).

Less attention was paid to the relation between the Romanian nation-building process and the re-evaluation of women's role and perception in the Romanian society. We still have a long way to run before revealing the process by which women from Romanian society became a 'subject of history'. These statements are to be taken as arguments for the present scientific approach. As we already stated, there is a close connection between this process and the progress made by the women question. We consider the first as a vector for re-evaluating women in Romanian society of the 19th century ([8]). The Romanian nation, in its

([5]) Probably the middle class: from George L. Mosse's point of view women as public symbols were a projection of a normal society and a prosperous nation, (Băluță 2002, 66).

([6]) Theodor Aman painted The Union of Principalities in 1857, two years before the actual and desired union of Walachia and Moldavia. N. Grigorescu also has several works among which is an allegorical representation of the Romanian principalities which will form Romania in 1859.

([7]) A presentation of the exhibit can be found at www.mnar.arts.ro/web/Expozitii-temporare/Mitul-national

([8]) This connection is testified to by the entire debate around women led by some prominent personalities but also by the emergence of these allegories of the

effort to define itself and to create a national identity, used a set of symbols amongst women, too. But are we entitled to apply the conclusions drawn by the European scholars where the other national feminine allegories were concerned?

Moreover, due to iconography studies, some of the possible difficulties in order to understand this kind of representation was annulled (*Ibidem*, 35) ([9]). Despite the pros and cons in the debate on how images should be approached, the scholars all agreed that images are a privileged source for studying the subtle relations between imagination and reality (Nicoară 2002, 122). Images, as we previously mentioned, remain a significant source for women's history, a privileged one perhaps for proving the progress made by women from one age to another. Images from Romanian society follow the same patterns as the European ones: compare, for instance the frequent medieval and modern votive paintings as the one representing Brâncoveanu's family with the 19th century paintings of Rosenthal. It is also true that Romanian iconography is not as generous as the European one in representations of women. This can be considered as one of the main difficulties of studying such a topic. From another perspective, images are just like all the other sources in that they tend to put women in the background, lacking or showing little interest in 'women stories'. Romanian historical mythology seems to be no more generous, as Lucian Boia argued, as it does not seem interested in women either (Boia 1997, 335). Yet, the major events of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century would change this negative balance. The 1848 Revolution is among the privileged moments of the Romanian society which favored women's entrance as icons of the nation. This event is to be taken, for the Romanian case, as a 'revolutionary' moment for women's visual representations. The revolution was the one inspiring the artists to express the national ideals through allegories.

The first and probably the best known allegories are those signed by Constantin D. Rosenthal. He was not a native Romanian, but a Jew born in Budapest, who adopted the Romanian revolutionary ideals. Despite his origin, he would become a true Romanian assuming and sharing all the national aspirations of Romanian intellectuals. This is visible in his major works, the allegories he painted under the influence of the 1848 Revolution. There are three allegorical representations of the Romanian nation: *România eliberată (Liberated Romania)* ([10]); *România rupându-şi cătuşele pe Câmpia Libertății (Romania breaking off her chains on the Field of Liberty)*, in August 1848 and *România revoluționară (Revolutionary Romania)* painted in Paris, while the artist was in exile with other Romanian revolutionaries among whom was C. A. Rosetti, the artist's friend. Questions are still asked about the first allegory. Adrian Silvan Ionescu relates it to the statue of Liberty (Ionescu 2002, 47), while others, such as Doina Pungă, focus on *România eliberată (Liberated Romania)* (Pungă 2008, 93). It is a sculpture initially placed in *Piața Vorniciei* in Bucharest, unfortunately destroyed when the temporary government withdrew to Rucăr fearing a Turkish invasion (Ionescu 2002, 47). We know about it from the German press, which published a stamp commemorating it (*Ibidem*). It can be considered the first step in creating the allegory of the Romanian nation as it resembled closely the first painting representing Romania (see Figure 1).

According to the iconography, we agree with A. Silvan Ionescu's conclusion that this sculpture represented rather the abstract notion of Liberty than an allegory of the nation: it is dressed in ancient clothes; with a halo over the head; having around the wrists the chains it was imprisoned with; holding a crutch/cross in one hand and a pair of scales in the other; stepping on a snake (*Ibidem*). As we have already argued, this is rather a classical representation, commonly seen in European iconography. See for instance Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People*, which is by far the most famous of the many images of liberty which appeared, in

Romanian nation. The latter aspect is what we try to prove through the present study.

([9]) The author makes reference to Panofsky's essay first published in 1939 in which the latter distinguished three levels of interpretation corresponding to three levels of meaning in the work itself. The first of these levels was the pre-iconographical description, concerned with 'natural meaning' and consisting of identifying objects (such as trees, buildings, animals and people) and events (meals, battles, processions etc.). The second level was the iconographical analysis in the strict sense, concerned with 'conventional meaning' (recognizing a supper as the Last Supper or a battle as the battle of Waterloo). The third level is that of iconological interpretation, distinguished from iconography because it was concerned with 'intrinsic meaning", in other words, those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or a philosophical persuasion, p. 35-36.

([10]) It is not a painting but a statue. Some call it a statue of Liberty.

paint, plaster and bronze, in the aftermath of the revolution of 1830 (Burke 2001, 61). In the Romanian case, the sculpture combines both classic and Christian symbols. It also mixes symbols belonging to more than one classic goddess: the broken chains are the key feature of Liberty, whereas the pair of scales is usually used for representing Justice. The artist not only mixed the symbols, but he also adjusted them to the context, as other romantic contemporary artists did. We make reference to the pair of scales as the symbol of Justice but, in revolutionary times, it was an attribute of Equality, represented also as a woman holding a pair of scales, but without the blindfold (*Ibidem*).

In consequence, we consider that the first feminine allegory of the Romanian nation is *România rupându-şi cătuşele pe Câmpia Libertății* (*Romania breaking off her chains on the Field of Liberty*), painted in August 1848 (Figure 2).

It is obvious that this representation respects the 'canon', the classical typology of nation. Romania appears as a young woman, in ancient clothes and wrapped in with what had already become, the national flag, the symbol of the Romanian nation, breaking the chains, a symbol of liberty, and holding a laurel branch in her left hand. The artist's second allegory, *Romania Revoluționară (Revolutionary Romania)* is also a symbolic capturing of the Romanian national ideals of liberty and unity. This time, he had a real model to inspire him: Maria Rosetti, the wife of the Romanian revolutionary C. A. Rosetti. One might notice a possible paradox: Maria Rosetti was not a native Romanian; she was English! Yet, there is no doubt that she shared her husband's revolutionary ideas ([11]), as the artist did as well. The second allegory is also extremely generous in symbolic meanings (Figure 3).

The painting was realized in 1850, when the artist was in Paris, having in mind the great impression of the revolutionary moments he was actively involved in. This allegory, as the first one, is perfectly anchored in the context: the first is an expression of hope, whereas the latter captures the idea that the fight had not yet ended; just one battle had been lost. Romania is now dressed in a national costume, still holding – or defending – the national flag with its flagpole broken (Ionescu 2008, 46). Both paintings are to be seen as a remarkable expression of the ideals shared by all Romanian revolutionaries, despite the fact that the paintings would be the private property of C. A. Rosetti until his death when the owner donated them to the state (*Ibidem*). But, taking into account the compositions, it seems obvious that they were addressed to the Romanian people. This claim is argued by the visual language the artist used. It is a simple one, easily understood by common people. Moreover, we must mention that the Revolutionary committee in Paris decided to lithograph the first painting as propaganda material (Pungă 2008, 94).

The revolutionary moments would be the source of inspiration for another Romanian artist, Gheorghe Tattarescu. He would paint the allegory named *Deşteptarea României (The Reveille of Romania)*. The painting is as explicit as those of Constantin D. Rosenthal: Romania awaking in the presence of faith, religion, science and fine arts, while an angel unveils her, rescuing her from obscurity (*Ibidem*, 103) (Figure 4).

Although the painting was a gift for Barbu Ştirbei, it was also intended for the people, though the symbols are not as easily readable as in the case of C. D. Rosenthal's paintings. But it was also propaganda material considering that it was lithographed in Italy (*Ibidem*). Likewise, the defeat of the revolution inspired the artist to paint a second allegory, as C. D. Rosenthal did in Paris. Unfortunately, it remained just a project as we have only a sketch called *România plângând la sarcofagul Libertății (Romania crying at Liberty sarcophagus)*. It represents a woman dressed in black, a widow crying at Liberty's sarcophagus (*Ibidem*). He will also find another source of inspiration in the events from 1866 as he will paint another allegory: *11 februarie 1866 - România Modernă* (*11 February 1866 – Modern Romania*.)

It is obvious that revolution was what gave birth to the emergence of the feminine personification of nations. It is true that, with the exception of *Romania revoluționară (Revolutionary Romania)* which has a real model, the images represent woman as a passive actor. But we consider them to be closely connected to the progress made towards reconsidering the role and place of women in contemporary society. In fact, the national aspiration as well as the effort to modernize Romanian society caused this revaluation of women's role in that society. This claim is argued by an entire literature which debates the

([11]) Taking into account that the couple named their daughter, born in 6/18 June 1848, *Libertatea - Sofia*, (Liberty) (Netea 1970, 135).

great question of the age: the woman's. Indeed, we are just at the level of theoretical debate. For instance, the correlation between society's lagging behind and the people's lack of education is emphasized in the journals of the period under review (Fodor 2013, 82). Illiteracy was understood as a cause of this lag (*Ibidem*). This is also the context in which the problem of women's education is gaining more and more scholarly attention (*Ibidem*). In discussion of the educational issue, women would be seen as a key feature of 'cultural nationalism' (Hewer 2008, 52). They have a new role in the process of constructing national identity. But this new role is based on women's traditional roles: she is first of all the Mother, but the mother of the nation, which is obvious in the allegories as well. Thus, the allegories are to be considered as an indicator of the progress made by women, a progress which would be more accentuated in the second half of the 19th century. It is also understandable why the progress is first obvious at the symbolic level. The feminine allegories of the Romanian nation would also increase in number. Another significant national event would be a source of inspiration to the artists: the union of the Romanian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1859. Nicolae Grigorescu and Theodor Aman would both paint such feminine allegories. One must also mention that the artists as well, not just their work, would become national symbols ([12]).

In conclusion, the 19th century was not only the age of nations and modernization but also the century of women's progress which is so masterfully captured, in the romantic style, in Rosenthal and Tattarescu's paintings. Their allegories would inspire – as they were themselves inspired by – not only Romanian women's involvement in the nation's progress towards achieving its goals, but also towards the emancipation of their sex. They would gradually become active members of the society. On the one hand, they would be asked to be full Romanian citizens – despite their maternal duties – but they would also gain the right to be actively involved in society's development. This progress is also visible in the 'visual language'. Besides these feminine allegories where women tended rather to be passive symbols than active ones, we would have, in the context of the Great War, the emergence of such active symbols as Queen Mary of Romania. Thus we agree with Jennifer Hewer's point of view that it was not only the 'language' that favored the creation of feminine allegories of the nation (Hewer 2008, 48) ([13]).

([12]) Nicolae Grigorescu is commonly referred to as a Romanian national painter.

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The Bible – Generator of Russian Literature in the Modern Era (F. M. Dostoyevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*)

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Abstract. This study aims to present the role that the Scripture had in shaping the novel *Frații Karamazov* [*The Brothers Karamazov*]. The Scriptural text is an important source of inspiration for the creation of this literary masterpiece. The use of biblical quotes in Dostoyevsky's work seems to be a general rule. Throughout his novels, we are to find references to Scripture.

The research is divided into three chapters. The first part of the study is dedicated to an analysis of the concept of intertextuality and biblical intertextuality. What is the purpose for which Dostoyevsky uses so the Bible quote so often? In the second section, we shall analyse the mythological aspect of the novel, and we shall clarify some aspects of literary motives present in the novel. The final part intends to investigate the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor - a pamphlet of genius.

Keywords: The Brothers Karamazov, intertextuality, biblical quote, the Bible-literaturerelationship, The Legend of the Grand Inquisitor

Theoretical analysis of the concept of intertextuality and biblical intertextuality

The Holy Scripture, since the late 18th century, has had a statute which was considered a paradox at that time. The Bible becomes absorbed by secular literature. Beginning with the era of modernism we can speak of an intermingling, a mixture of the sacred with the profane, even a camouflage of the sacred in the profane (Jinga 2001, 11). The concept of biblical quote cannot be understood without an analysis of the concept of intertext, generally speaking.

The universe of intertextuality is as wide as it may be, being rooted in the dynamics of literature from immemorial time. The theoretical concept arises in the context of structuralism and semiotics in the late '60s. The term is launched by Julia Kristeva in a literary meeting in 1969. Writing a paper about Mikhail Bakhtin, Kristeva suggests the importance of the dialogue between the text and its meaning, seen as a complex system of codes and signs (Moyse 2002, 418).

Maria Nicoleta Ciocian, in a deep insight into the world of intertextuality, concludes 'the intertextuality is the best way to explain or describe the world we live in. Intertextuality is one of the concepts endowed with the ability of redirecting literature at investigating its own mechanisms. Being an essential concept within the critical vocabulary, intertextuality is a term that designates a way of describing what is contemporary, a testimony stating that the text does not imply a closure in itself, but that it has an opening for a dialogue with other texts, a kind of distrust towards the omniscient author and a confidence bestowed to the committed reader' (Ciocian 2013, 204).

'The philosophy of intertextuality aims at reducing the role of author' (Fokkema 2000, 143) giving the reader a greater freedom to figure out the mysteries of writing. The text thus becomes a major generator of meaning.

The intertext seen in its connection to the text 'works on other texts, so it is considered an absorption and a transformation of several previous texts. Each text is in a plurivalent relation to other texts. The interaction of various relationships in the inner text is called intertextuality. The way of achieving intertextuality in a text specifies the major social and aesthetics feature underlying the text structure. The text thus becomes an object which allows reading a layered history by choosing a limited temporality and by dialectically interpreting in a plural series of signifying practices' (Săndulescu 1976, 439).

Ioan Pânzaru, in a generous study on the textual interpretation, sets literature on a privileged place among arts, considering that 'the field in which the problem of interpretation plays the banal and ungrateful role of a real *locus classicus* is the one of literature and arts.

Literature is considered an *a priori* value, on the one hand, because it is the bearer of an excellent content (those thoughts attracting the admiration of the learned ones, over decades), on the other hand, because it belongs to the field of arts that seduce and enchant." (Pânzaru 2012, 75).

The notion of intertext encompasses the interpretative capacity of human being, considered 'an essential intellectual function, it is the origin of all assumptions and it is deeply involved in creativity' (Pânzaru 1999, 7). Ioan Pânzaru considered text interpretation as being a creative act whereby 'the interpreter creates analog assumptions about the meaning of the texts' (Pânzaru 1999, 7). Through the interpretation, a text is trying to find itself a meaning. The study of literary interpretation cannot avoid peregrinations within the related fields, as is the case of theology in Dostoyevsky's work, 'investigating the properties of the text notwithstanding meaning, starts from the presupposition that the work is, from the time of its publication, an inert exponent in a museum, deprived of semantic, unrelated with the human world'. (Pânzaru 2012, 22).

After reading Dostoyevsky's literature, we can notice that it is included in the category of writings that have developed in relation to The Holy Scripture. All Dostoyevsky's masterpieces are based on the biblical passages. The Bible becomes a source of inspiration for Dostoyevsky. In the Biblical books, we can speak about a divine inspiration. In writing the books of the Bible, we have to do with a theandric process in which the role of the author is, not at all, negligible. Even though, in the case of literature, we may encounter common traits with sacred writings, its formative role sets literature in a different situation. Likewise is the case of apocryphal writings.

The Bible quote is always at its place in Dostoyevsky's major writings, thus making the connection with religion. Inserting biblical quotations opens the way to reflections, meditation and interpretations of the Christic message.

The Biblical intertext should not be confused with a hermeneutic act. Dostoyevsky does not interpret the Scripture, but brings it in actuality. Our attempt is to notify this act, as well as the role that the Biblical text plays in his novel. The biblical text, by the force of cohesion, comes to give amplitude to Dostoyevsky's writings. Using the biblical examples gives authenticity to his work. His novels are perceived as being always up to date, appealing to the demands of most exigent readers. Through his writings Dostoyevsky is trying to be a giver of meaning, refusing the custom and seeking a better sense, more human, more logical, closer to the truth and to the life of his contemporaries.

The Bible had an impact in the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, influencing it not only as a source of inspiration, 'but at the level of designing the status of the literary text' (Jinga 2001, 24).

The action of the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, beyond multiple possible discussions regarding the type of text classification, the ideological and aesthetic relations, is also the result of intertextual influences from the Holy Scripture.

In Dostoyevsky's writing, the use of intertextuality is one of the multiple ways of making the text and of creating the relationship with the reader. In some places, the reception of the dostoyevskian text implies difficulties from the reader, who, for acquiring an in depth understanding of the text, should firstly decode the intertextual complex.

The Biblical intertextuality is one of the essential components of Russian literature, in general, and of Dostoyevsky's writings, in particular. As a result, the reader should be cautious in the act of reading; he has to be able to go beyond the writing, in the realm of ethics, philosophy and religion.

Dostoyevsky's literature is firstly an accumulation of individual experience. Secondly, the reader can take a training course by reading these fundamental books.

The novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, through its ample narration and its active involvement of all the characters, enables the development of social intelligence. Practical principles and life experience can be acquired in an easier way by the stimuli offered during reading, although the attachment to values is rather obtained by the other process, namely through personal involvement (Pânzaru 2012, 88-89).

The Mythological dimension of the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*

In the second part of our research, we will investigate the presence of the mythical aspect in the pages of the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*.

The mythological aspect of the novel follows the line drawn by Platon, which defines the myth as 'a way of translating opinion, not the scientific certainty' (Chevalier 1995, 308).

The trajectory traced in the novel is not strictly scientific. Dostoyevsky is rather willing to cultivate 'the symbolising function of imagination' (Chevalier 1995, 308).

Dostoyevsky gives us through his final novel an example of configuring new myths by using some of the biblical passages existing for ages. It thus seems obvious that the desire of the author is to bring forth, on the stage of the daily life, special forms of the Christian myth.

In the novel *The Brothers Karamazov* there are two parts where the presence Christian is defining: the fifth book *Pro & Cons* and the sixth book entitled *The Russian Monk*. In order to enter the mythical perimeter of the novel, first of all we have to identify and describe the themes, the symbols and the words semantically marked in their real order and connection. The literary motifs and the novel's mythical layer are presented to us by Albert Kovacs, in an order which takes into account the structure of the chapter. The Legend of the Grand Inquisitor is the main mythical mark of the whole novel, encompassing the author's entire philosophical and religious thinking ([1]).

The mythic dimension of Dostoyevsky's prose, carefully analysed by Albert Kovacs, can be applied at several levels:

a) Language – without a mythical language, the narrative construction would be deprived of authenticity and veridicity. What is particular for Dostoyevsky is the use of a simple language, but not a simplistic one, specific to the biblical one. Hence, the dostoyevskian linguistic system acquires a mystical aspect. All Dostoyevsky's novels respect this direction, as the development of most of his writings is based on some scriptural passages.
b) The atmosphere in which the action is framed – sometimes it becomes tangible to the reader, as he feels himself involved in the development of the action, thus being established an acute complicity between him and the text.
c) The temporality – the action unfolds in time, but, occasionally, the depth of the created images exceeds time. The development and the depth of the events frame the reader an image of a time beyond time. The feeling of the irreversible loss of time and the awareness of the anxieties appear because of humankind's lack of existential and eschatological meaning (Iftime 2009, 39) as well as of a 'rationalist thinking that considers the existence of evil and suffering as the main obstacle to the faith in God' (Berdiaev 1996, 197).

The Legend of The Grand Inquisitor – a pamphlet of genius (Crainic 1998, 161)

In this poem, one must search the essence of Dostoyevsky's conception about the word, this being the peak of his creation. From Berdiaev's point of view, this fragment 'solves the fundamental theme of freedom and of the human spirit' (Berdiaev 1992, 124).

The legend of the Grand Inquisitor represents a single episode in the novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, but its relation to the novel is so fragile that it can be regarded as a distinct creation. Anyway, instead of an outer link between this episode and *The Brothers Karamazov*, there is an internal one, given the fact that the whole novel centers on this literary poem, which contains the main idea of all Dostoyevsky's novels: the freedom and the autonomous reason of the human unrestrained by anything (Crainic 1998, 162).

In order to understand the essence of Dostoyevsky's view in this poem, Nikolai Berdiaev helps the reader with the following remark: 'within the legend two fundamental bases are faced and confronted – freedom and constraint, the faith in the meaning of life and the disbelief in any meaning of life, the divine love and the atheistic pity towards people, Christ and Antichrist'. (Berdiaev 1992, 125).

([1]) Albert Kovacs undertakes a schematic description of the literary motifs and the novel's mythical layer:

1. The human dignity defeating material interest, pride and humility;
2. Western ideas, contempt for the people, threatening rivalry;
3. Confidence in life, chaos, universal order, tender buds, blue sky, the beloved graves; faith, socialism, anarchism, the denial of the world;
4. Rebellion. Children's suffering ask for the punishment of their killers, who cannot be forgiven, harmony cannot be built on tears, the returned ticket back, the denial of an absurd world;
5. The Grand Inquisitor;
6. Ivan closes his eyes to the foreboding crime, which shall be committed by Smerdeakov. It all ends with the sixth book where Zosima teaches general forgiveness, the acceptance of life, the active love, heaven on earth (Kovacs 1987, 212).

This epic poem represents the main landmark of the incursion of the biblical text in the literary area. We encounter in this episode an evangelical substrate, further on developed and analysed by the author.

For an understanding of the enigmas included in this episode, we have to investigate the storyline behind this vast poem. Dostoyevsky sets the action in the late 15th century in Spain, the Inquisition's homeland, the day after the grand inquisitor had burned at the stake a hundred heretics 'ad Dei gloriam majorem'(The Grand Inquisitor 1997, p.13). 'The Grand Inquisitor, a nonagenarian old man, venerated by the people, makes the whole process of the Christian doctrine for the Redeemer. This is because, in his opinion, the Christian doctrine is impossible. The Grand Inquisitor believes that the Saviour brought along a too strict doctrine for the man to accomplish, that is why he reproaches: We have followed another method than yours; You want to raise the hopelessly low human at the height of your doctrine, which is not possible; we, on the contrary, have sought to drop away this doctrine by adjusting it to the irreparable human helplessness. That is to say an idea of complete disfigurement of Christianity.' (Crainic 1998, 162).

In his approach, Dostoyevsky could not detach himself from the biblical word. The **temptation of Christ** is the main episode to be found in this literary passage. The hermeneutics of the three temptations bears the key to the message that the author intended to convey for the reader of this novel. One could not find a more eloquent passage for the Russian author to use it order to criticise Western's materialism and its distancing from the true values.

Throughout the pages of this poem, one makes reference to another key point of the activity of Christ, the resurrection of Jairus' daughter (Dostoyevsky 2011, 310). The Inquisitor cannot understand this miracle to its fullest. The sense used by Dostoyevsky in inserting this Gospel passage is also to be found in the pages of the Gospel. The miracle of Christ points towards His almightiness, and the love that the Son of God has for the human being, in general, and the youth, in particular.

The Russian author, by creating the Inquisitor, presents the man ruled by selfishness. Individualist rationalism is severely punished in all of his novels. Such a creature cannot perceive the mysteries of God, being inclined towards an evil thinking, instead of Christ's humility. Through the use of the biblical text, his message does not fall into desuetude, but remains forever alive in the conscience of the reader.

The Grand Inquisitor is trying, by any means, to assert his doctrine. If he fails to tempt Christ in three ways, these turn into instruments of man's domination by showing that, in order to bring happiness to the world, miracle, mystery and authority are needed. The Grand Inquisitor does not give up, being aware of the weakness in the human nature. Through this diabolical plan, the inquisitor is willing to subjugate the human being. The inquisitor wants to show the Redeemer that the human nature is hopelessly lowered, a fact which is a great error (Crainic 1998, 165).

The entire epic building of the poem is carefully interpreted by Albert Kovacs, who implements this inversion of meaning in the eyes of the oppressor. The Grand Inquisitor turns any talent into submission and humiliation: 'You wanted to give them the freedom to choose between good and evil, you wanted their love and obedience by free consent, but the hundreds of millions are unable to be free, they laid down their freedom at our feet, because they are weak, rebels, man is much more villain than you had expected' (Kovacs 1987, 204).

At a careful reading of this poem, but also of the biblical passage on temptation, two questions are born. The first one is of exegetic nature and the second one bears intertextual references: why is the Inquisitor (the devil) using these three temptations? Is Dostoyevsky retaining the letter of the Scripture? In a comprehensive study devoted to this event, Stelian Tofană presents the theological dimension of this story of the temptation of Christ: 'the ordeal demonstrated the full humanity of Jesus, in the sense that the man may be tempted by the devil; the confrontation with the devil has demonstrated the power of the God-man, an hypostasis which the devil was not accustomed to, the temptation has shown that the devil's temptations may be rejected by man if we use the power of God' (Tofană 2002, 171-172). Dostoyevsky stays close to the biblical passage, presenting it in its entire splendor.

In the mythical layer of the poem there often appear real-psychological substrata caused by Aleoşa's disruptions. 'The direct destination of these intermingled structures is primarily the constructive one, they not only help the big brother to make his younger brother conscious of the conventional and artistic-fantastic form, clearing its meanings, but the writer also demonstrates his poetic art' (Kovacs 1987, 205).

The action of this legend ends with a gesture encountered in the Bible pages as well, namely the kissing gesture between the Inquisitor and the Hostage. In the Gospel passage, Judas kissed Christ. In Dostoyevsky's novel, the Hostage gives a kiss to the Inquisitor, who remains steadfast in his determination ([2]). Judah's gesture is one of treason, while the gesture of the 'Hostage' is one of profound humility.

The Brothers Karamazov represents the writer's literary climax, the conclusion and the coronation of all his works in which he rephrases the questions that he had questioned himself, in the same time seeking to solve them.

After making an overview of all Dostoyevsky's great novels, the conclusion is that they are consolidated on an evangelical substrate. *The Brothers Karamazov* is not an exception, this novel being an updated parable of the grain of wheat: 'unless a grain of wheat falls into the ground and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it produces much grain' (John 12, 24). According to Ion Ianoşi, this parable 'crosses in fact all Dostoyevsky's creation, as a comprehensive and obviously laconic sign of the author's belief that happiness is acquired in pain, greatness comes from humility, death (physical or spiritual, actual or symbolic) precedes the true life. Saint John's words define not only the ordeal of Dmitri and Alexei Karamazov, but also the sufferings of Marmeladova Sonia, Sofia Marmeladova, Sonia and Prince Myshkin Andreyevna, as well as Raskolnikov's final salvation' (Ianoşi 2004, 251).

Conclusions

Dostoyevsky selects very carefully the insertion of the biblical quotes, each time creating a deep sense of wonder in front of the sacred, thus paving the way for reflection. The Biblical intertext within Dostoyevsky's writing is the artistic mood of a particular religious sensibility. Both for Dostoyevsky and for other writers from the Orthodox area, biblical references are sometimes unavoidable.

The Bible has been and continues to be an inspiration for literature. The authors of modern literature had a call not only to enchant the spirit through their creations, but also to look for answers at man's great questions.

([2]) I meant to end it like this. When the Inquisitor ceased speaking he waited some time for his Prisoner to answer him. His silence weighed down upon him. He saw that the Prisoner had listened intently all the time, looking gently in his face and evidently not wishing to reply. The old man longed for him to say something, however bitter and terrible. But He suddenly approached the old man in silence and softly kissed him on his bloodless aged lips. That was all his answer. The old man shuddered. His lips moved. He went to the door, opened it, and said to Him: 'Go, and come no more... come not at all, never, never!' And he let Him out into the dark alleys of the town. The Prisoner went away.'
'And the old man?'
'The kiss glows in his heart, but the old man adheres to his idea.'(Dostoyevsky 2011, 440)

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The Gypsy in the Transylvanian Romanian Mentality. 19th Century

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Abstract. Arising for the first time as pilgrim groups, the Medieval Rroma fascinated the Old Continent inhabitants. For a period of time they have been treated with consideration and even supported in their travels throughout Europe. Soon, however, this benevolent attitude would change radically, reaching the point where many monarchs would go as far as to order their extermination.

The present study analyzes the image of the Rroma people in the 19th century Romanian culture of Transylvania, a province that was inhabited by people who were in their majority of Romanian descent, but who were subjects of the Habsburgs and, subsequently, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. We will analyze these representations in close connection to similar projections encountered in the Danubian Principalities and in other European countries, but, at the same time, we will also try to capture the peculiarities of the local perspectives.

Keywords: the Roma people, imaginary projections, Romanian culture, Transylvania, 19th Century

The Rroma history is one riddled with mysteries concerning their origin, the causes that determined them to emigrate, as well as the moment of their arrival in Europe, as in the passage of time they stirred a series of confusions, partly due to their status as a nomadic people and to the inexistence of a written history about them ([1]).

For a long time it was believed that they were natives of Egypt, an error that had been put into circulation since the Middle Age by their ancestors ([2]). Important steps were made only in the second half of the eighteenth century, when, as a student of theology in Holland, Wáli István noted the similarity between the Hungarian Gypsies' language in Hungary and that of his Indian colleagues. With the latter's help, the Hungarian theologian drew up a vocabulary of over 1000 words that, upon his return, he had it read to the Gypsies in Győr. Wáli didn't publish his findings, and the data that had been printed in 1776 in a Viennese sheet came from notes of one of his friends (Sarău 1997, p. 11-14). Through linguistics again one would be able to elucidate the problem of the Rroma migration trail, since old lexical elements of 'Afghani, Persian, Armenian, Turkish, Greek, Romanian, Slavic, etc.' origin, feature the picture of their route down to the Old Continent. However, in order to dispel the mists placed over centuries, a studies' enhancement in this direction and a serious analysis of the idioms' lexicon in each country are required (*Ibidem*, p. 15).

Conclusions do not follow with great evidence neither with respect to the Gypsys' setting in Europe and in the Romanian inhabited territories. A document of the Archangel Michael Monastery in Prizen (in today's Republic of Kosovo), dated 1348, has been interpreted by B. P. Haşdeu as proof of their early presence in the Old Continent. More specifically, it is a bill of the Serbs' and the Greeks' Tsar (16 April 1345), Stefan Uroš Dušan, with the provision of

([1]) Sections of this article have been published in the work entitled *Imaginea Celuilalt în cultura românească din Transilvania. Secolul al XIX-lea* (Cluj-Napoca, PUC, 2012).

([2])The information appears in the work of Ioan Pop Reteganul, volume that, in turn, is based on studies such as those signed by I.G. Kohl, *VölkerEuropas*, Gustav Dierks, *Gartenlaube*, M. Stătescu, *Încercări asupra originei Țiganilor*, A. Bergner, *Siebenbürgen*. Ioan Pop Reteganul, *Țiganii* [*The Gypsies*], Blaj, Tipografia Seminarului greco-catolic, 1886, p. 7.

destining ‘ţangar’ slaves to the mentioned settlement (Haşdeu 1867, p. 191, 193). However, subsequent studies have shown that the name ‘cingarije’ refers to ‘cobblers’ and not to the Rroma ancestors (Angus Fraser 2010, p. 68).

In relation to their arrival in the Romanian territories, the same author mentions a document dated October 3, 1385, where among other donations endowed by his uncle, Vladislav Vodă, to St. Anthony of Vodita Monastery, Prince Dan Vodă also specifies 40 ‘Aţigani’ camps (Haşdeu 1867, p. 192-193). Others sources, this time dated 1388, are talking about the endowing bestowed by Prince Mircea the Old to Cozia Monastery, through which 300 Gypsy families were provided to this religious settlement (Fraser 2010, p. 69). Finally, we will equally remind a 1428 document by which Bistriţa Monastery received from Prince Alexander the Good 31 Gypsy and 13 Tatar tents (*Ibidem*). When and how did they settle here is far from being resolved, requiring years of study and hard work, so long as all information is coming from indirect sources, since Rroma culture does not posses the practice of keeping records of personal and collective historical experiences. Therefore, extensive and parallel knowledge of local history and lexicography should be used, while framing up a general vision of Rroma history, from the beginning of their migrations until their medieval establishment in the states of Europe, is conditioned by the cooperation between researchers of different cultural spaces.

Resuming the problem of their presence in the Romanian territories, it should be recalled that until the middle of the age of Nationalism (1848) they had to deal with the status of slaves, being used most often on the lands of the boyars. The situation differed in Transylvania, province under Hungarian administration, where they were treated as serfs and enjoyed some freedoms that were banned to their relatives across the Carpathians ([3]).

The Gypsy’s image to the 19th century Romanians is as much influenced by this lack of data, as by the history of their status within society, by the relations that arose between the two ethnic groups, and, not lastly, by the values system that was specific for each of them. It’s virtually a projection from the register of the imaginary that has resulted following daily contacts between the ethnical groups and less as an outcome of scientifically analysis of data in scholarly works. In effect, the didactical literature did not reserve them any space, only contending to remind their presence in Transylvania with the mention that they may be found in small numbers and that they are ‘*spread around the country*’ or, to use another expression, ‘*spread among the Carpathians*’ (Marki 1899, p. 14, 42; Boiu 1869, p. 133; Popu 1870, p. 11; Dariu 1896, p. 36, 47; Rus 1842, tom II, p. 18). A fairly sketchy material is inserted within the columns of the *Romanian Encyclopedia*. The work’s author presents them as a nomadic people that originate from India. Their coming in the Romanian Provinces is timely localized in the 14th century and the article invokes the official documents that we mentioned earlier. About the Rroma from Hungary it was known that they were divided in two categories: that of the *nomads* who were in continuous movement, and that of the *settled* who were, precisely, the goldsmith and shoveler artisans or the individuals whose trade consisted in entertaining the inhabitants with their tamed bears performances. What drew our attention was the article ‘*gypsy words in Romanian*’ which was, actually, a brief overview of the language terms that have been borrowed from Rromani. They are able to reveal to us some of the stereotypes that were attributed to them and have made a long career in the epoch’s mentality: ‘*a ciordi [to filch] = a fura [to steal]*’, ‘*benga [dickens] = drac [demon]*’, ‘*puradeu = copil de ţigan [gypsy kid]*’, ‘*gagiu [buck, dude] = stăpân [master, boss]*’, ‘*calău [butcher] = găde/gâde [executioner]*’, ‘*şandrama [rookery] = şopron [barn], baracă [hut], casă ruinată [ruined house]*’, ‘*tanană = joc ţigănesc [Gypsy game]*’ (Diaconovici 1904, p. 1095-1096).

That there was some interest arisen on the history of the Gypsies, on the issue of their origin, emigration and settlement on the Old Continent, is witnessed by the work of Ioan Pop

([3]) Such as, for example, the right to travel in the country, and to settle in the Crown lands. Also the internal autonomy of Gypsy nomad groups.

Reteganul, that was first published at Blaj in 1886. Using documents obtained from German and Romanian scholars' works, but also from information that capture all concepts and beliefs related to this community from the Transylvanian territories, the writing accurately highlights not only the European portraits of the Gypsies, but also those which are specific for our cultural space. With this purpose, Reteganul inserts a series of narratives and popular verses that reflect the often negative stereotypes that were common not only among the Romanian rural populace, but in the urban areas too, and that resulted from differences that exist between Romanians, on one hand, who adopted the West-European cultural model, and the Gypsies, on the other, a populace of Oriental origin who had a specific values system that was opposed in principle to that of the Old Continent.

Of course, there are also other factors that have played an important role in shaping these unfavourable projections of the Rroma people. Beginning with the simple fact that they were the aliens from within the community, the imminent danger able to raise unrest and concern (Boia 2010, p. 133) or, as a contemporary saying states, '*the uninvited guests among the most cultivated nations of the world*' (Pop-Reteganul 1886, p. 4), up to aspects that are related to the specificity of the nations' genesis historical period. The 19th century was the moment when every people has passionately examined their history with the purpose of identifying the legendary deeds, the memorable heroes, the most noble and remote origins and of justifying, by this manner, their privileged position in relation to their neighbors. Or, the Rroma were confronted with a double disadvantage: first, they did not have a state institution, a specific space and a common religion to be shared by most of its individuals; then, the issue of their past wasn't yet elucidated, not to mention that the efforts to clarify it were mostly spent by European intellectuals. It would suffice to recall the final words of Reteganul from the above cited work, which, even if some of them are exaggerated, express very clearly the requirements of that period of time which served as the template of their critique and judgement: 'Gypsies had no ideas, no dogma, no customs, no history, no tradition, no country or even any superstition… They don't have any traditional clothing, no baptism, neither any special customs marks. Among Tartars they dress like Tartars, among Hungarians, they dress Hungarian and, usually, they wear in any place what other people throw them… Their dictionary… has no verbs for concepts like *«to have», «to possess», «to have to», «indebtedness», «law». They are like air plants*' (*Idem*, p. 66).

Other kinds of blame share the same trend, like the criticism regarding their lack of bravery or courage to sacrifice their own good for the higher good of the community and the incapacity to resist any threats. The cowardice and falsehood theme was a constant of the time, whether we talk about prints, whether we take into account the folklore, transmitted orally and kept over generations. We hereby make recourse to the descriptions of the same author that, taking into consideration the Gypsy coming in Europe, outlines a portrait almost devoid of qualities: 'Without a warrior leader, without weapons, enduring any calamity, succumbing to any oppositions, scared like birds, they spread all over God's creation and settled wherever the sunset found them' (*Ibidem*). The more suggestive are the humorous stories that circulated in Transylvania both orally and within the periodicals' pages, stories where the Gypsy fear reached shameful proportions, depicting them in an ignoble position, devoided of all dignity (Familia 1896, p. 12).

We have, therefore, the image of a half-civilized people, immune to progress, devoid of heroic deeds or extraordinary happenings that would stir the world's interest or admiration. But a people that displayed a formidable resistance against all acts that would intend to bring some of the spirit's enlightenment (Pop Reteganul 1886, p. 9-11), that of a people that had 'infiltrated' in the bosom of developed communities and that was eager to preserve its own specificity and customs that were frequently catalogued as '*backward*' and unworthy for the advanced spirit of the period. It is the picture of a depraved community, devoid of all moral norms and possessing a values system completely opposed to that which was specific to the peoples' among whom they stubbornly decided to live (Pop Reteganul 1886;

Familia 1896). Deficiencies such as falsehood, leaning towards disqualifying activities, theft, robbery, fraud and so on are considered their most common traits, while references that addressed their lack of intelligence and courage have sometimes reached downright legendary proportions (Pop Reteganul 1886, p. 22-58; Zanne 1895). Anecdotes, popular stories, little narratives concerning extraordinary happenings, were scattered throughout the periodicals' pages and fully contributed at the strengthening of the mentioned portrait. The editors of 'The Family' review, for example, were much amused by the boastful and, at the same time, timorous character of the Gypsies. A joke of the kind reproduces the dialogue between a Rroma and his Romanian friends. While the former praised his acts of bravery during the war, the latter asks him to give at least one example: '*— Tell us one; friends told him/ — I cut the legs of a pasha* [he said]/ *— And why did you cut his feet and not the head?/ … — Gee, yo! Because someone else had cut it before…*'([4]). With another occasion the same journal presented as real news a happening with an almost identical comic feature. Sentenced to six months in prison for stealing a horse, the Rroma addressed the judge with the request to double his sentence arguing that he would need a cart too (Familia 1900, p. 225).

The one who best pointed out the Gypsy's portrait in the Transylvanian Romanians' mentality has been Ioan Budai-Deleanu. Although, as he confesses by himself in the opening letter of the lyrical poem, by *Țiganiada* [*'The Gypsies' Saga'*] he didn't have as purpose to exclusively depict the Rroma habits, but by the term 'Gypsy' he also conflated '*others who were and are doing alike, as the Gypsies erstwhile. The wise man will comprehend*' (Budai-Deleanu 2001, p. 14), his writing lays down a true inventory of almost all stereotypes already established during that period. The scenes that best capture their pose before battling the Turks exhale an almost grotesquely comic as the entire scene is culminating with the moment where the Prince tests their valance by surprisingly attacking them with a disguised military contingent. The verses of Budai-Deleanu are accompanied by a few comments of Petru Maior that have been inserted as footnotes with the purpose of supporting the text's general mood and idea. Such is, for example, the depiction of the '*Gypsies' nature*' that starts with the cowardice that they proved at the sight of the Prince's disguised army and continues with the falsehood and the yarn manifested when hearing the news that they were tested (*Idem*, p. 153-154). On other occasions, their 'impatient nature' was revealed, their lack of ability to listen to others and to let them achieve the sentencing of their ideas, feature considered specific to '*stupid*' yokels that 'lack education' (*Idem*, p. 30). Finally, we recall the references related to 'Goleta Gypsy', according to the author, jobless individuals who earn their lives by begging and thieving only, or the excerpts regarding their refusal to work and preference for an idle lifestyle (*Idem*, p. 43, 277).

However, it would be wrong to consider that such annoying clichés were specific to the Transylvanian Romanian population. On the contrary, they can be found both in the writings of the Europeans (Grancea 2002, p. 64-67), as well as in those of Romanians beyond the Carpathians. We must keep in mind that the main sources of Reteganul's work were German, while in other European countries Rroma were forced to paint their carriages in garish colours in order to be noticed in advance, so that the inhabitants would be able to take their goods to cover (*See* Yoors 1987). Not to mention that in past ages several countries of the Old Continent tried even to exterminate them (Pop-Reteganul 1886, p. 9-11). In supporting the same ideas we also mention the articles taken by Transylvanian Romanian journalists from western publications.

([4])From a very long list, we underline the following titles: *Vitejia țiganului*, in 'Familia', no. 45, 6/18 Novemver 1894, p. 540. *See also* 'Familia', no. 1, 7/19 January 1896, p. 12. *Încurcătură țigănească*, *Idem*, no. 23, 10/22 June 1890, p. 275. *Țiganul sfânt*, *Idem*, no. 45, 6/18 November 1894, p. 540. *Jurământul țiganului*, *Idem*, no. 15, 8/20 April 1884, p. 179. *Țiganul și popa*, in 'Gura satului', no. 4, 30 January/11 February 1869, p. 19. *Spovedania țiganului*, *Idem*, no. 18, 2/14 May 1870. *Țiganulu în cer*, *Idem*, no. 27, 15 June/3 July 1873, p. 103. *Anecdote din popor. Țiganii*, *Idem*, no. 22, 26 November 1878. *O ceată de peste 30 de țigani bolovanesci*, in 'Familia', no 69, 13/25 September 1881, p. 447.

One of them, for instance, reported a less common experience of U.S.A. President, Andrew Johnson (April 15, 1865-March 4, 1869). While visiting a Gypsy camp, suddenly the U.S.A. President couldn't find anymore neither his snuff-box, neither his wallet. According to the journalists, he was able to recover them only after having solemnly promised that he would not take any legal action against the perpetrator — which turned out to be the camp's Rroma leader himself (Family 1867, p. 160). Lastly, speaking about the Danubian Principalities, we invoke the example of Anton Pann. The Gypsies from *Povestea vorbii* [*The Story of the Word*] are described as liars, thieves and stupid. Let us recall the dialogue which describes how the horse thief was caught on the scene: '— Tell me, Gypsy, what's your trade?/ — With the horse my wage is made./ — With the horse did you evade?/ — *May the Lord strike me in coarse/If I'm the culprit for the horse,/For the guilt is with the beast,/It kidnapped me, couldn't resist!*' (Pann 2002, p. 241-244). The Gypsies can't find themselves in a more favorable light neither in the proverbs published by the Romanian composer. Ingratitude and lack of appreciation are emphasized by witticisms like 'The day the Gypsy would be king/ First, his father hanged would swing' (*Idem*, p. 196), while their boastful character was the maxim's leitmotif 'All Gypsies praise their hammer' (*Idem*, p. 241).

The above negative portrait is also completed with favorable depictions that describe the Rroma as bohemian individuals, with an erratic and riotous lifestyle, lacking even the most common and petty worries, always joyful, fallen in love with music and dancing, as with liberty and the charm of living under the open sky (Pop Reteganul 1886, p. 27). It also captures the harmony of their physical traits, while it often invokes the women's beauty. '*If fortune has refused them the gifts of abundance, nature has given the Gypsy with surfeit that which one calls beauty*', a journalist said (Familia 1886, p. 105; *Idem*, 1883, p. 130), while another, speaking about the Rroma abilities in the realm of entertainment music, assessed that it purely and simply '*ravishes the soul, compels one to evade oneself through its original beauty, just as a Gypsy girl frequently does through her bodily talents and her two glimmering eyes*' (Pop-Reteganul 1886, p. 21). At the same time, their preferences for 'glittering' clothes, that quickly draw the observer's attention, are mentioned and their 'love for noble metals' is described as their most outstanding character feature, the unique items able to impose them the idea of sacrifice. Jewels were, in fact, the Gypsies' only material good that was inherited from one generation to another, while their preservation compelled them to many precautions (*Idem*, p. 17).

Along with the above-mentioned representations, it also took shape in that era the portrait of the skilled and handy craftsman, of the individual who provides the welfare and a smooth running of the household that he manages. The iron processing seems to be their main trade, but they may also be seen as trustees of the boyars' estates beyond the Carpathian Mountains or, on the contrary, as bailiffs of the Hungarian nobles' houses — obviously as slaves or servants. George Dem Teodorescu, known folklorist and literary historian, licensed of University of Sorbonne, is the author of some materials about Romanians' beliefs, customs and manners, materials that have been published within the columns of 'The Family' review and that were drawn up at the time when he was still studying in the French capital, in May 1877. The intellectual raised the question of how did the Romanians relate to Gypsies, achieving a true inventory of clichés and stereotypes, some negative and in agreement with the above mentioned representations ([5]), others, on the contrary, positive. It recalls the important role that the Rroma slaves had in the masters' houses, since their tasks comprised not only caring for the goods of the master, but also for the education of their children. '*In the landowner's yard, which possessed 10 to 15 dwellings for his bondsmen, the Gypsies accounted for the good fortune and the good order of the house. The Gypsy was a cook, and the best cook, a skilled coachman, a diligent servant, a loyal business adviser and a clever craftsman for all the household tools. The Gypsy woman was the*

([5]) See G. Dem Teodorescu, *Credințe, datine și moravuri romane. Miluirea țiganilor*, in 'Familia', no. 21, 22 may/3 June 1877, p. 242.

teacher and the nurse for all the landowner's children, the stewardess of the house, the chamber made, the laundress, the hen breeder and a good help for whatever else would be needed in the house' (Familia 1877, p. 254). The same issue was pointed out by Transylvanian folklorist Ioan Pop-Reteganul, who, at the same time, assures us that the practice was borrowed by Hungarians nobles, citing, in this sense, a maxim with large circulation among the Romanians from the intra-Carpathian province, 'The Boyar courtyard stands bad without Gypsies, as the Church without tower' (Pop Reteganul 1886, p. 15-16).

Finally, we remember the depiction of the Gypsy fiddler, a very talented individual, destined to delight and entertain the Transylvanian inhabitants in their leisure and joy moments. Speaking about this indisputable quality of Rroma people, Reteganul showed that it almost didn't exist any village where the orchestra would be played by other people than Gypsies and, even more, that all successful bands in the province include such individuals. 'Even for the famous national anthem… Rakatzi's march, Gypsies are the only to know how to sing it in such a way that it instantly 'electrifies' the Hungarians', insists the author with a dose of malice, while he shows that the number of Rroma musicians well recognized in Hungary is very high (*Ibidem*, p 19). And, indeed, the historical record does capture them well from the second half of the fifteenth century on. More specifically, there are several records that registered payments made to traditional musicians of Gypsy origin — 1489, 1525 (Fraser 2010, p. 126).

However, we may assume that it generally prevailed the negative vision of the ethnic group in question, their semi-nomadic nature, their 'specific' lifestyle and power to overcome any 'pressure' coming from nations that they came in contact with, being rather understood as evidence of the 'stubborn' resolve to live their lives other than in accord with some generally accepted rule among 'enlightened' nations. This prevalent perspective is, most likely, the effect of the primacy of a specific vision of nationalism, which puts the emphasis on the influence of the self-affirming policy of peoples, on their clotting as national States endowed with a cultural and civilizing pursuit.

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Fig. 1 – *Țigancă din Banat* [*Gypsy woman from Banat*],
Source: 'Familia', 1894

Fig. 2 – *Țigancă vrăjitoare* [*Gypsy witch*],
Source: Familia, 1890

The Image of the 19th Century Worker in Władysław Reymont's Literature

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Abstract. The paper analyses the image of the 19th century industrial city in a series of works by Polish writer Władysław Reymont. The novel *Ziemia Obiecana* (*The Promised Land*) and some of Reymont's short-stories reveal the grim conditions in which the workers lived and worked. The writer illustrates the lack of business ethics, the abuses committed by the factory owners against their employees, the immense pollution that characterized this incipient industry. Łódź is a multiethnic city and three ethnic images (German, Jewish, Polish) are also outlined. The ethnic situation is closely related to the social one, as most employers were foreign, whereas the employees – Polish.

Keywords: Reymont, Ziemia Obiecana, Lodz, 19th century industry, ethnic image

The myth of the industrial revolution

Although he is best known for his Nobel Prize - winning novel *Chłopi (The Peasants)*, the correct understanding of Władysław Reymont's literature is vitally linked to the events of the 19th century such as the process of industrialization and the Polish struggle for independence. The praise of healthy, rural life, that imbues his entire work cannot be separated from its opposite, the critique of decadent, urban life.

Nowadays, the industrial city is often presented in an idealized and eulogistic manner; the industrial revolution of the 19th century is considered, in general, a period of great scientific and technical progress and the starting point of modernity. A good example for the aura that envelops the industrial city can be found in an article signed by Andreas Kossert, *'Promised Land'? Urban Myth and the Shaping of Modernity in Industrial Cities: Manchester and Lodz*; in an attempt of comparing these two industrial centres, the author speaks of the vibrant and enthusiastic atmosphere of these cities, which was due to the rapid accumulation of wealth and social advancement: 'Many entrepreneurs and workers arrived in these textile centres to try their luck. Almost religiously they entered the <<Promised Land>>, where, as it seemed at first glance, not church bells, but factory sirens and the hammering of the looms told the hour' (Kossert 2006, 171). Kossert also quotes Benjamin Disraeli, who referred to Manchester as to the 'most wonderful city of modernity' and Leon Faucher, who was talking about its 'extraordinary atmosphere, where the chimney smoke disclosed a mysterious activity' (Kossert 2006, 170). The immigrants gave the city a heterogeneous character, enriching its ethnic and religious diversity. In the continuation of Kossert's article, several opinions and works are presented, some pro, some against this image of the industrial city, but the article is, all in all, tributary to the historical cliché of the industrial revolution.

This historical perspective is relatively new and is caused by the migration of a series of concepts from the American historiography to the European one, such as 'the melting pot', 'from rags to riches' and 'the American dream'. From this mental outlook, Wojciech Kallas tries an analysis of the novel *Ziemia Obiecana* (*The Promised Land*). Although this type of study can prove to be interesting and can stress some general human mechanisms, which functioned both in the rising of Łódź as an industrial centre and in the foundation period of the United States, the comparison is valid only up to a certain point. If the 'promised land' myth also existed in the case of Łódź, then that of the 'melting pot' is unsustainable, at least as shown in Reymont's novel. According to a basic principle of scientific research, the ideas of the source cannot be altered to serve a theory and, as it shall be seen, in *The Promised Land* there are no arguments pleading for the idea of Łódź as a 'melting pot'. The three inhabiting nations look upon each other with contempt (situation also acknowledged by Wojciech Kallas) and cooperate temporarily, mainly if they are motivated by financial interests; as soon as the collaboration is not profitable any more, former partners easily turn against each other. The

characters do not borrow elements from other cultures, remaining German, Jewish and respectively Polish. The argument provided by Kallas regarding the main character is invalid, as Karol Borowiecki does not transform through the course of the novel from an idealist aristocrat to a businessman with no moral scruples, a typical Lodzermensch. In fact, at the beginning of the novel, he starts off as a cold, calculated, success-driven person only to convince himself, after achieving the desired status, that money and power were not enough for spiritual fulfilment. The humanity of him finally wins and he decides to help others in finding happiness, if he had lost his chance at it. The end of the novel does not leave any doubts in this aspect.

The 19th century industrial workers and their living and working conditions

According to another cliché frequently used nowadays, the writers who pleaded for the return to a more traditional lifestyle are presented in a simplistic fashion, as exponents of a conservative reaction of anxiety towards change. But nothing could be further from the truth than to state that great writers such as Reymont were backward, opposing renewal and progress; starting from the historical facts, we will attempt to find an explanation for this attitude, which, analysed in closer detail, proves to have profound humane motivations.

We are not talking here about isolated cases or about a reaction characteristic only for intellectuals from Central - Eastern Europe, where agriculture was still the dominant sector of economy and had a powerful impact on the mentality of the people. The first voices that rose against the savagery of the industrialization process were, naturally, British. John Ruskin's philosophy was widespread in the 19th century and influenced numerous personalities, including Reymont. Literary critic Ignacy Matuszewski stressed the resemblance between the ideas expressed by the Polish writer and those of British economist John Atkinson Hobson, with the difference that Reymont presents as a vivid image of the industrial city and its inhabitants what the British thinker enclosed into the formula of economic theory (Matuszewski 1965, 221). Their conclusions are not identical, the same critic expressing doubts about Reymont ever reading Hobson (Matuszewski 1965, 221). However, it was natural that their ideas were similar, since the realities that sprung them also bore resemblances. The image of Manchester also had a profound effect on British artists: for example, Kossert quotes Charles Dickens' decision to do everything he could for the unfortunate souls that lived in Cottonopolis (Kossert 2006, 181). Another example is Elizabeth Gaskell, who was also preoccupied with the living conditions of the workers.

Even the most basic research on the chaotic and destructive industry of the 19th century reveals a grim picture, outraging for sensitive souls, such as those of the artists. The factories produced an incredible degree of pollution and there was practically no clean air in the cities. The working schedule was long and monotonous (13 hours a day with one hour lunch break) and the factory owner could fire anybody he wanted, whenever he wanted and could even close down the entire factory, if it did not turn a profit. The living conditions were no better; rents were high and families used to sublet to others rooms of the house or even corners of the same room in which they were living. The lack of proper hygiene, the general poverty and the crowding of people and animals in small, unsanitary rooms were the main causes for diseases and premature aging. In the pages written by Reymont many portraits of exhausted, miserable workers can be found: 'The workers, only in shirts, barefoot, with gray faces and faded eyes, as if burned by this orgy of colours [in the factory's dyeing sector], were moving slowly and mechanically, being just an extension of the machines' (Reymont 2011, 27). Reymont himself lived in harsh conditions in Warsaw, at the beginning of his writing career: 'He lived together with three people in a room on Swiętojańska and because he was the poorest – he had come to Warsaw only with 3 rubles and 50 kopecks and even those ones borrowed – he had the darkest corner, next to the kitchen […]. However, Reymont wrote and nobody ever believed that the first works of the later great writer were written in Saint John's Cathedral. That was the only place where the young beginner had silence and enough light to be able to see his own pen' (Velea 1967, 28). Reymont also had personal experience as a Łódź worker in the dye department of a large factory and as a weaver in a small shop.

The writer wanted to show in detail the miserable, burdened life that he had seen and had experienced himself, as one of the common folk. The Jaskólski family from *The Promised Land* is one of the many families of ruined szlachta nobles that moved from the countryside to the city. Their lodging is on a street without name, next to the factory's sewer: 'The little

streets resembled with a garbage dumpster, full of the debris of the big city. Józio squeezed through in a hurry and entered into an unplastered house, with lights at all the windows, from the basement to the attic, like a lighthouse; it was seething of the tumult of the people who were sheltered here. In a dark entrance hall, impregnated with awful smells and with mud on the floor, he touched the dirty and sticky banister and rapidly descended to the basement; on a long corridor, without floor, on which litter and household objects were thrown, also full of mud and human uproar, a lantern was lit, flickering under the ceiling. He squeezed through the objects that were barricading the passage and got to the end of the corridor. He was struck by heated basement air, combined with mildew and dampness that were flowing down the discoloured walls in rust-like traces' (Reymont 2011, 185). Inside resides the family of the young man named Józio, the parents and five children, the oldest of them slowly dying of tuberculosis, with the sole wish of seeing once more his native village. Their meal is as poor as the dwelling place, consisting of bread and tea. However, on the mildewing walls the portraits of their ancestors are hanged, because the Jaskólski family, although ruined, is still proud of their noble origins. For this reason the head of the family refused the job he was offered as a warehouse guard, since he considered below his dignity to be guard for the Swabians (Reymont 2011, 286). Taking into consideration merely this brief description, it becomes understandable why artists such as Reymont were horrified by the inhumane living conditions in 19th century cities and tried through their own means to open the eyes of society.

Władysław Reymont dedicated the novel *The Promised Land* and a few short stories such *Pewnego dnia...* (*One day...*) and *Cmentarzysko* (*The Cemetery*) to daily dramas happening in the city of Łódź. The workers look sickly and are exhausted, reason why factory accidents in which they are crippled are frequent. '[...] Reymont's anti-urbanism – wrote Professor Stan Velea – takes violent forms when he describes the machines that he considers an unsuccessful product of civilization, which helps the industrial city to grind human lives. The machines are merciless beasts, which are on the look-out for any moment of weakness, any wrong move of the worker, in order to punish him cruelly. The image of the technical rooms in the novels *One day...* and *The Cemetery* resemble, in the author's imagination, with a thick forest in which the beast-machines are hidden, ready to jump and tear apart their prey' (Velea, *Foreword* to Reymont 1967, 16). Reymont insists especially on the description of the transmission belts and of the immense wheels of the machines. Across the entire novel *Ziemia obiecana* there are scattered images of workers mutilated by the factory machines, images created in the naturalistic style, but nevertheless true. The scene, where a worker is literally crushed by a machine until he is reduced to nothing else than a bloody piece hanging on the wheel's axle, is one of the most moving scenes in the entire novel. The reaction of the co-workers is also significant: a few women start praying, the men are taking off their hats, but there is no regret in their eyes, only '[...] a certain wild, severe apathy' (Reymont 2011, 161). The foreman of the sector orders them to go back to work and complains about the percale that was stained with blood, whereas Borowiecki, the head manager of the factory, does not have any reaction at all, being used to this sort of accidents. Life in the city jungle has taken its toll on everybody's souls. Even more relevant for Reymont's populist ([1]) mentality is the scene in which he portrays a worker slowly dying on a field, in the shadow of a birch tree. The physician Wysocki, intoxicated with the love for Mela Grünspan, is walking across the oat and rye fields in a euphoric state; Reymont leads the reader through a sublime description of nature, seen through the eyes of the enamoured Wysocki, only to bring him afterwards in front of the dying worker. The technique has maximum effect. The worker, a former peasant who had come from the countryside to the city, had a working accident; the doctors cut two times from his legs, but did not manage to stop the gangrene. He is waiting to die at the shadow of a birch tree, singing religious hymns to the Virgin Mary. He is alone because his wife is working in the factory and all his children died, one in the factory and three of ague. In a peasant manner, he is very grateful to Wysocki, who tears his own shirt to change his bandages, which are full of blood and puss.

([1]) The term refers here to the literary and social current (second half of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century) which considered the peasantry as the basis of development and pleaded for its education and for the return to a traditional lifestyle. Originating from the Russian Narodnik movement, the ideas also spread into Poland and Romania, where they were promoted by the Warsaw weekly *Głos*, respectively by *Viața românească* [*Romanian Life*], Constantin Stere and Garabet Ibrăileanu.

Reymont also presents the case of a woman, who is waiting for months, together with her children, to be paid the 200 rubles compensation for her husband who died in the factory. In fact, the sum should be much bigger, but she is a simple woman, also a former peasant, and does not know that she can sue the factory. Even the payment of the 200 rubles is constantly delayed and the factory clerks claim, without any shame or compassion for human suffering, that the worker committed suicide: 'That boor intentionally put his head under the wheel, he didn't feel like working any more, he just wanted to rob the factory of money! And now we have to pay his wife and his bastard children!' (Reymont 2011, 23).

The employers were aware of the state of their workers, but there was no intention of improving the conditions inside the factories or of offering them medical care. On the contrary, expenses were reduced as much as possible so that they could obtain a maximum profit. Stanisław Mendelsohn reproaches to Wysocki even the most basic medical treatments given to the workers, although these had effect and the workers soon returned to their duties. The factory owners do not show any sign of respect for human life, aware that the constant flow of impoverished peasants, charmed by the opportunities of the big city, provided them with cheap labour force, no matter how many of the already employed workers became ill or died. Arrogant, they posed in parent figures that provide the daily bread for their employees. Bucholc, one of the kings of the cotton industry in Łódź, burns with pleasure all the letters that are begging him for help, motivating his avarice and lack of compassion through a dubious moral, according to which those who were not able to make a fortune have to be left to die.

The writer shows an even darker side of the relationship between the employers and their employees through the character Kessler, who uses his influence to recruit women for orgies from among the factory workers. Tyrannized and threatened with dismissal, they accept to be taken to his palace where they are given alcohol and are passed from one guest to another. Some, like Zośka Malinowska, become the permanent mistresses of Kessler, seduced by his love declarations and also driven by the desire to leave behind the burdened worker life. According to historian Norman Davies, women were preferred in the case of unskilled labour, being given lower wages than men (Davies 1982, 174). They lost gracefulness and acquired masculine moves because of the work in the factory. In Reymont's literature no cases of child labour are presented.

The author also takes into consideration the psychological effects produced by work in the industry: the monotony of routine, the repeated execution of simple operations, much like a machine, annihilates human creative energies. The lift attendant Pliszka from the short story *One day...* is a perfect example of psychological alienation, as a consequence of an automated life: coming from a family of ruined nobles, Pliszka has worked for twenty years in the elevator of a factory, without medical leave or vacation, 'the oldest machine in the factory' (Reymont 1967, 129; Reymont 1990, 91). Spending all his time around machines, he developed a cult for their force and durability; people and their lives do not hold interest for him anymore: 'He was smiling with contempt, looking at their bent bodies, at their ghastly and sunken faces, at their tired hands… what were they compared to these powerful giants, whose shining, steel bodies he could always see, what were they compared to their strength? Vanity, dust, nothing…' (Reymont 1967, 129-130; Reymont 1990, 92). His alienation is apparently complete, but in his subconscious still resides, in latent state, the longing for his birthplace, which he has not seen in twenty years, and for another kind of life, a more natural, humane one. Reaching one day the outskirts of town during a walk, the sight of the fields augments his suffering. He decides to visit his native village, but inside his heart and mind a genuine battle is given, that will be won by routine: hearing the sirens calling the workers, Pliszka cannot resist and returns to his post.

The sirens that announce the beginning and the end of the breaks are ubiquitous in the novel *The Promised Land* as well; each worker recognizes the calling of his factory and the sirens are sarcastically named 'skylarks' who announce the calling of the 'animal' (Reymont 2011, 146-147). Needless to say, noise pollution was not a concern. Inside the factories, the situation was even worse: 'Everything vibrated: the walls, the machines, the floors, the engines were roaring, the belts and the transmissions were whistling stridently, the carts were jolting on the concrete corridors, the motor wheels were screeching, everywhere in this sea of broken vibrations you could hear calls or the powerful, noisy breathing of the main machine' (Reymont 2011, 16). In addition to this turmoil, the fumes and the vapours from the dyeing department were covering everything and there was an almost unbearable heating in the factory.

Borowiecki warned Bucholc that he would get tuberculosis, if he spent another two years in the printing department.

The idea of longing for the native village and pure, untainted nature is a leitmotiv of Reymont's literature, therefore also present in *The Promised Land*. In his last days of life, the millionaire Bucholc is looking more and more outside the window, towards the fields and the forest edge, intuiting at a subconscious level that there lies a certain charm, a mystery of life that he overlooked, too busy making a fortune. The majority of Reymont's characters yearn for another kind of life, one in harmony with nature, away from the monstrous city. Borowiecki, in his dilemmas, also turns his sight towards the natural landscape.

The industry had a negative effect not only on people, but also on the environment. Reymont excels in rural descriptions, but also succeeds in painting a gloomy picture of the degraded urban nature. He especially insists on the image of the trees poisoned by industrial residue: 'Józef kept playing the harmonica [...] and from the gate answered the tender sound of the shepherd's flute, surely made there on the spot from the willows that were growing near ponds and played by the guard of the factory. The flute had a strange voice, of mourning and sorrow, like the moaning of these willows, of these trees that yearned for sun, for the wind that is frolicking on the fields, like the moaning of these trees poisoned by smoke, suffocated by walls, by the lack of air, by the dirty sewage of the factory' (Reymont 1967, 136-137; Reymont 1990, 96). The reason why Reymont insists so much on the description of trees is their resemblance to men: 'Only trees long like this in some days of March, in times of sleet, when it is cold and the storm is blowing, but trees long for spring and sun, whereas men? Men, like trees in eternal agony, long for those that were and are not any more… they long and weep…' (Reymont 1967, 124; Reymont 1990, 89).

Despite the pitiable situation in Łódź, the city continued to grow, as more and more pauperized people came with the hope of creating a better life for themselves. Some were intellectuals, wanting to obtain a patent for inventions that would revolutionize the industry and make them a fortune, but most of them were peasants. Through the words of the character Michalakowa, Reymont suggests that peasants were even lured to move to the city: some of them were paid and sent back to their native village to lie about the great opportunities Łódź offered them, displaying ostentatiously their wealth to be more credible (Reymont 2011, 24-25). Michalakowa's husband, the one later crushed by the machines, was thus convinced to leave for Łódź and the woman was forced to follow her man. Widowed with many children, she regrets life in the countryside, where food was easier to find, whereas in the city she almost got to the status of a beggar, waiting month after month the compensation for her dead husband.

Another peasant figure is Socha; he and his wife are the protégés of Borowiecki's wife, obtaining jobs in the factory through her favours. When hired, they insist on telling Borowiecki the entire story of their family and that of the fire that ruined their lives; Borowiecki lets them talk for a while, knowing that '[…] first of all, peasants like to speak about their troubles' (Reymont 2011, 80). As a sign of gratitude for hiring them, they give Borowiecki a few eggs from the only chicken that survived the fire. Work in the factory changed them in three or four months, but only at a physical level. Both of them wear workers' clothes, giving up the traditional peasant clothing, and the man complains that the factory fumes are giving him chest pains. He misses horses, which he used to work with daily in the countryside. At a psychological level, they are still peasants: '[…] Łódź just dressed them in another wardrobe. Give them a few square measures of land and in a week there won't be not even a trace left from the life there' (Reymont 2011, 343). Their peasant mentality cannot change overnight, lasting long after their move to the city. Another character that provides an argument for this is the weaver Maryśka, who, after finishing work in the factory, plows the garden of the ruined nobles Jaskólski, thus pretending she is still in the country.

There was also a category of peasants that decided to move even further away, to the United States or Brazil. Reymont intended to write a cycle of four volumes about the Polish colonies in the United States, which he had visited in two occasions. Unfortunately, he passed away before he could complete this project, only touching on the subject in the short stories *Powrót (Return)*, *Spowiedź (Confession)*, *Sprawiedliwie! (It is fair!)* and the novel *Chłopi* (*The Peasants*).

Łódź *rising*

Due to its textile manufacturing industry, the city of Łódź was in the 19th century among the most industrialized, if not the most industrialized city in Poland. For this reason, it is often compared to Manchester;

Czesław Miłosz also resorts to this comparison in his *History of Polish Literature*: 'During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Łódź, thanks to rapid investments in the textile factories, grew from a small town into a kind of Manchester of eastern Europe, exporting its products all over Russia's enormous expanses. It was a city of speculation, of fortunes won in a few days, of bankruptcies, and of the inhuman exploitation of working people. In his novel, Reymont compared it to a monstrous tumor and described it with all the hostility of an alien, migrant villager' (Miłosz 1983, 370). However, in the opinion of British historian Norman Davies, the comparison to Manchester is somewhat unsuitable, since industry did not play a dominant role in the economy or social life of Eastern Europe up to the middle of the twentieth century (Davies 1982, 163) and Łódź, unlike Manchester, did not bring innovations in the textile technology (Davies 1982, 171). In the novel *The Promised Land*, Reymont in a way confirms Davies' statements, declaring repeatedly that the characteristic products for Łódź where poor quality imitations. Although behind a metropolis like Manchester, Łódź did have a staggering development in the second half of the 19th century, the time when Reymont lived and wrote.

The industrialization of Poland was not the result of a continued, natural development process, but rather the work of the three empires that long ruled over the Polish territories. This is also demonstrated by the fact that the three Polish provinces had fewer industrial and commercial connections with each other than with the other territories of the empires into which they were incorporated. Terms such as 'unitary development' and 'regionalization' are thus improperly used. The Polish historiography distinguishes three phases of the industrialization process in Poland: the first one (1740-1815) was in fact a small-scale modernization implemented by Polish magnates, a mixture between the old type of crafts and the large-scale industry. Only in the second phase (1815-1939) industrialization started in the real sense of the word, whereas the last phase is represented by the Communist industrialization. The process was several times interrupted by the turbulent events that marked Polish history.

Mining, the iron and the coal industries were the branches with the most consolidated traditions; in the south of Poland, in the Holy Cross Mountains (Góry Świętokrzyskie) are traces of a prehistoric mining exploitation, whereas the salt mines of Wieliczka, near Cracow, have functioned for at least a thousand years. The kings were the ones who had monopoly over the exploitation of these mines.

After the Thirty Years' War, textile centres prospered for a brief period, and then the old waving guilds started declining because of the restrictive practices, of the middlemen and of the manufactures open by the magnates. The request for wool and linen decreased because of the cotton industry.

The city of Łódź was artificially created in 1820 by Rajmund Rembieliński, governor of Mazovia, who, during an inspection, decided to build a new city between Łęczyca and Piotrków. Close-by there were two more textile centres, the aforementioned Łęczyca and Zgierz. At the beginning, Łódź was the beneficiary of help from the state, but the road from a small settlement to a metropolis was with ups and downs, much like the fortunes that were made or lost over night in *Ziemia obiecana*. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, a large number of Silesian and Saxon weavers were unemployed and efforts were made to draw them to Poland (Davies 1982, 172). Each weaver was given land, materials to build a house and a six years' exemption from taxes, rent and military service (Davies 1982, 172), conditions which probably seemed very attractive to some peasants who had an impoverished life. However, at the beginning, Łódź developed slowly; different attempts were made, with wool, line and cotton alike. The local supplier of raw material for wool did not want to cooperate in order not to prejudice the monopoly he had in the area and the relations with the main market, Russia, were fluctuating depending on the political events. The first material that turned a profit was cotton, and its success allowed the wool and linen industries to be revitalised. The main production centre for wool was Białystock, whereas for linen, Żyrardów, near Warsaw. In the second half of the 19th century, Russian Poland surpassed the other Polish partitions in the textile domain.

Reading a pure economic history of the beginnings of the Polish industry, such as the chapter *Fabryka* from Norman Davies' *God's playground*, one may be under the impression that this process was an entirely positive one, a great progress in the history of a predominantly rural country and a factor in constituting a multicultural society in Poland. Nothing of the savagery and the corruption of this capitalist beginning, nothing of inhumane lives of the workers can be found in this type of economic history. Accounts of the price paid for these

industrial achievements, mainly by the common folk, can instead be found in the literature of the epoch and in the documents related to the workers' strikes: to the 1892 events in Łódź more than 60.000 persons participated, the biggest strike in the history of the Tsarist Empire up to the 1905 one (Wachowska).

The industrial city, city of foreigners?

Foreign investments played a crucial role in the development of Polish industry; at the end of the 19th century, it was estimated that 60% of the capital used for industrial production was foreign (Davies 1982, 175). The main investors, with financial, logistic and expert personnel contributions, were the Germans, followed by the British and the French. The relationship between them and the Polish employees were less than cordial; in her analysis of the Łódź 1892 workers' strike, Barbara Wachowska mentions the tense interethnic relations as one of the causes: 'Only 23.7 per cent of the all-too-powerful foremen were Polish. The Germans constituted 64.9 per cent, and the remaining few consisted of Czechs, French, Swiss, English, Russians and Belgians. One third of them were not able to communicate with their workers for they did not know Polish. The workers commonly complained that their foremen hated them because they were Polish, called them <<Polish pigs>> hassled, hit, punished, and cheated them. The workers claimed that they no longer <<can tolerate their [employer's] arrogance>> and that <<they would be much better off in prison than under the oppression of their foreign foremen>>' (Wachowska). In *The Promised Land*, Reymont presents a similar situation: a short evaluation, of the companies in Łódź, during a walk, reveals that most of them have German or Jewish owners and only now and then the name of a Polish shoemaker or locksmith appears. At the theatre, where only the elite of Łódź went, most spectators were also either German or Jewish. It is also historically known that the biggest factories in Łódź belonged to the German Carl Scheibler and the Jew Izrael Poznański (Kossert 2006, 185).

The action of the novel revolves around the foundation of a factory by three Łódź industrialists, one Polish, one German and one Jewish. However, this business plan does not lead to an authentic interethnic cooperation, but rather to a temporary collaboration, motivated by economic interests. The Pole Karol Borowiecki is the main character, who undergoes a spiritual transformation from a genuine Lodzermensch, '[…] cold, rational, indifferent, ready to do anything […]' (Reymont 2011, 28), to a man aware of the mistakes he made, filled with regret, but determined to help others find happiness, if he had lost his chance. In the business started with the German Max Baum and the Jew Moryc Welt, the only uncertain endorser is considered Borowiecki, because of his Polish origins (Reymont 2011, 32).

There are many different approaches to the analysis of the ethnicity of these three characters, which represent the three large ethnic groups inhabiting 19th century Łódź. According to some opinions, too much attention should not be paid to the ethnic traits assigned to the three characters, since all of them have the same goal, making a fortune and thus succeeding in the capitalist world of Łódź. Among those who expressed this view are the Romanian scholar Stan Velea (Velea 1966, 73) and director Andrzej Wajda, who in 1975 made an Oscar-nominated film version of the novel *The Promised Land*: 'One of the three leading characters is a Pole, the second – a German, and the third – a Jew. These ethnic differences do not come between them. They found a factory together, and are linked by a shared business and by a sense of belonging to the group of 'Lodzermensch' – the men of Lodz. This peculiar Polish-German-Jewish amalgam of Lodz population at that time is extremely interesting; it seduces with colour, variety of customs and of human types and attitudes' (Wajda). Despite the fact that the three main characters act similarly and have the same goals, we consider that the ethnic traits cannot be disregarded, due to the importance with which Reymont himself treats them. The entire novel is filled with comments about the three ethnicities and with stinging ironies that they address to one another.

Taking into consideration the traits and the actions of the main characters, but also those of the minor ones, three ethnic images can be distinguished. The Poles are attributed with noblesse, cultural refinement, but also obstinacy in maintaining old customs and virtues that constitute an obstacle in succeeding and even surviving in the jungle of the industrial city. Such is the case of Jaskólski, who is not really qualified for any job, lives in great poverty and has a dying child, but still declines, out of an incomprehensible nobleman's pride, to be a warehouse guard. Trawiński finds himself several times on the brink of bankruptcy because he refuses to adopt the unethical means used by

the other industrialists. His wife is the most cultivated woman in Łódź, a true lady, preoccupied with elegance and art, whereas the others, such as Endelmanowa, just want to impress their visitors with glittering kitsch.

The Germans, like Max Baum and the millionaire Müller, have the image of generally honest people, who are willing to work hard. However, they are also simple, rudimentary persons; the king of cotton, Müller, does not restrain from laughing out loud in the theatre, to the embarrassment of the ladies in his family, who want to maintain a façade of refinement. At parties, he drinks too much. Unlike the Jews, who were the first to introduce credits, the German bankers preferred to work with cash, preference that also illustrates their stable, but rigid mentality. Borowiecki, married out of interest with Müller's daughter, feels isolated in the new family, whereas his wife, although very devoted to him, does not have the spiritual finesse of the former Polish fiancée.

The Jews have, by far, the most negative image out of the three ethnicities. The Jewish community in Łódź grew over the course of the 19th century into the second largest Jewish community in Poland (Shapiro 2010). In *Ziemia Obiecana*, the Jews hold leading positions in the textile industry, through influential millionaires such as Szaja Mendelsohn, Grünspan, Grosglik and Zuker. Their only goal is obtaining a profit, no matter the means used to achieve this: arson for the insurance money, organized bankruptcy, various schemes with credits, assassination of rivals etc. Reymont blames them for the poor quality of the Łódź products, which is also the cause of the conflict between them and Borowiecki, who wanted to raise the quality of the merchandise and maintain his clients precisely through this. They acted against him by ceasing his credit, but also through his Jewish associate, Moryc Welt. Cunning, he assures Borowiecki of his friendship, but at the same time slowly takes control of the entire factory. Reymont attributes to the Jews a more pronounced ethnic solidarity than in the case of the other two nationalities. The contempt between Poles and Jews is mutual: the banker Grosglik considers the Poles fit only for manual labour, whereas the noble woman Wysocka does not allow her son to get married to a Jew and dirty his blood. However, these attitudes of scorn also existed between the Germans and the Poles: Bucholc says that the latter have talent only for foreign languages and for begging, thus offending Borowiecki, although he was his best employee.

A scene that perhaps illustrates well the three ethnic images is the one in which Borowiecki reveals to his partners precious economic information, obtained through stealing a telegram from his mistress' house. For the Polish stereotype, it is emblematic Borowiecki's decision to share these pieces of information, as a gesture of respect and good will towards his partners. Moryc Welt is surprised by Borowiecki's attitude, because he would not have done the same. He is thrilled by the possibility of a future profit, he calculates again and again, seized with fever. Max Baum is sleeping while Borowiecki and Welt are talking, at some point he wakes up with difficulty, eats, drinks, lights his pipe and tells the others to briefly give him the news, he gives them his endorsement and then he goes back to sleep.

The conflicts between the Jews, the Germans and the Poles are numerous, from economic competitions to bar fights, and nothing indicates the situation of a veritable interethnic cooperation. These conflicts certainly existed in reality as well and Reymont merely transposed them in literature. The novel has to be considered as a document about the mentality of an epoch and not judged, especially since Reymont's lines do not transmit a feeling of hatred toward an ethnicity or the other, but rather general compassion for humanity and condemnation for everything that causes harm to it. A poor understanding of the writer's conception often made scholars refrain from quoting certain passages and discuss only those that were not controversial.

Although certain ethnic images are outlined, it cannot be stated that Reymont's characters are stereotypes, since the writer portrays them from a human perspective, illustrating the causes that led them to the present state. With great skill, Reymont creates a wide variety of characters, corresponding to the natural diversity of the human soul. Although the image of the Jews is disadvantageous, it is not completely negative. Not all Jewish characters are interest-driven, covetous; good examples are Blumenfeld, for whom music is the only escape from the monotony of the office work, Mela Grünspan, who falls in love with the doctor Wysocki and is sacrificed to her family's interests, forced to accept Moryc Welt as husband. Zuker, although lacking any scruples in business, sincerely loves his wife and what he desires most is to have a child with her. When he finds out about her affair with Borowiecki, he cries in front of her lover and begs him to deny the rumors. Not even the king of cotton, Szaja

Mendelsohn, has a completely negative image. Reymont gives information about his burdened, miserable life in the past, his iron will and the abnegation that allowed him to make a fortune, although this burning desire destroyed his sensibility. Reymont does not present only cases of rich Jews: he also mentions the poor Jewish neighbourhood in Łódź, as well as the weavers' village of Kurow, inhabited by Jews who were earning a decent living, in the best case.

The Germans are not portrayed merely as the rudimentary nouveau-riche Müller, but also as employers who care about their workers, who defend the ideas of honesty, humanity, even with the risk of bankruptcy. Such a businessman is Baum the senior, Max Baum's father, who defends the manual industry against the steam colossi, borrows his last money to any honest industrialist and in the evening plays with his granddaughters in a pleasant, heart-warming family atmosphere. At the opposite extreme is millionaire Herman Bucholc, who despises everybody, considers himself a deity and unloads his fury by hitting his butler across the face with a cane. He is representative for what critic Julian Krzyżanowski called '[…] the traditional Germanic arrogance on foreign soil […]' (Krzyżanowski 1969, 527).

Although a Pole himself, Reymont did not create a completely positive, idealized image for his ethnicity and the best argument for this is the behaviour of the main character, Karol Borowiecki. In most cases he is indifferent to any humane manifestation, acting only selfishly, for the satisfaction of his own goals and own pleasures. He cynically seduces women, regardless if they are married or not. When Zuker begs him to deny the relation with his wife, he falsely swears on the icon of the Holy Virgin Mary and he even manages to write a small note to Zukerowa to not admit anything, while conversing with her husband. Although he used all her dowry money to build his own factory, he breaks the engagement to Anka and he gets married to Mada Müller, because this relationship can save him after the factory burned down.

Regardless of the ethnicity of the nouveaux riches, the literary critics have underlined the lack of culture and of sensibility that is characteristic for all of them. Most of them have modest origins and endured all sorts of misfortunes on the way to the top, which dehumanized them and caused them to develop an unusual avarice. Despite the fact that they possess large sums of money, they all relentlessly cling to every kopeck. Grosglik forbids his bank employees to make tea, so long as he is paying for the gas. At Bucholc's funeral, the workers get half of day off to attend the ceremony, but this is cut from their payment, to compensate for some of the funeral expenses. The millions owned by these nouveaux riches stimulated their arrogance and selfishness, believing that they have the right to treat those less fortunate as they please. Szaja Mendelsohn reduces the payment of a factory worker because he dares to have fun while Szaja is ill. Asked by Trawińska and Endelmanowa to donate money for the summer camps of the workers' children, Szaja gives them a small sum and only because the two ladies say that his rival, Bucholc, also gave them money. In addition, he insists his contribution to be mentioned, so that everybody can find out how generous he is. He is disturbed by the death of his rival, which demonstrated to him that not even millionaires are immortal, despite the fact that they are treated almost like gods in their lifetime; he is gripped by fear, becomes more religious and establishes an asylum and a hospital for workers, but continues the merciless exploitation inside the factory.

The nouveaux riches have humble origins and they become ridiculous in their desire to imitate the aristocracy, without having its education. Grosglik confuses Victor Hugo with Henryk Sienkiewick and Endelmanowa declares she likes her paintings to be *glanz*, to shine as new, covering them up with layers of gloss until not much of the original can be distinguished. Müller, originally a simple weaver from the German lands, built himself a sumptuous palace to rise up to the standards of the other millionaires, but does not live in it. His palace is filled with expensive furniture, but arranged without taste and without life; he owns the books written by all the great names of universal literature, but nobody in his family knows even their titles. Their pretences are downright comic for the others: 'But Knabe is not silly? What about old man Lehr who, when sitting in a restaurant and hearing somebody shout: <<Waiter!>>, stands up immediately because he was once a waiter; what about Zuker, who even in my mother's time was bringing home leftovers from sale. Lehr, for example, knows only how to sign, but receives his clients in the cabinet, holding a book that his butler always hands it to him open, because there were cases when Lehr was holding it upside down in the presence of his guests' (Reymont 2011, 276). The children of these nouveaux riches do not seem to rise above the previous generation, being portrayed as having no ideals and no

preoccupations, used to have everything without making the slightest effort for it, bored of everything, even of having fun.

This bourgeoisie replaced the Polish nobility, who slowly withers and dies and whose life philosophy started to be behind the times. The phenomenon was widely illustrated and debated in the Polish literature of the epoch. In *The Promised Land*, one of the few aristocratic figures is Adam, Borowiecki's old father, who cannot understand how Stach Wilczek, the boy who used to guard their cows, is now juggling with huge sums of money or how a former peasant, Karczmarek, can afford to buy his estate. Between the nobility and the nouveaux riches is a mutual contempt: for example, Borowiecki refuses to shake Wilczek's hand, considering this below his dignity, while the other one is offended by the fact that the noble still sees him as inferior, despite his climb on the social ladder.

A desacralized environment

The depiction of the industrial city would not be complete without mentioning the diminished role of religion in the life of those inhabiting Łódź. Reymont mentions religion only briefly, which can also constitute an indication that this is not a primary concern in the big city. In sharp contrast, the novel *The Peasants*, set in the rural area, is filled with comments related to religious beliefs or celebrations.

In Łódź, the ones who go to church or synagogue are few. In the short-story *One day...*, Pliszka prays, but refuses to go to church, claiming he doesn't support the Jesuits. In *The Promised Land*, nobody attends church; Borowiecki goes only once, while in the country, forced by family duties. However, his factory is blessed by the priest in Kurow, during the inauguration festivities. Church bells can never be heard in the industrial city, which is dominated by factory sirens. The only one who constantly prays is Szaja Mendelsohn, who calls singers from the synagogue to his palace. After the death of his rival, Bucholc, he prays even more. Anka and Borowiecki's father, who moved from the small settlement of Kurow into the city, pray mostly because they miss the rural life, the author thus suggesting that religious devotion is an exclusive attribute of the countryside. The banker Grosglik speaks against Protestantism, claiming he needs beauty in his life, whereas the Protestant churches do not have any decorations on the walls and the pastor preaches about Hell, instead of speaking about uplifting and noble things. In his businessman style, he adds that Protestantism is not a brand, like the Pope is (Reymont 2011, 431). After a bar fight between Germans and Poles, Mateusz, Borowiecki's servant, declares emphatically that he will not forgive '[…] the ridiculing of his Catholic blood' (Reymont 2011, 78).

The degradation of the sacred in the industrial city can be best observed in the scene that describes a funeral procession, particularly moving because it is the funeral of a child, but also because of the utter indifference displayed by the other citizens. The funeral is a poor one, barely moving forward through the mud. Those who take part in it are constantly forced to move on the sidewalk, driven away from the middle of the road by coaches, carriages and trucks with merchandise, which repeatedly splash the coffin with mud. Few passers-by have time to watch because most of them are running toward the factories that call them back to work.

Although Reymont makes few references to religion, in reality, it probably remained strong in the mentality of the workers. According to Barbara Wachowska, during the 1892 strike, the workers sang the religious hymn 'Boże coś Polskę', that wasn't sung since the January Uprising of 1863-1864, and the anthem of Poland 'Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła' (Wachowska). It is widely known the stereotype 'Polak, to Katolik', therefore these songs were an anti-Tsarist manifestation, but also a protest against their direct oppressors, the Judaic or Protestant supervisors. The presence of a religious dimension, closely related to the national one, during a time of crisis, demonstrates the deep roots of Catholicism in the workers' mentality, although religious manifestations were, in general, less frequent in urban regions.

For capitalism 'with a human face'

In conclusion, the image of the industrial city in Reymont's works is a sombre one, from spiritual and material perspectives as well. In the novel *The Promised Land*, even the few positive characters seem to be 'swallowed' by the corruption around them: Max Baum's father went insane after losing his wife and after the closing down of his factory, Mela Grünspan is separated from Wysocki and is forced into marrying Moryc Welt, Anka is abandoned by Borowiecki, who instead gets married to Mada Müller, only because it was more profitable.

After the close observation of this gloomy picture, one might draw the conclusion that Reymont was fully opposing

industrialization, which is false. The Polish writer merely fights against the inhumane sides of this process, against corruption and the seeking of profit by any means and with any sacrifice. His sympathy for the manual industry is obvious when the factories of Trawiński and Baum are illustrated, maybe because Reymont was influenced by John Ruskin's ideas. These factories are quickly closing down and their lack of success is caused by the firm, dignified attitude of their owners: both wanted to work honestly, did not arrange fake bankruptcies or burned their factories for the insurance money. Their factories did not represent only a means of profit, but also an idea, they used manual labour, wishing to salvage this type of industry, and refused to use steam machines instead. Trawiński kept salaries at a decent level, even though he found himself several times on the brink of bankruptcy, and his attitude made him a thorn in the side of the big industrialists: '[…] yesterday at Kessler's the entire filature stopped. Why? Because the foremen and the workers said they will not work anymore until they are paid as Trawiński pays his workers! Nice situation for a factory so strained by deadline orders that has to accept anything! If Kessler will have with 10 percent less this year, it will be because of Trawiński!' (Reymont 2011, 364). Only half or even less of the weaving looms in Trawiński's factory are working, as the manual industry is rapidly and surely ruined by the steam colossi. Compared to the humble manufactures, Müller's enterprise was dominating the entire neighbourhood: 'The factory was rising like a powerful force tank, whose respiration seems to level to the ground the lines of miserable, crooked houses. It could be felt that these big buildings, in which hundreds of machines were whirring, slowly suck all the vigour of this old neighbourhood, inhabited by a swarm of manual weavers, were eating and swallowing irrevocably the small manufacturing industry, once flourishing here, which was desperately defending itself, because there was no more hope for victory'(Reymont 2011, 166-167). Taking into consideration the aversion that the writer repeatedly manifests towards the huge industrial machines that were replacing dozens and hundreds of people, his sympathy for the manual industry becomes obvious and understandable.

Reymont's vision of the 19th century industrialization can also be interpreted in ideological terms, as it was naturally influenced by the ideologies of the time, but much more important than this is the understanding of the real conditions that determined the writer to have this vision. In his works, Reymont dealt with subjects that even today are problematic: interhuman relations, such as interethnic and employer-employee relations, human rights, the impact of man's activities on the environment etc. Going through the lines written by Reymont, we might draw the conclusion that the past is not as we imagined it or wanted it to be. However, the solution is not to cover it with makeup, but to understand the past's lesson for present and future use. The eternal value of Reymont's work is universally recognized and the fact that this great 19th century writer can still catch the attention of today's reader is also demonstrated by the publishing in 2011 of the first edition of the novel *The Promised Land* in Romanian. The editors compare the situation in Łódź with the first years of the market economy in Post-Communist countries, what can constitute another reason to reflect upon the novel.

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Cultural History and Literary Representations of Jews in Slovenia

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Abstract. A general overview of stereotypes of Jews and other ethnic groups in Slovenian folk tradition, in culture, in general, and particularly in literature, from Primož Trubar (1508–1586) and Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693) onwards, shows that in the history of Slovenia as a part of the common Middle-European cultural area, stereotypes of Jews are commonplace: Jews are portrayed as the enemies of Christ and Christianity (during the Middle Ages), as money-hungry, money-lenders, nit-picky, stingy misers having large and hook noses, immoral and disgusting to look at. Jewish women are often portrayed as used to privilege and materialistic. Some stereotypes are grounded in truth; generalizations derived from experiences with individuals of Jewish ethnic and religious groups from Slovenia and the neighboring countries. Stereotyped comic portrayal of Jews in literature is, however, not yet in itself a sure indication to what extent individual writers were anti-Semitic, all the more when the same writer uses also stereotypes of the same ethnic group in a positive manner. Another important indication of the attitude towards a particular ethnic group is the way of portraying characters taken from representatives of their own people and from other ethnic, racial and religious groups (Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Turks, Arabs, etc.). If there is certain balance in portraying characters from different ethnic groups, writers might not exaggerate differences between groups. Poets and writers throughout centuries might have been introduced to stereotypes of Jews which they were not previously aware of, in order to demonstrate that in moral core of human nature ethnic groups are more alike than different.

This paper gives a review of the representations of Jews as they have appeared over the course of Slovenian literature. It presents the older legacy of folk songs, tales and legends that often include Jewish characters and stereotypes. Also, it focuses on the works of literature in the modern sense – especially on the works of the two most exposed figures of Slovenian literary canon, the poet France Prešeren (1800–1849) and the poet, writer and dramatist Ivan Cankar (1876–1918), emphasizing the representations of Jews and Jewishness in their texts. It's particularly interesting how the greatest Slovenian writer, Ivan Cankar, exploits established Jewish stereotypes and integrates them into the thematic and symbolic structures of his letters and of his huge opus of literary works in several literary genres.

Keywords: history of Jews, image of Jews, anti-Semitism, Slovenian Literature, France Prešeren (1800−1849), Ivan Cankar (1876−1918)

Introduction

An historical overview of the relation of the majority population with Jews in Slovenian lands shows that the aspects of anti-Semitism in Slovenia were, for the most part, the same as elsewhere in the world. The unique history and religious/cultural influence of the Israeli or Jewish people was, in various historical periods, the reason for the special status Jews had among immigrants throughout the world. Because they were in general also successful in each new homeland, they were recognizable everywhere and placed in the spotlight of representatives of other peoples and cultures. However, throughout the history of various countries their recognizance and success often gave rise to envy and fomented hatred towards Jews, which in extreme cases went so far as to kindle pogroms against them. It is understandable that in Slovenian lands it could not be different than in the neighbouring regions. Placing literary works in their larger cultural and social context leads to a better understanding of relationship between historical reality and literary modification of what poets and writers were attempting to achieve with Jewish characters.

1. The Presence of Jews in Slovenia throughout History and Anti-Semitism

Various sources indicate that Jews were already present in Slovenian lands during the Roman period, while a permanent Jewish settlement can be detected from the 11th century. ([1]) In German lands, Jews were known already before 1000; in Slovenian lands, though, they settled permanently in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the first urban settlements arose (Toš 2012, 18). Jews played an important role in Slovenia, especially in the field of economy and in culture. On account of their productive activities, long-distance commerce in the early Middle Ages and economic activities in later centuries, they made their way to virtually all regions of Europe. On the basis of economic activities they were linked to the economic and commercial centres of the time, which is why they established themselves primarily in places that ensured them possibilities for survival.

The first Jews are thought to have come to Slovenian lands from the Rhineland; the earliest mention of Jews in the Middle Ages, in ethnically Slovenian territory, places the Jews in the region of Carinthia, which was the most socially and economically developed Slovenian region of the time. According to one explanation, they arrived there after having fled Germany at the outset of the Crusades; another one is that Jews were already there because Jewish villages (Judendorf) have been a trade centre. Jews also came to Ljubljana, Gorica and Trieste. Among towns in Slovenian Styria, in the late Middle Ages, the most important economic centres were Ptuj and Maribor.

The first known Jewish residents in Maribor date between 1274 and 1296, while in Ptuj the first Jewish property was recorded in 1286; in Celje and in Slovenj Gradec, Jews are first mentioned in the first half of the 14th century, and in the 2nd half of the 14th century in Slovenska Bistrica (Toš 2012, 18). In a historical view these towns were linked to the whole of Europe through the Jewish population (Valenčič 1992, 5; Toš 2012, 18), since the activity of Jews reached beyond the borders of countries – along with the nobility and high clergy, Jews were the most mobile segment of the population in the society of that time (Jelinčič Boeta 2008, 42).

The strongest and most influential medieval Jewish community was in Maribor, where Jews developed the liveliest economic activities. The religious, spiritual and cultural centre for the Maribor Jewish community was the synagogue. The Maribor synagogue is first mentioned in 1429, but it is 'surely older, as the simple straight-winged building probably existed even before the well-known Maribor rabbi Abraham, who lived there and died in 1379' (Toš 2012, 19).([2]) In Maribor, the Jewish community was involved in banking, wine-selling and trades, although they also owned mills and vineyards, especially in the Maribor region and in Slovenska Gorica. They sold wine primarily in Carniola and Carinthia; they traded

([1]) As Klemen Jelinčič Boeta writes, Jews have been present in Slovenian lands for almost 2000 years, namely, since late Antiquity in the 1st century AD. They have lived not only in the area of the present-day Republic of Slovenia, but also in the historically Slovenian lands of Istria, Trieste, Gorica, Austrian Carinthia and Styria, Prekmurje, Porabje and Carniola (Jelinčič Boeta 2009, 7, 9). An overview of findings reveals growing persecution of Jews between 313 and 430, while simultaneously revealing that Jews were greatly involved in everything, even in loftiest aspects of city life throughout the Empire; they worked as merchants, doctors, soldiers, judges, and were also land-owners (Jelinčič Boeta 2009, 12).

([2]) The Ptuj synagogue is mentioned in 1344, making it, in terms of the preserved documents, the first-mentioned synagogue in Styria (Toš 2012, 20).

in horses and wood, selling the latter in Istria, Venice, Dubrovnik and Prague. Trade with Venice was especially profitable; from Venice they imported cloth, silk, spice, tropical fruit, precious stones and gold (Toš 2012, 18). At the head of their community was the Jewish rabbi. Disputes with Christians were resolved by the so-called Jewish court, which was headed by a Christian.

In Ljubljana, the capital of what is now the Republic of Slovenia, a synagogue is mentioned already in 1213; the Ljubljana Jews were tradesmen, merchants and bankers. At their settlement in the city Jews were granted privileges (1327). The Jewish quarter was at Novi trg ('New Square') by the city wall between the vidame's court and the Ljubljanica River, on the today's 'Jewish Street' and 'Jewish Lane.'

Although up until the 15th century Jews in the Habsburg Empire lived in urban settings, they were, in contrast to the majority Christian population, separated and had, in comparison with them, a marginal position. Because of the social difference between Christians and Jewish town-dwellers Jews were forbidden from allying with each other. Though this was not desired yet from a religious viewpoint, sources nevertheless mention love and even sexual relationships between adherents of both faiths and even conversion from one faith to the other. From the 14th century on, Slovenian society became increasingly less accepting of Jews, and began to expel them. The first permanent settlements of Jews from the period of Napoleon's conquest were also renewed, when the principle of universal human rights asserted itself.

The First World War also had an influence on the Jewish communities in traditionally Slovenian lands; Jews began to emigrate, as economic cooperation has become difficult; there were more mixed marriages. After the First World War Slovenian newspapers expressed opposition to Jewish immigration, and there were even demands to expel Jews from the entirety of the newly-conceived country Yugoslavia.

The Holocaust for Slovenian Jews primarily means the destruction of the more than 600-year-old Jewish community in the town of Gorica, on Italian border, and the more than 200-year-old Jewry in Prekmurje region, on Hungarian border. In 1991 there were 201 Jews by confession, and 37 by language and nationality.

In his recent monograph on Jews in Prekmurje, Marjan Toš rejects the widespread view that Slovenians knew no anti-Semitism or that they were never anti-Semitic. As he argues, educated Slovenians 'encountered Jews while studying in Vienna,' but also in 'journeys around Austria-Hungary and elsewhere' (Toš 2012, 190–192).

2. A Survey of Representation of Jews in Slovenian Literature

Literature is a special cultural area for showing the place, significance and connotations of Jews in Slovenia. Literature has been, from the very beginnings, a medium for transmitting obsolete, thousand-year-old stereotypes of Jews. In the long period of Slovenian literary creativity, from the oldest handed-down folk songs to contemporary artistic creations, many literary works in which Jews are presented under various viewpoints have arisen. When we approach this sort of cultural heritage it becomes clear that literary creators primarily see Jews as a symbol that transcends their historical and sociological framework. But whatever the prejudice – be it racial, ethnic, class or sexual – the only valid tool for combating it is the truth. Among the oldest historical sources that impart information about the position and role of Jews in Slovenian lands are those by Primož Trubar (1508–1586), who was a pioneer of written Slovenian language and literature and the leading protestant writer; ([3]) the polymath Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693); as well as the Slovenian preacher and literato, the capuchin Janez Svetokriški (1647–1714).

Jews appear already in Slovenian folk songs, and later in works of Primož Trubar, Janez Svetokriški (Svetokriški 1974, 137–138) and Janez Vajkard Valvasor (Valvasor 1994, 272), and they are also significant in Slovenian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. The figure of Jews is already evident in certain poems by France Prešeren; Jakob Sket mentions them in the evening tale *Miklova Zala* (first published in 1884); Josip Vošnjak first devotes particular attention to them in his *Memories* (1905–1906) (Grdina 2005, 74) and we read

([3]) *Catechismus* and the language primer *Abecedarium*, with which Trubar set the foundations for Slovenian literary language and literature, were published in 1550 in Tubingen. In addition to these works, Trubar also translated the entire New Testament (1582); he also translated and published the psalms (*Ta celi psalter Davidov*) in 1566. He published, furthermore, songs and prayers in Slovenian while laying down the rules for the Slovenian Protestant Church in *Cerkovno ordnungo* (1564).

about encounters with Jews also in poetry of France Prešeren, Simon Jenko, Anton Aškerc, as well as in the works of Ivan Cankar, Oton Župančič, Anton Novačan, Miško Kranjc and Zlata Vokač Medic. ([4]) In addition to these names, we find Jewish figures in the works of other authors, such as Simon Gregoršič, Janez Trdina, Janko Kersnik, Stanko Majcen, Prežihov Voranc, Lojze Ilija, and Andrej Hieng. In his poems.

Sources from the period of Middle Ages are not many; all the more they are of relevance. A Medieval Easter poem contains a condemning of Jews:

> God was so merciful,
> He left his own Son to us,
> of Maria He was born,
> and brought joy to the whole world.
>
> He tried to teach the Jews
> to serve righteously God alone;
> they took offence at this,
> and spread him out on the cross.
> (Pogačnik 1974, 48)([5])

Slovenian Medieval prose links Jews with the Antichrist:

> The Antichrist, who opposes Christ in everything, will be born of the Jewish people from the Tribe of Dan, according to the prophet: 'Dan will be like a snake on the path, like a horned beast on the wall!' […] Like a snake he will wait by the side of the road and hide in the path to harm and murder with the venom of his evil those who walk along the path of righteousness. He will be born of a union between father and mother and not – as some say – only of a virgin. But he will be conceived in sin, in sin he will be born, and in sin he will enter the world. (Pogačnik 1974, 135)

According to Medieval texts, the enemy of Christ would present himself, through his evil seduction, only to the 'lost people,' that is, to Jews:

> And he will sit in the Divine temple as show himself as God and tell the Jews: 'I am the Christ that was promised to you. I have come to redeem you, to assemble you dispersed ones, so that all Jews who are ready to accept the Messiah will come to him.' He will be elevated and glorified and in him there will be the plenitude of all wrongdoings. He will became a king above all sons of pride; of all those who will persist in the faith he will make martyrs. […] And then he will, through seduction and magic arts, pretend that he plans to die for the redemption of the Jews and that he will rise again after three days and all Jews who believe in him will be glorified in honour and rewarded with riches. When the basest seducer with this Godless teaching will have filled the hearts of the Jews, he will command that a ram be slaughtered before all eyes. To the Jews it will appear that they are killing him. Then he will hide for three days. The third day he will be dressed in regal attire, shining in gold and pearls and crowned in fame he will show himself to the people. And he will send throughout the world people who will proclaim that he has risen from the dead as Christ did before him (Pogačnik 1974, 138–139)

And these will disseminate, in false piety, the enemy faith:

> But when the impious preachers will proclaim this misfortune not of Christ but of the devil, Divine judgement will fall upon them. And he will be killed – according to the testimony of the apostle Paul – either by angels or something else, as it will be concluded. He will be killed on the Mount of Olives in a tent that will be a sort of holy place for him, at that very place from which our Lord Jesus Christ, God's son, ascended to heaven. And when the Antichrist will have ended thus, again the deceived Jews will keep watch there for three days for him to arise from the dead. On the fourth day, when they will pour the flames of eternal fire over his decaying body, entirely dead and destroyed, the Jews will begin to lament at having been so bitterly betrayed; and they will beat their sinful breast and turn to Lord Jesus Christ and renounce their Jewish faith. Not until then will they clearly recognize what was prophesied

([4]) Igor Grdina analyses the figure of Jews in these authors in a 2005 article.

([5]) The Easter Poem: after Trubar in the song-book *Ta celi katehismus*; cited here from the 1584 edition, 123−127.

about Lord Jesus. (Pogačnik 1974, 139–140)

The Jews will be overwhelmed by fear of hellish beasts that will rise from the abyss, but Christ will refuse to redeem them:

> They will admit their sins and receive baptism and in fear await his Second Coming and feel horror at the Final Judgement, so that that prophecy that says, 'though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved' may be fulfilled. But when the Jews will begin to believe and give themselves to Christ, Judgement Day will soon come. Yet Christ the Redeemer, who does not desire for anyone to be lost, will grant the chosen ones forty days to repent in accordance with the prophet Daniel so that they may be saved from the Antichrist. (Pogačnik 1974, 140)

Since the Middle Ages, literature transmitted old stereotypes about Jews. To these stereotypes there were added new ones, namely, those which pertained to Jews living throughout the world, including in Slovenian places. Among the stereotypes there were also those linking Jews with commerce and money-lending. In his monumental work, *Die Ehre des Herzogthums Crain* (*The Glory of Carniola*), published in 1689, Valvasor mentions Jews in various circumstances and roles. He looks back to the Middle Ages and says, among other things, 'In 1213 the Jews in Ljubljana reconstructed their old synagogue and made it lovelier than before, as they were very wealthy and traded with Venetians, Hungarians and Croatians...' (Valvasor 1994, 272).

We also find the motif of Jews in Trubar (1508–1586) (Pogačnik, 1974, 107, 132). In the dedication in the *First Part of the New Testament*, written in the Cyrillic alphabet, in 1563, he writes:

> Most illustrious, high born count and lord, lord Albrecht the Elder, duke and master, mater Albert the Elder, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin, Kashubia, Wenden, etc. peace and mercy from God our Father of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ. Enlightened, high born duke, merciful lord! The light which he lit is first a ray and shines forth until it grants equal, constant light; and finally, when it has already waned, it suddenly flares up and only then extinguishes completely.
> It is almost the same with the light and unfolding of the holy gospel, which should shine according to the eternal, unchangeable resolution of God's light in the dark world, as it is written: true light is that which illuminates all people who enter the world. It was in the world and the world arose in it and the world did not recognize it. And again: judgement lies in the fact that light came to the world but the people loved darkness more than light. And in the Psalms it is written: Thy word [is] a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.
> This light, which has shown since the beginning of the world, and which especially Christ, our Lord (who was eternal light) in the times of the apostles shone upon the world, immediately gave a mighty dawn over the whole world through numerous signs and wonders. The darkness of Jews and heathens was banished and both nations were enlightened in heart and soul for the true, truthful and living recognition of God.
> But, later, when mighty kings and the powerful of the earth ventured to extinguish this light in many ways, thereby spilling the blood of countless innocents, it nevertheless and against their will remained in the world to the present-day, even if at times it burned more weakly and shone less than at other times**.** Yet those who resisted it perished and were lost.

In the *Postil from the Dedication* Trubar writes:

> For the Devil's wrongful faith is also old, for the Devil even in the heavens established his wrongful faith against God's son and then attracted and brought unto himself, to his old wrongful faith, Adam, Even, Cain and his descendants, heathens, Jews, Turks and Papists. (Pogačnik 1974, 132)

The roots of Christian prejudices were planted into the folk mentality also by the Baroque writer Janez Svetokriški (*On Saint Stephen's Day*).

> These evil and hard-necked Jews, in order not to hear God's wisdom and not to be compelled to recognize the true faith, started to cry out loudly and block their ears and soon all ran at Him and threw

> Him out and cast stones at Him. (Svetokriški 1974, 137–138)

Svetokriški also mentions Jews in other circumstances and in other roles. In the Chapter on *Remarkable Events in the City of Ljubljana* Valvasor he notes among other things:

> In 1408 they imprisoned a Jew for fornicating with a Christian woman; when he admitted to the act, they murdered him by sword. The Jews were sullen at this, muttered to themselves and took umbrage, such that as a consequence there were fights between them and Christians: three Jews were murdered. (Valvasor 1994, 272)

In his notes from the years 1870–1879 Janez Trdina states that

> …the Jew came to sniff at these places to see how the Abrahamites could settle. […] He stated openly that in Carniola no flowers would bloom for his tribe, because the people are too sly and crafty. (cited from Zibelnik 2007, 22).

Janko Kersnik in the feuilleton *Moody Letters* (*Muhasta pisma*) applies this figure when he critically describes Count Alexander Auersperg. Stanko Majcen mentions a Jewish person in the legend *The Bride* (*Nevesta*) from the collection of stories and legends *Bogar Meho*, which he wrote during the Second World War.

Prežihov Voranc represents a Jew in his novel *Doberdob*, in the chapter *Black War*, namely as someone who cannot be trusted (*Ibidem*, 25). The figure of Jews as market traders without whom 'the best market is useless' is contained in Voranc's novella *Jirs in Bavh*. Lojze Ilija has a Jewish theme in the historical novel *The Last Rabbi in Ljubljana* (*Zadnji rabin v Ljubljani*), Josip Debevec in the 'tragedy' *Liberalism or the Eternal Jew* (*Liberalizem ali Večni žid*, 1897), Andrej Hieng in the novel *Miraculous Felix* (*Čudežni Felix*). In his poems, Simon Gregorčič mentions travelling Jewish salesmen (*At the Market* [*Na semnju*], 1888), a Jewish market stall (*I Gave you my Heart*, 1901), Jews as deceivers (*Hermes*, published 1925), Jews as exploiters of workers (the cycle *To the Workers* [*Delavcem*], 1902), Jews who ride roughshod over Slavs and the Christian faith (*Incorrect Psalms* [*Narobe psalmi*]). Gregorčič also wrote many poems with biblical characters: *Jephthah's Vow* (*Jeftejeva prisega*), *Job*, *In Defence* (*V obrambo*, with its figure of Job); *Samson and Delilah* (*Samson in Dalila*) and others. ([6])

The novels *The Soldier with the Golden Buttons* (*Vojak z zlatimi gumbi*, 1964) and *Marpurgi* (1985) by the Jewish authors Miriam Steiner and Zlata Medic-Vokač, respectively, have made a contribution to the Slovenian literature. Among contemporary writers, Andrej Hieng subtly includes the motif of the Ahasver in his novel *Čudežni Feliks* (*Miraculous Felix*, 1993) to portray the awakening of Jewish identity against the backdrop of hateful Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda just before the Second World War, thereby expressing his premonition of the horrific consequences of anti-Semitism, which in its bedrock is essentially linked with the problem of accepting otherness and the foreign. The background of Hieng's novel is the horrifying premonition of the Holocaust that can be felt, and it is this that induces the writer to search for the reasons for the destructive 'logic' of racism. It is not by chance that the author employs the motif of Ahasver. In his novel *Billiards in Dobray* (*Biljard v Dobrayu*, 2007) Dušan Šarotar writes about deportation to the Auschwitz concentration camp and also of the return of some Prekmurje Jews, including the writer's grandfather, the merchant Franz Schwartz. ([7])

3. The Figure of a Jewish Maid in France Prešeren

In 1845, the greatest Slovenian poet France Prešeren (1800−1849) published the verse romance *The Jewish Maid* (*Judovsko dekle*) (Slodnjak 1964, 268; Prešeren 1996, 55–56, 251–254; Prešeren 1999, 34−37). In this poem he revisits a youthful love experience whose only known details are those expressed in the poem. As it is known, during the 1828 holidays, Prešeren stayed with the pupil Emmanuel Dubsky at the Dubsky castle in Lysice near Brno, in Moravia. There he became allied with a young Jewish girl, though their relationship did not last beyond summer 1828. There is an

([6]) It worth mentioning here the newer or modernizations of some of Gregorčič's biblical poetry: Snoj 2005, 241–263.

([7]) A brief overview of the image of Jews in Slovenian literature is given also in my articles *Jews in Slovenian Literature* (2011), *Prejudice to the Jews in Ivan Cankar and Stefan Zweig* (2011), *The interaction metaphors, stereotypes and personal experiences of Jews in the social functions of language* (2013) and in some other studies (Peršič 1985; Grdina 2002; Zibelnik 2007, *etc.*).

original and a later version of the poem; the second version differs primarily in its conclusion. In the first version, Prešeren states that the love affair broke up on the account of religious differences. In the final version, instead of the resignation of the lovers, he emphasises the primary nature of their love, which overcomes all obstacles, even differences of faith. In the first half of the poem, the poet shows the contradictions between the cultural and religious environment for Christian girls. In her loneliness, the girl asks her father to let her walk in the park, where 'fair flowers grow there tier on tier / and happy birds are singing clear / while nearby graze the timid deer.' On the way, she meets a young Christian; smitten by the Jewish girl, he begins to court her, though the girl is aware that they can never marry because of the fateful difference in faith and birth. Strophes 8−13 read:

/…/
While in the park she takes the air,
By chance this Jewish maiden fair
Meets with a youth, a Christian, there.

And while her hands in his are pressed,
He holds her closely to his breast,
She hears these sentiments expressed:

'To love all people I am bade,
My faith's command must be obeyed;
Do you love me, my Jewish maid?'

Her snow-white hands from his she pries,
And tears come quickly to her eyes,
And with these words she now replies:

'Though you may truly love me so,
I know full well, and you well know,
This marriage knot you must forego.'

And home she goes, to fate resigned,
And knees to God with brooding mind:
The lad was not her faith or kind.

Clearly this was requited, primary love, which is why Prešeren's final version in the last, 14th stanza ends optimistically (though there is no possibility of marriage); he writes of the Jewish girl:

And often to the park she goes;
Her faith a lasting firmness shows,

Her love ne'er any weaker grows.

(Prešeren 1999, 34–37)

Prešeren's original poem has a different conclusion:

It was love that joined them,
but faith kept them apart. ([8])

In the first version Prešeren emphasises that the young pair is divided forever by religious differences. Insofar as this poem imparts the poet's real experience, the question of whether 'faith' was really the reason that the affair between him and the Jewish girl did not last remains open. It seems more likely that other reasons prevailed. In comparison to the poem about the Jewish girl, Prešeren's poem *From the Iron Road* (*Od železne ceste*) is a witty idyll in which two young people engage in a battle of words (Slodnjak 1964, 270; Prešeren 1996, 35–38, 235–241). They waggishly tell each other of how they could find some other partner, each trying to incite jealousy in the other, though it is nevertheless clear that this is merely a 'pre-nuptial' battle of words in which each wants to prove his or her irreplaceable value to the other. Among other things, the boy claims that he will travel by train to Brno to propose to a baptised Jew, marry her, and 'collect interest' from his rich Jewish wife. But the girl will not be bested and confidently replies that the miserly Jew will yield nothing to him. She compared her with the Satan and said:

'Bet your Sarah will turn feral,
When she's got you in the bag;
No more honey in your cereal,
While she's mistress of the swag.'
(Prešeren 1999, 19–20)

The battle of words concludes with the ascertainment of both that they love each other, that they would like to marry as soon as possible and that they will remain true to one another; the boy in truth wants to take his girl away, by train, as his wife to Vienna, to Graz, to Trieste, as he said:

'I will take my highland lassie,
Off to Gradec, Dunaj, Trst,
Flaunting there my mate first-classy –
Though a christening might come first.'
(Prešeren 1999, 20)

([8]) Translation: dr. Jason Blake.

How different the Jewish motif in this poem is in comparison to the motif in the poem The *Jewish Girl* is evident from the fact that Prešeren implies that the young man will easily be able to seek out a 'lover,' that he will not come into conflict with his surroundings; he will propose to the Jewish convert. Here it is neither a matter of faith nor of nationality, but merely of money. The girl answers in the same spirit, describing the Jewish girl on the basis of prejudices and tropes about miserliness, lack of generosity, and craftiness. Prešeren took the motif of the 'crafty' and 'miserly' Jew from folk representations without showing his stance towards them.

4. Representation of Jews in the Works of Ivan Cankar

Discovering and examining Jews in the works of the greatest Slovenian writer Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) is illuminating, especially when they are considered in the context of his entire opus. The chapter could set the image of Jews in Cankar alongside that of a nearer contemporary of Cankar's and consider a larger number of studies on literary representations of Jews in other European literatures (Rosenberg, Schechter, Rosenshield, *etc.*). It is limited to the ways of representing Jewish characters within the vast range of the works of Ivan Cankar by choosing relevant examples from his literature. ([9])

Ivan Cankar manifested his relation with Jews in many of his letters, works of literary criticism, poems and other literary texts. ([10]) His descriptions in letters are a particularly clear indication that Cankar encountered Jews in Vienna in various situations. Though in several passages he presents Jews in a completely static manner, as stereotypes rather than human beings, in others he presents Jewish characters in an original and artistic manner, providing the reader with a sense of Jews as individuals. An analysis of Ivan Cankar's entire opus both under historical and social background and under his mainly symbolist representation of reality shows that 'historical rationale' is however not quite adequate for judging Cankar's literary treatment of Jews. A suitable methodological point of departure allows for a helpful comprehensive survey of the phenomenon of both unpleasant Jewish stereotypes used in his depictions of concrete life's situations and original artistic representations of Jews within his predominantly fictional and symbolist writing.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a fairly exhaustive survey of Cankar's use of the image of Jews in his literature in order also to provide a sufficient basis for raising the question of to what degree Cankar was expressing his personal attitude toward Jews when he took his image of a Jew ready-made from his historical surroundings and from literary sources. While it is true that the Jewish stereotype has remained unsettlingly stable throughout the centuries, dealing with great literature shows that the Jew is integral to the content, style, and artistic vision of the individual writer. Rosenshield has this to say about the image of Jewish characters in Gogol, Turgenev, and Dostoevsky:

> Like Shakespeare, Gogol, Turgenev, and Dostoevsky not only exploit the Jewish stereotype, they integrate the stereotype into the thematic and symbolic structures of their works. But just as in Shakespeare, the Jewish stereotype in the Russian works, perhaps because it is so well integrated and extensively exploited, also becomes disruptive, problematizing – even undermining – the assumptions and values that it was supposed to promote (2008, 3).

One of the important circumstances to be considered in judging the complex background of writers using stereotypes of Jews is the rich Jewish literature, beginning with the Hebrew Bible, which is full of satire created by Jewish prophets and parodists. In more modern times, there has hardly been a Jewish poet or author who did not attempt to write parody principally as a weapon of mocking anything that was morally or legally defective, or as a means of deriding his 'ideological' adversaries. Some well-known Jewish authors and poets occasionally wrote parodies on other writers and on literary works, some of them simply for amusement and entertainment, others as a means of genuine criticism.

([9]) The author of the article is dealing with Cankar's literature since 2000. She published several articles and three monographs (one in Slovenian (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga 2005) and two in English (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008, 2013). The third English monograph is in press and will be published by Peter Lang in 2014).

([10]) To date, Janez Peršič (1985), Igor Grdina (2005), and, most exhaustively, Luka Zibelnik (2007 and 2011) have written on the problem of anti-Semitism in Cankar, but even Zibelnik deals more with the historical background and other circumstances of anti-Semitism than with literary characteristics peculiar to Cankar.

A survey of Cankar's use of the image of Jews in various literary genres in relation to circumstances of his own time and environment shows that we must first distinguish between his short statements within critical writings and those that are absorbed into the broader structures of a particular literary work – that is, into the larger literary representations of a particular life situation or of a particular character. Short statements within short critical writings reflect much more clearly a cultural, historical, political, or social context than larger literary representations which are predominantly symbolist in nature.

4.1 Cankar's Stereotypical Terms for and Portrayals of Jews

A striking feature of Cankar's treatment of Jews is his fairly frequent use of the pejorative term *čifut* in his private letters and parts of his ideological writings. The expression, which comes from a Turkish word (*çifut*) derived from the Arabic *Jahud*, ([11]) is used in those Balkan countries that were under Turkish domination for centuries, but very rarely in Slovenia. How this term entered Cankar's cultural vocabulary, alongside the more common expression *žid*, remains an unsolved riddle. In the sketch *Vinjete: Poglavje o bradavici* (*Vignettes: A Chapter about a Wart*, 1899) Cankar describes a certain public hall:

> Lilac ornaments crept along the walls: stylized Jew-faces [i.e. *čifuti* faces] with long noses and pointed beards. Curly hair stretched from head to head in beautiful waves; the eyes looked quietly and dully, like the turned-up pupils of a dead person. [...] From the walls gazed dead and mute glass Jewish eyes... [...] The stylized Jew-faces on the walls dreamed melancholically; the red female bodies trembled against the purple windows (Cankar, ZD 7, 59–62).

In a letter to Fran Govekar dated April 4, 1900, Cankar mentions a work he has submitted to the *čifut* named Graf (Cankar, ZD 26, 145). In a January 28, 1902 letter to Frančišek Levec, he complains, 'Publishers are such *čifuti*!!!' (Cankar, ZD 26, 208). Similarly, in a letter dated December 9, 1906, he criticizes Fran Govekar's hypocrisy by saying: 'It's not strange that he's hypocrite – but it is strange that he so naively admits to his double-edged ways; like a *čifut* on the Viennese editorial staff who writes, 'to the right' and writes 'to the left' and is ashamed of neither one nor the other' (Cankar, ZD 29, 216). In a letter written on Valentine's Day, 1908, he uses the same pejorative term while expressing his assessment about humankind in general: 'I do not believe in the absolute filthiness or spitefulness of man, even if it's a *čifut*' (Cankar, ZD 29, 157).

Most frequently, Cankar uses in his literary sketches, stories, novellas, essays, and articles the established image of the Jew as a money-lender portrayed with a hooked nose and a bright red wig. Cankar drew the bloodthirsty, covetous money-lender stereotype, along with physical features such as crooked or bent bodies from the long history of European anti-Semitic associations and stereotypes that had spread throughout common life, arts, passion and morality plays, popular and mass-market literature, the specific genre of anti-Jewish satire and jokes, and especially the food of 19th century caricatures circulated in postcards, journals and advertisements. Anti-Semitic stereotypes reflect the complementary figures of the more or less prescribed social role and changing position of Jews within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In art works their faces were portrayed as depraved and vicious, and therefore Jews easily became scapegoats for any kind of crisis in the land. Literary works and performed theatre pieces, despite being based on persistent negative stereotypes, sometimes allowed for sophisticated variations on the model; however, there was little change in the development of Cankar's attitude from his earlier tentative, to his later mature artistic works.

In his tale *Dve družini* (*Two Families*, 1896), Cankar describes the saleswoman Marijca's attempt to conceal an enormous difference between the purported and the actual value of goods the supplier Majar had delivered a day before: 'She measured out the flour so economically that every customer would insult her if she were to sell in such a Jewish manner…' (Cankar, ZD 6, 65). In the sketch *Vinjete: Signor Antonio* (*Vignettes: Signor Antonio*, 1898), Cankar presents the figure of a miserly Jew who suffered economic collapse: 'The Jew Abraham Lewy leaned at the window, watching the coach' drive off (Cankar, ZD 7, 158). In a 1900 letter to his brother Karlo, who was a Catholic priest, he employs a popular German – saying 'Haust du meinen Juden, so

([11]) See Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti in umjetnosti, 1971, p. 322.

hau ich deinen Juden!' ([12]) – as he criticizes clericalism (Cankar, ZD 26, 70). In a letter to Albina Löffler from April 28, 1910, Cankar suggests to his former (German-speaking) landlady to sell his dictionary to a Jew: 'Heute mag ich nicht weiter schreiben. Was sollte ich auch? Wenn Sie in Not sind, verkaufen Sie mein Lexikon. Ein Jud wird das schon besorgen. Ich brauche ja den Plunder nicht. Aber tun Sie es nicht vor Montag…' (Cankar, ZD 28, 176). ([13]) In a 1909 letter written in German to Steffi Löffler, Cankar expresses his negative attitude toward Jews in connection with his attempt to buy something for her: 'Schon letzhin haben wir mit Dr. Šarić überlegt, was wir kaufen sollen; vielleicht gelingt es uns, das Herz des erbärmlichen Juden soweit zu erweichen, dass er uns nicht die Haut über die Ohren zieht!' (Cankar, ZD 29, 110). ([14])

The short story *Kralj Malhus* (*King Malhus*, 1899]) from Cankar's Vienna period includes the Jewess Milena Timaeus – the daughter of the rich merchant Timaeus, who deals in Persian carpets as the owner of the firm Jordan & Timaeus – who proves both pernicious and fatal for her husband. Cankar describes her as a lady with a white face and deep, pensive, dark-grey eyes who is practically still a child, dressed in a bright dress 'which […] winds itself covetously around the young, trembling limbs' (Cankar, ZD 8, 216). The king falls hopelessly in love with her and his fulsome desire makes him weak. When Milena leaves him for the slovenly student Milan, the king bans sexual intimacy throughout his kingdom (Cankar, ZD 8, 238).

In the early article *Melanholične misli* (*Melancholy Thoughts*, 1900), Cankar writes that a Jewish vagabond in Czech lands was accused of murdering two Christian girls. We can see from Cankar's description of the events that he condemns the raw, fanatical, blood-thirsty persecution of the alleged criminal (Cankar, ZD 9, 271). Cankar emphasises that it is on account of some sort of primary, brutal passion – due to their 'unchangeable nature' – that people persecute those they perceive to be different. He points out that this human brutality is in sharp contrast with the 'touching phrases' one hears, and that these words are contradicted and thus rendered hypocritical by our crimes; all 'great works of the human spirit' are thus trifling. He even believes that a man with an 'innocent smile' is capable of ritual murder (Cankar 1976, 272).

The sketch *Hudodelec* (*The Criminal*, 1900) is a masterful description of the bloodthirstiness of dignitaries who wanted to see the execution of the criminal Maslin as close as possible. Since the courtyard was very crowded, the dignitaries started to climb the chestnut trees in order to secure a better view of the gallows:

> Soon all the chestnut trees were full of dignitaries; tailcoats hung down like bizarre black flowers; at the top of the highest chestnut a Jewish journalist squatted, and it looked as though a goatee-bearded and stiff-eyed head was growing from the thick trunk. […] And so, standing in the courtyard at the foot of the gallows there were three hundred dressed-up and decorated dignitaries, representatives of Church and secular power. Above them, on the top of the highest chestnut, the journalist's dull eyes gawked (Cankar, ZD 8, 210–211).

In Cankar's novel *Na klancu* (*On the Slope*, 1901), a Jewish figure remains silent and does not intervene when Christ is scourged. The writer uses the figure of the heartless Jew as an analogy for the heartless people who did not want to see the suffering of the poor young female protagonist (who is based on Cankar's own mother and including her unhappy childhood). Like 'the Jew in the church who sits to the side and watches as they beat Jesus,' the pilgrims do not want to wait for little Francka as she runs, crying behind the coach that is the head for pilgrimage hill (Cankar, ZD 10, 18).

The tale *Tujci* (*Foreigners*, 1901), which reflects Cankar's own experiences and which is the fictional biography of the artist Slivar, includes several meditative passages about the fate of an artist. In one of these reflections Cankar writes about Slivar's dealings with a Jewish merchant who ridicules his works, calling them 'insane.' Slivar's reaction was that he would not sell them, and he thinks: 'The Jew frightened them – now they are consecrated! […] They pushed me for so long that I ended up

([12]) Translation: 'If you beat my Jew, I will beat your Jew!'

([13]) Translation: 'I can't write any more today. Why should I? If you are in need, sell my dictionary. A Jew will take care of that. I do not need that bit of rubbish. But don't do it before Monday...'

([14]) Translation: 'Recently Dr. Šarić and I were thinking what we should buy; maybe we'll succeed in softening the heart of the miserable Jew to the point that he won't take advantage of us.'

[doing] 'insane' things… damned Jew!' (Cankar, ZD 9, 106).

In the sketch *Uboge rože!* (*Poor Flowers!*, 1902), Cankar writes about his impressions in connection with a public feast in Vienna. The writer and his companion, Steffi Löffler, found themselves in a tremendous crowd. At the appointed time the first coaches appeared. Two white horses were harnessed to the first coach:

> Sitting in the carriage there were two very fat people, a husband and wife; two fat, sweaty, contemptuous Jewish faces, full of the baker's pride. … And the crowd pushed, pulled, tugged, women fell amongst masses to their knees, scrambling after the dirty, crushed carnations that had lost their color and fragrance in the sweaty hand of the fat Jewish woman.
>
> 'That's Mrs. Mayer, that's Mr. Mayer ... Mayer ... Mayer ...' echoed for half an hour along the alley, and the woman pressed, their hands trembling with respect, the crushed carnations to their breasts, because they had been touched by the richest woman, the benefactor of the universal proletariat, the wife of the factory-owner who was served by two thousand slaves, Mrs. Mayer … Mayer … Mayer (Cankar, ZD 9, 285).

In the tale *Polikarp* (*Polycarp*, 1904), from the collection *Zgodbe iz doline šentflorjanske* (*Tales from St. Florian's Valley*), Cankar feels disgusted by the cruelty of the people:

> When I was in the town, think of what happened there. Lying in the morgue is a company of dead, godless people, vagrants who ended their own lives with the hands of infidels. The doors were locked tight – but in the morning, look, lying in front of the doors, all bruised, was an old and slack Jew. At midnight […], the comrades beat him and threw him out of the morgue because he was disgusting and smelled unpleasantly. Such are people! (Cankar, ZD 16, 116).

In the novella *Sreča* (*Happiness*, 1903–1904), from the collection *Mimo življenja* (*Passing by Life*), Cankar expresses his disappointment at an exhibit of Slovene artists in Vienna – more specifically, toward the young poet Franc Riha's dilemma about whether to sell his poems or not. Franc declines the proposal of his friend Gorjanec: 'I will not sell them to anyone – and do you think they would fight for them? I don't like to haggle with the Jews, perhaps to humiliate myself, to beseech, as if for Christian charity. And as a result they [i.e. the poems] are not even copied' (Cankar, ZD 11, 254). In the sketch *Idealizem v kavarni* (*Idealism in the Coffeehouse*, 1905), Cankar complains about the fate of art in his country: 'A person can get angry… Think about that bargain! Like a Jewish huckster! Art by the yard!' (Cankar, ZD 6, 198). In the sketch *Nespodobna ljubezen* (*Improper Love*, c. 1906/1907), Cankar pejoratively characterizes Jews, when he uses 'stretched-out hands and spread-out fingers' as a typically Jewish gesture (Cankar, ZD 15, 92).

Cankar's sketch *Materina slika* (*Mother's Picture*, 1905) contains one of the most negative portrayals of a Jewish individual. In this autobiographical sketch the narrator recalls having foolishly sold a suitcase at a time when he was short of money. The suitcase contained a sketch he had drawn of his mother just before she died, an image that meant the world to him. When realizing that he has lost it, he is both overwhelmed by pain and sure that without it he will no longer be able to conjure up the face of his deceased mother; he fears that his bond to her will be severed. He races to the shop in order to retrieve the suitcase, but the Jewish shop owner behaves in an unfriendly and surly manner toward him. The writer's zeal – he has offered one hundred, then a thousand units of currency for the suitcase – makes the merchant suspicious and he believes that he has before him a thief who has hidden goodness knows what in the suitcase. He shoots the writer off and smiles 'a dirty smile.' On seeing the merchant's malice and Schadenfreude, the writer concludes, 'He's a Jew and he delights in my misfortune' (Cankar, ZD 17, 329).

In the novella *Pavličkova krona* (*Pavliček's Crown*, 1906), from the collection of novellas and sketches *Za križem* (*Behind the Cross*), Cankar uses one aspect of the stereotypes of the Jew: 'He bowed his head yet lower, raised his shoulders and spread his arms out like a Jew' (Cankar, ZD 17, 195). In the novella *Novo življenje* (*New Life*, 1908), Cankar refers to the role of Jews as money-lenders in a scene depicting a man's downfall:

> He quickly came to reign, and his reign ended just as quickly. At precisely the right time. And the day that he turned

> white and lay down on the bed, they counted out the last ducats: the father, three uncles and three aunts, twelve relatives and twelve friends, along with thirty-three Jews. There was enough left over for a magnificent funeral and proper mourning (Cankar, ZD 17, 85).

Cankar writes pejoratively of Jews in the feuilleton *Zgodovinska seja* (*An Historical Meeting*, 1910), in which he lampoons the national artistic council that was created, at the suggestion of Evgen Lampe, by the National Council of Carniola, in February 1910 (Izidor Cankar claims this arts council did nothing significant). In this feuilleton piece, Cankar ironically mentions Jews as being among those who 'over the ninth country' proclaim news about the existence of 'art':

> Over the ninth land a voice suddenly echoed out that there is art in the world. Some said that a Jewish petty tradesman who had travelled from village to village with colorful scarves, ties, and garters proclaimed this news; others said that it was a prodigal student who thought up this gospel in his drunkenness; but there were also people who said that on the summer solstice a cry from heaven had made itself heard (Cankar, ZD 24, 221).

Though a beautiful Jewish girl could prove fatal for a man, she was ultimately 'just' a Jew, not a 'Christian saint' before whom one might genuflect. And so in the short story *Melitta* from the collection *Volja in moč* (*Will and Power*, 1911) Cankar describes the Polish Jewish girl Melitta as having 'transparent white cheeks' and notes the 'dark lights of her eyes.' Melitta worked as a model for artists and students and each of these, in his turn, had fallen passionately in love with her. But Melitta remained distanced from them. She was 'calm and white as a queen, already blasphemed by the worthless desire itself'; she was rational, unapproachable and unobtainable, as he writes: 'Melitta was so beautiful that a man would kneel down dazed before her, if she told him that she was not the Polish Jewess they took her to be, but rather a Christian saint, Saint Agatha herself' (Cankar, ZD 20, 22–23).

In the story *Dana* from the collection of three tales *Volja in moč* (*Will and Power*, 1911), Cankar reflects:

> And I've sought, greedily sought, suffering for justice! Had I lived in Jewish times, I would have been a disciple of Christ, already for this reason, for He announced suffering for injustice and He gladly bore his cross. But I know well that I would have denied him, would have stood silently by his way of the cross, and I would not have greeted him in order that no word might betray me. Every Peter has denied his Christ, everyone has rued, yet gone on denying and denying with fulsome ruing (Cankar, ZD 20, 90–91).

In the sketch *Četrta postaja* (*The Fourth Station*) from the collection *Podobe iz sanj* (*Dream Visions*, 1917), Cankar portrays Jews in the context of Christ's Passion:

> I looked at the swarthy, savage faces seething with hatred and brutality; yet I was not afraid of them; they were in no way ruthless executioners who had come from the Orient to murder all that was dear to me, for they seemed to belong to Jesus and the Virgin as shadow belongs to light, and I felt that without them this imposing drama would forever be impossible (Cankar, ZD 23: 87; trans. Druzina 1982, 85).

In 1901, in his review *Almanahovci* (*The Almanachers*) – a play on the title of a collection *Almanah* (*Almanach*) – Cankar disparagingly makes reference to the liberal Jewish newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* (Cankar 1975, 100). He also condemns this newspaper in the article *Kako sem postal socialist* (*How I Became a Socialist*, 1913), which he had written already in his later, Ljubljana period. He calls it as a mouthpiece for both 'German-speaking Vienna Jews' and for the 'Austrian intelligentsia of all nations and religions,' while calling the editorial articles, which 'Moritz Benedikt writes in a singing, Palestinian style,' an 'Austrian gospel' (Cankar, ZD 25, 120–21).

4.2 Cankar's Artistic Portrayals of Jewish Characters and the Motif of the Wandering Jew

When analyzing Cankar's best works we notice his ambivalent attitude toward the Jewish characters. They are presented as evil, comic and, more rarely, as favorable figures within the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire. On the one hand, there are quite favorable Jewish

characters in his novel *Hiša Marije Pomočnice* (*The Ward of Our Lady of Mercy*, 1904); on the other hand, there is the demoniacal, comic-grotesque literary representation of the extravagant and exotic Jewish inn-keeper in the tale *Krčmar Elija* (*The Publican Elija*, 1911). In the latter, a Jewish character arrives in a small village and appears to be the incarnation of all evils in this local society. Given Cankar's human and social sensitivity we may assume that Jewish characters are portrayed positively in his literature only when they are in a position of weakness, when their position is equal to that of others.

Cankar wrote 'The Ward of Our Lady of Mercy' after the death of Amalia Löffler, the terminally ill child he came to know and grow fond of when he was living in Vienna at the Löffler household, and by whose side he stood during her serious illness. The girl's illness became increasingly severe even as he watched her, and she eventually was moved to a hospital, where Cankar continued to visit her up until her death, in 1902. It was during such visits to the hospital that he encountered other sickly children and came to know their backgrounds. The novel provides, through the main character, an account of Cankar's experience of Amalia's death. She dies having fully accepted her past, and without any demand for retribution, and without even feeling a need to avenge her undeserved suffering; she renounces all that is worldly and she accepts death. In this novel, which stylistically is a combination of naturalism and symbolism, Cankar portrays fourteen sickly girls in a hospital ward called Our Lady of Mercy. Their illnesses are a consequence of their immoral and corrupt home environments, where they lived without love, and under the constant threat of emotional and physical abuse. One by one, the girls die, and those who remain alive want death to come as soon as possible, as they fervently long for communion with God. With solemn piety they speak of death and their hearts smile in the victorious expectation of the final journey.

Cankar is sympathetic toward the dying Jewish girl Paula in the novel. He describes her especially carefully – as a girl with unusually clear and comprehending eyes, who lives a solitary existence among the other girls in the room, speaking with no one. As it is the case with the other sickly girl, the 'Jewish girl' Paula is visited every Sunday in the hospital by her family. In Chapter II the writer describes Paula and her brother Edward:

> Paula kept to herself and did not speak to any of the others. She was the only Jewish girl in the room. She did not find it easy to move along in her chair, so that she was always gasping for breath and there was a sweat on her forehead by the time she reached the table. Her eyes were unusually bright and as intelligent as those of grown-up people. Her face was not pretty. She had sores on her lips and they were very swollen (Cankar, ZD 11, 21; trans. Leeming 1976, 31).

Cankar does not differentiate between Paula's values and those of the gentile girls. This is perhaps most evident in the scene in which the dying Katie has a nocturnal vision of her mother at the moment of her death. In this dream, the mother takes a beautiful red flower to her and comforts her. Angels, whose faces resemble those of the sick girls, including Paula, then enter the room. In Chapter VII, we read:

> They moved quietly around the room – Katie suddenly realised that she knew all their faces. Toni with her great, unseeing eyes smiling happily, Malchie who had such a tender little face and such lively, understanding, thoughtful eyes and a forehead white as snow; and there was Paula, the Jewish girl, too. A dazzling radiance flooded the room and they walked in that radiance, dim, white figures, silent angels, with their feet hardly touching the ground... (Cankar, ZD, 78; trans. Leeming 1976, 103).

That Jewish girl's met with prejudice is obvious from Cankar's comparison between them and Christian girls.

The most striking view of Jews in Cankar's fiction occurs in his satirical tale *Krčmar Elija* (*The Publican Elijah*, 1911). Here Cankar portrays the inn-keeper Elijah Nahmijas, who one day arrives at the parish of Osoje to debauch the people and exploit their laziness in order to become rich. The priest, on seeing Elijah for the first time, is overcome with ominous forebodings and breathes his last. The parishioners grieve deeply for the deceased clergyman and it seems to them as if the hand of God has taken them all to a different place. But when the sadness passes, they begin to drink heartily in the pub of the newcomer Elijah. Instantly the description of his physical appearance awakens discomfort and an

impression of dishonesty in the reader, as Cankar reveals the disharmony between Elijah's mellifluous words and smile and his grabbing gestures:

> The foreign bartender stood at the door and affably said goodbye to his drunken patrons. Though his face was grey and entirely bare, his smiles was sweeter than honey; his fingers were long and bony, like claws, but they stretched out gently and affably for the hands of the parishioners; it seemed odd to the drunkards that the inn-keeper's black cloak was buttoned to the neck and reached down to his ankles (Cankar, ZD 19, 84).

The self-absorbed residents of the Osoje parish, taken in by Elijah's politeness, remain blind to his covert stingy and usurious intentions. He benumbs their reason through the alcohol he serves and grabs hold of their land and fortune. Some parishioners despair and commit suicide, while others merely stare alienated and powerless into the crafty face of Elijah, who reveals himself to them in a naked, entirely different, though true light. The downfall of the former master Kovač and the recognition is painful, for Elijah concludes his dealings with him by saying: 'As long as you were a master, I gave; now you're no longer a master' (Cankar, ZD 19, 116–117).

When Kovač recognizes the whole truth about Elijah and his wiliness, he beats Elijah until his face is bloodied; Kovač is then locked up for his rage-driven attack. Soon other people from Osoje see through the publican's treachery and grow livid at him, calling him 'Antichrist' and 'Satan,' before burning his homestead. When they cannot find Elijah among the flames, one yells: 'He has sunk down into the earth, since he was not human!' Another shouts: 'He remained in the fire but he did not burn, for he is evil itself.' Yet, another trembles: 'Woe to us if he is alive!' (Cankar, ZD 19, 141).

Elijah, however, is in fact curled up beneath a bush; after some time passes he builds a stately house on the site of the fire. With his subordinates he deals 'more harshly than a steward would deal with his underlings' (Cankar, ZD 19, 142). But Elijah also takes to drinking. The inn-keeper's enterprises turn sour. At the height of his calculating powers, he becomes smitten with another stranger, a woman who does not come from Osoje. She ensnares the publican, and he introduces her smilingly to his underlings as their queen: 'You have a king, now greet the queen!' (Cankar, ZD 19, 146). The Osoje parishioners behave respectfully toward her: 'wherever she appeared and wherever she went the underlings humbly greeted her; and not even behind her back did they spit. Her name was not Christian either: Elijah christened her Izis' (Cankar, ZD 19, 146). But it turns out that the woman is even craftier and more calculating than Elijah, and the proud, fulsome woman soon drives him to bankruptcy. When he can no longer serve her because he has fallen into poverty, he beseeches her: 'Izis, what about love and about faithfulness, not a word?' Izis answers: 'But we've never spoken about love and faithfulness!' (Cankar, ZD 19, 146–47). Izis then collects her things and, richly attired, departs for the city. Elijah drinks himself into unconsciousness and does not wake up for a week. From then on he spends all his time imbibing and when he, one day, steps drunkenly into the street, he does not see a cart racing 'from the hill into the valley like a bird from the sky' (Cankar, ZD 19, 149). He loses his balance, falls in the dust, and is trampled by hooves and wheels so that his black blood flows into the dust.

When the sad story ends, a new life begins in the parish. The upstanding and earnest young men, who have been absent in the years when the Jew Elijah reigned over the parish, return from the valley and begin to re-establish homesteads.

In connection with Jews, Cankar exhibits the certainly far more interesting motif of otherness when using the motif of Ahasver, the Wandering Jew. This popular image of the Jew, which is imbued with the negative stereotyped and collective myth of the Jew, reflects not only the supposed inherent flaws of Jews, especially as usurers who love and worship only money, but also their mocking of Jesus; therefore Jews were encountered frequently in various modes of literature, portrayed as servants of the Devil, as those who rejected Christ and were condemned to perpetual unrest and wandering in the world (Bechtel et al. 2009). This type of stereotype is reflected in passion plays and religious art that transmitted the Gospel story without elaboration, and it is difficult to unearth the origins or even the degree of attachment to these traditions when it comes to the works of Ivan Cankar and of other Slovenian poets who reflected anti-Jewish prejudices prevalent in European culture. The figure of the Wandering Jew found its place within Slovenian literature especially with

Cankar's contemporary Anton Aškerc (1856–1912), who devoted much attention to this motif in some of his poems, using it as a symbol of an unsettled soul: *Ahasverova himna noči* (*Ahasver's Hymn to the Night*), *Ahasverov tempelj* (*Ahasver's Temple*), *Ahasver pod križem* (*Ahasver under the Cross*), *Ahasver ob grmadi* (*Ahasver at the Stake*), *Ahasver oznanja novo vero* (*Ahasver Announces a New Religion*).

It is probably in this respect – of Ahasver as an unsettled 'pilgrim' – that Cankar's symbolistic story *Življenje in smrt Petra Novljana* (*The Life and Death of Peter Novljan*), in which Cankar's experiences of youth and his perceptions from his residing in the Vienna suburb are interwoven, is to be understood. There Cankar writes: 'Where are you from, pilgrim, you old Ahasver with the sneaky young face, you liar by birth? What are you doing among people? You, who saw death when you were born?' (Cankar, ZD 10, 213). Especially interesting is the use of the motif of the Wandering Jew in Cankar's tale *Krčmar Elija* (*The Publican Elija*, 1911), analyzed above. An unknown foreigner, a gipsy, appears in the parish Osoje and piques the parishioners' curiosity regarding his origin. In a conversation he claims:

> 'I am last, a gypsy, a traveler without a path, without a home, without peace. My time is when the torrents are already driving down. It's always been that way with me, since ancient centuries.'
> The youngest [villager] was stunned, and laughed:
> 'How come for ancient centuries? Are you the cursed Jew?
> The gypsy sighed and looked toward the bright stars.
> 'At times I have roamed thirsty and hungry and weary to the death, but I did not collapse, and my legs moved on and on, God alone knows how. That's when I truly felt that I was the cursed Jew and the eternal traveler, who does not know who he is and what his judgment is.'
> 'Why do you roam without peace? The cursed Jew is driven by judgment of God, but you did not insult Christ so that you have to do penance until Judgment Day.' (Cankar, ZD 19, 129)

In his letter to Stephanie Bergman dated December 23, 1910, Cankar concludes: 'And never entirely forget the pilgrim Ahasver, who certainly recalls beautiful Rožnik every hour' (Cankar, ZD 30, 39). His autobiographical sketch *Moja miznica* (*My Desk Drawer*) from the cycle *Vinjete* (*Vignettes*) opens with the statement: 'I'm getting ready to leave here. There is something of Ahasver's blood in me' (Cankar, ZD 7, 187). In his 'literary tale' *Krpanova kobila, IV. Poslednji dnevi Štefana Poljanca* (*Krpan's Mare, IV. The Last Days of Štefan Poljanec,* 1906), Cankar writes in the end: 'Not that Ahasver was describing his experiences and expertise, and would be in such a way immensely beneficial to the tribe of Poljanec; he wrote a long and tedious discussion of impressionism in the novella' (Cankar, ZD 15, 182). Because the somewhat 'other' in the figure of the Wandering Jew is an emblem of any individual's otherness, it is no great surprise that Cankar turns this figure against his contemporary poet Anton Aškerc, who used it most frequently among the Slovenian poets and writers. In his article *Pisma Jeremijeva* (*Letters of Jeremy*, 1909), he criticizes Aškerc:

> All of Aškerc's books published in recent years bear a sign that is very important, for it is the sign of a liberal era. Aškerc roams ceaselessly. But, as his very books show: not due to a natural pining for that which is far away but often only as a result of a desolate force that drives these or those exotic people, some liberal whistles…From the last of his beautiful poems to this day, Aškerc wanders abroad and in the distant past. Not that he might bring a single piece of bread with him to today's culture; he wanders because – he has no home, just as all of the Slovenian liberalism does not have one. (Cankar, ZD 24, 205–206)

To sum up the analysis of Cankar's literary representations of Jews, we realize that Cankar's primary aim in writing was to uncover social injustice and moral hypocrisy. He was critical of the higher social classes, but considerate and compassionate toward the poor – even if they were not morally irreproachable. His surprisingly frequent depictions of Jewish characters, mostly as secondary literary figures, are generally negative throughout all periods of his artistic creation. Such figures reflect his own experiences with Jewish individuals in his homeland and in Vienna. This fairly exhaustive literary analysis of where and how Jews appear in Cankar shows that he portrays them positively in his literature only when they suffer; he depicts

them in a more critical and satirical manner when they abuse positions of power. Since the use of the image of Jews reflects his general sensitivity to all kinds of injustice, his use of such images does not reliably indicate a deeply-rooted anti-Semitism. Although Cankar generally writes negatively of Jews, the most oppressive characters in his works are not 'the others,' but the depraved fellow Slovenians. It is particularly significant that in his literature and correspondence, Cankar also compares himself with a Jew when he accuses himself of stinginess and of lacking compassion for weaker individuals, especially suffering children. In his later works, Cankar equates himself with Ahasver, the Wandering Jew, for since childhood, when his family became homeless after losing its house, Cankar's fate was to wander in solitude. This wandering continued when he became an artist and traveled abroad, encountering extreme poverty, social inequality, sickness and injustice.

Conclusion

In the long period of Slovenian literary creativity, from the oldest legacies of folk songs, legends and fairy tales to modern artistic creations, many works have arisen in which Jews are presented from various viewpoints. Studies about the presence and lives of Jews in Slovenia throughout the centuries have transmitted much valuable data about the circumstances that influenced the image of Jews among Slovenians. Though, literary creators see, in the motif of Jews, primarily a symbol that transcends the historical and sociological framework. Critical assessors of Jews' behaviour in relation to the people of their new homeland have, of course, discovered in Jews also the reasons for their criticism, especially because Jews were very active in the area of finance; hence the stereotypes about Jewish greed and ruthlessness stem, and not even Ivan Cankar was able to avoid these in his works.

In connection with Jews, Cankar exhibits the certainly far more interesting motif of otherness and foreignness. This viewpoint had its place already with France Prešeren, and especially with Anton Aškerc, who devoted much attention to the motif of the Wandering Jew and used him in some of his poems as a symbol of an unsettled soul. It is in this sense of a person as an unsettled and unhappy 'pilgrim' that Ahasver can probably be understood also in Cankar's tale *The Life and Death of Peter Novljan*. That the motif of the wandering Ahasver is remarkably widespread throughout European literature finds its true reason in the broader context of the motif of foreignness as an existential problem. The foreign is resisted because it upsets one's constant order and comfort. Experience of the other and of the foreign entails disturbance because it challenges and forces one to think through how widespread one's representations about values in human existential and cultural surroundings are. What disturbs an individual under 'normal' circumstances, however, becomes a problem in special circumstances, when social and other straits arise. In circumstances of crises one sub-consciously seeks a guilty party, and most easily alleviates himself if guilt for misfortune can be pushed on to those who are different. This also explains why Jews precisely in times of crisis became a target for hatred, attacks and persecution. As it seems, anti-Semitism is also linked to human egotistical endeavour to inflate a sense of value, and often also to compensate for a sense of incapability by treating difference as a moral lack. Endeavouring to find 'reasons' for prejudices in specific personality characteristics is in truth an attempt at rationalizing the true motive, which is narrow-mindedness and defensively abjuring the fundamental human rights of other people, which is that they be judged as individuals. Anti-Semitism, thus, does not necessarily arise from hatred, but from egotistical urges to increase the sense of self-worth at the expense of others.

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Eerie Beauty: Premature Death in 19th Century Post-mortem Photography

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Abstract: A significant theme of Western Romanticism, the death of the young has been present in literature and photography in a vast spectrum of representations, from the tragic to the strange bordering the macabre. A closer exploration of the subject must take into account the multiple layers of significance post-mortem photography involves, therefore the methodological approach should involve concepts and interpretations specific to art history, cultural theory, anthropology and literary studies. 19th century post-mortem photography reveals the changing attitudes towards death in recent times, while also documenting the many contexts and rituals surrounding this crucial moment in human existence. Since post-mortem photography is part of a larger visual tradition of death imagery in the 19th century, its evolution reflects the multiple social and cultural changes that consolidated the modern world.

Keywords: post-mortem photography, Romanticism, 19th century, premature death

A central theme of the Romantic imagination, death has been hypostasized and depicted in numberless contexts in recent times, yet few of them are as strange and surreal to our contemporary sensibilities as the 19th century tradition of post-mortem photography. There is little consensus among art historians, anthropologists and cultural theorists when it comes to a critical analysis of the phenomenon, especially due to the general prejudice that post-mortem photography is a practice strictly pertaining to the 19th century. It has been considered a cultural response to the new challenges of the modern world, one of the specific ways in which Westerners were adapting some long-enduring traditions, such as posthumous portraiture, to the new means of visual reproduction available from around 1840. In his seminal *Secure the Shadow. Death and Photography in 19th century America*, Jay Ruby argues that, although the practice is still common in various communities throughout the world, there are undeniable changes in the modern, contemporary response to death and its visual representations. Aesthetically fascinating, the once common practice of post-mortem photography may now be regarded as rather morbid and distasteful, and the academic study of its meaning and impact as an unorthodox and taboo challenging enterprise (Ruby 1995, 2). That may be explained by the fact that the 20th century gave rise to a new and completely different attitude towards natural death, hence the notable shift in the perception of its imagery and rituals. The media greatly influenced this new perception, facilitating a growing familiarity of the viewer with countless aspects and facets of violence, mass murder and explicit atrocity. Numerous political conflicts such as wars and revolutions infused everyday life with a rich imagery of death and suffering, and the major impact of the film industry generated an ever-growing fictional imagination of horror and gore. Meanwhile, the traditional view of death as an essential part of life has been steadily obscured, its natural processes hidden in specialized institutions, in an out of sight periphery. In Geoffrey Gorer's terms, this new attitude is one that could be rendered by an unequivocal formulation – there's a certain 'pornography of death' (Gorer 1955, 49), as it has gradually become a forbidden territory, its secret realities unsuitable for discussion or open display. In a concise formulation, Elizabeth Kübler-Ross argues that 'death is a subject that is evaded, ignored, and denied by our youth-worshipping, progress-oriented society. It is almost as if we have taken on death as just another disease to be conquered.' (Kübler-Ross 1975, x) Indeed, as Philippe Ariès conceptualized in his double approach (synchronical and diachronical) to the history of 'Western attitudes toward death', there is an obvious 'interdict laid upon death by industrialized societies' (Ariès 1974) and an even more evident alliance with eroticism, 'in order to express the break with the established order' (Ariès 1974, 105).

Death of the Innocents

The origins of the practice of post-mortem representation are deeply rooted in 17th and 18th century painting, more specifically in mortuary (funeral) portraiture and posthumous mourning paintings. As Ariès highlighted in *Images of Man and Death* (1985), 'Death loves to be represented...The image can retain some of the obscure, repressed meanings that the written word filters out.' (Ariès 1985, 11) These two rather divergent traditions are founded on different modes of representing death – while mortuary portraiture directly depicted the dead, posthumous mourning portraiture had the role of restoring the dead to their living image, while at the same time inserting visible elements that suggest that the subject, although presented as a living person, is, in fact dead: a willow tree in the background, dark clouds, a wilted flower in his/her hand, a clock displaying the hour of death (Ruby 1995, 37). However, as Anton Pigler noted, 'a survey of European art shows that, of all pictorial expressions of the thought of mortality, funeral portraits were able to withstand longest the rising tide of enlightenment and classicism...the habit of funeral portraiture persisted throughout the nineteenth century, with more or less tenacity in different countries.' (Pigler 1956, 69) Although funeral portraiture, post-mortem photography and posthumous mourning painting coexisted for a long period in the 19th century, Jay Ruby considers that there was little competition among them, since the motivations for commissioning a painting or a photograph were clearly different: 'Painters created the illusion of life in death. In comparison, photographers [...] offered a much more imperfect – even shoddy-illusion, that is, the pretence that the person was merely sleeping than dead.'(Ruby 1995, 43) Even when employing more sophisticated techniques in order to make the dead look alive, they appear 'spectral' (Barthes 2000, 14) and the impression of death is even stronger.

The present article aims at identifying and analyzing the features and significance of a particular subdivision of post-mortem imagery – the one representing premature death. While posthumous and mortuary portraiture depict people of all ages, the majority of 19th century post-mortem photography is focused on the young. Premature death concentrates a mythology of its own, and there is a solid corpus of literary texts that explore this particularly dramatic perimeter of the Romantic imagination. Franco Ferrucci (1989) investigated the archetypes of this theme: J.W. Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795) details in tragic terms the death of the angelic, androgynous Mignon, and the drowning of Eduard and Charlotte's son in *The Elective Affinities* (1809); William Wordsworth, a veritable 'child executioner' (Ferrucci 1989) tells, in the lyrical tone of the *Lucy Poems* (1795) the story of a little girl who disappears during a snow storm; Charles Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841) evokes, in some memorably dramatic pages, little Nell's death. Furthermore, in Emile Zola's *His Masterpiece* (1886), an artist paints 'The Dead Child' inspired by the death of his own son; a young boy dies of fear in Henry James' ambiguous ghost novella *The Turn of the Screw* (1898); Little Father Time kills his brother and sister, then commits suicide in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* (1895). This fictional framework is supported by an even darker historical reality, common throughout the Western world: death was a common occurrence in most 19th century homes, and children's death was perceived as the most difficult challenge a family could face. England and Wales are relevant examples when it comes to statistics referring to deaths per 1,000 live births for children aged 1 or younger: 154 in 1840, 148 in 1860, 153 in 1880, and 154 in 1900 (Jalland 1996, 120). The beginning of the 20th century showed small encouraging signs, as numbers dropped to 132 in 1906, 105 in 1910, 100 from 1916, and less than 16 in 1983. Infectious diseases or epidemics such as scarlet fever were to blame for the largest number of deaths. Infants would fall prey to diarrhea, pneumonia, bronchitis, or convulsions, and, after the first year, measles and whooping-cough would pose serious threats to their lives (*Ibid.*) Psychologically, the only consolation came from the church and its impressive corpus of Christian devotional literature and, more privately, from personal rituals of writing and confession to family and friends. The death of a child was, therefore, not only a supreme test of faith, but probably the most difficult experience 19th century families were faced with.

Given this rather dramatic context, it may become easier to understand the reasons behind perpetuating the centuries-old tradition of posthumous portraiture in a century when death was accepted as a common occurrence of life. Around 1830, historians noticed a dramatic increase in the number of families requesting posthumous portraits of their children in which they were meant to appear as being alive (Lloyd 1980, 73). More importantly, the painter had to finish the portrait as quickly as he could, so that

it could be incorporated into the mourning process (81). Modern psychologists have agreed upon a five-stage structure of this process: denial, isolation, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance (Kübler-Ross 1969) and it appears that the double function of both posthumous portraits and post-mortem photography, that of denying and, at the same time accepting death (Beattie 2005) could be activated in most of these stages.

Moreover, not only visual memory was cardinal in the harsh negotiations with the devastating reality of a child's death, there's a significant material culture surrounding the grieving process, from specific jewellery to strict dress codes (gendered and rather mother-oriented). A lock of the deceased's hair played a major role in preserving the most concrete material memory the family could have, since it was the sole part of his/her body that would not become subject to decomposition. It would be kept in lockets or would be integrated into jewellery as an item of incommensurable value. In 1855, Ann S. Stevens wrote: 'Hair, the most imperishable of all the component parts of our mortal bodies, has always been regarded as a cherished memorial of the absent or lost. A lock of hair from the head of some beloved one is often prized above gold or gems, for it is not a mere purchasable gift, but actually a portion of themselves, present with us when they are absent, surviving while they are mouldering in the silent tomb.' (Stevens 1855, qtd. in Evans 1986, 51).

The complex role of post-mortem visual representations (portraits and photography) is reflected in what Ariès termed as 'la mort de toi', the death of another (Ariès 1974, 55), by which the individual was dramatically faced with his own mortality and existential limit. The 19th century's culture of contextualizing, interpreting and assimilating the meanings of the end of life is visible in a new 'Romantic, rhetorical treatment of death' (Ariès 1974, 56) This artistic framework is the ideal hosting perimeter of a highly niche aesthetics, that of post-mortem photography immortalizing premature death and the tragic intersection between beauty and the Thanatos.

Staring at the Void

In a letter written in 14 October 1839, Dr. Alfred Donné prided himself with successfully using the daguerreotype in order to immortalize a dead person – the perfect candidate for such an enterprise, since standing still was crucial in obtaining the best possible result: 'J'ai obtenu dèja un très beau résultat en prenant l'image d'une personne morte.' (Bolloch 2002, 112) This now lost first artifact of the post-mortem tradition would soon be followed by numberless others throughout the Western world: in a time when posthumous portraits could generally be afforded only by the upper classes, the democratization of image reproduction brought about by photography marked a dramatic shift in preferences. Although they coexisted until well into the 20th century, the daguerreotype grew increasingly more popular, especially among the middle and lower social classes. In 1843, the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote a letter to Mary Russell Mitford, in which she praised the qualities of the daguerreotypes over those of painted portraits: 'I long to have such a memorial of every being dear to me in the world. It is not merely the likeness that is precious in such cases – but the association and the sense of nearness involved in the thing… the fact of the very shadow of the person lying there forever… I would rather have such a memorial of one I dearly loved than the noblest artist's work ever produced.' (Browning qtd. in Sontag 1977, 183).

The small dimensions of the daguerreotype (ranging from 8x7cm. to 13x10cm), its jewel-like case and often precious appearance were important features that helped to incorporate it into the mourning ritual, as it could easily become a personal effect, carried around, kept in the palm of one's hand, generating a continuous intimacy with the image of the dead. As mentioned before, most 19th century daguerreotypes, preserved in museums and private collections represent children, and so do tintypes and, later, cartes-de-visite. In an age of high mortality and significantly lower life expectancy than nowadays, the post-mortem was usually the only image a bereaved family had of their loved one. In a surprising twist of perceptions, this very narrow part of death imagery is still in use today, although in a limited manner. Modern therapy specializing in treating pathological grief or in counselling parents of stillborn children have 'reinvented post-mortem photography and openly advocate it as a standard practice' (Ruby 1995, 9). Somehow, this aspect of dealing with death deviates from the standard contemporary refusal, that of hiding or 'sanitizing' death.

There`s an entire arsenal of tools the 19th century photographer used in order to create the illusion of life in the image of the dead, and children and adults fall into different categories once again. If adults would often be propped up

by an invisible mechanism holding the body in a standing position, their open eyes refreshed with glycerine drops (or redrawn by the painter as open, if they had to remain closed when the photograph was taken), photographing children imposed a more aestheticized regime. Since the role of the photograph was to capture the image of the deceased in a non-traumatizing manner for the viewer, the most widely used convention of the post-mortem was 'the last sleep', meaning that the dead would be represented as peacefully asleep, merely resting, not forever gone. Especially with children, this technique was favored more than others, since it gave the impression of a serene departure in the world of dreams, rather than a brutal severance from life. In yet another ramification, children and youth were often represented as 'sleeping beauties' (Burns 1990), with girls composed as young brides, in communion dresses and little boys displaying their most elegant attire. Infants would resemble angelic creatures surrounded by flowers or their favorite toys, and, until around 1880, an entire domestic universe would be rearranged to accommodate them one last time, in such a manner as to avoid the dreaded image of the coffin. Dead children would be placed on sofas, in cribs, on a bed, in perambulators, in their mothers' arms, or they would be held by an adult hidden behind a white sheet or be placed in an especially constructed décor resembling an idyllic natural setting, in the photographer's studio. In the words of the editor of a 19th century photography magazine, 'The Photographic and Fine Art Journal' (July, 1858), the effort often paid off: 'Life from the Dead. – We have been shown a daguerreotype likeness of a little boy, the son of Thomas Dorwin, taken after his decease, by Mr. Barnard, of the firm of Barnard & Nichols. It has not the slightest expression of suffering and nothing of that ghastliness and rigity [sic] of outline and feature which usually render likenesses taken in sickness or after death so painfully revolting as to make them decidedly so undesirable. On the other hand it has all the freshness and vivacity of a picture from a living original – the sweet composure – the serene and happy look of childhood. Even the eyes, as incredible as it may seem, are not expressionless, but so natural that no one would imagine it could be a post-mortem execution. This is another triumph of this wonderful art.'

Three years earlier, in 1855, N. G. Burgess details the process even more generously, although in darker, less enthusiastic tones: 'The occupation of the Daguerrean Artist necessarily brings him in contact with the most endearing feelings of the human heart… How often has he been called upon to attend at the house of mourning to copy that face who, when in life was so dear to the living friends…If the portrait of an infant is to be taken, it may be placed in the mother's lap, and taken in the usual manner by a side light representing sleep. If it is an older child, it can be placed upon the table, with the head toward the light, slightly raised, and diagonally with the window, with the feet brought more towards the middle of the window….Should the body be in the coffin, it still can be taken, though not quite so conveniently, nor with so good results. The coffin must be placed near the window, and the head placed in the same position as upon the table. It is of considerable importance that the coffin should not appear in the picture, and it may be covered around the edges by means of a piece of colored cloth, a shawl, or any drapery that will conceal it from view. By making three or four trials, a skilful artist can procure a faithful likeness of the deceased, which becomes valuable to the friends of the same if no other had been procured when in life. All likenesses taken after death will, of course only resemble the inanimate body, nor will there appear in the portrait anything like life itself, except indeed the sleeping infant, on whose face the playful smile of innocence sometimes steals even after death. This may be and is oftimes transferred to the silver plate. However, all the portraits taken in this manner, will be changed from what they would be if taken in life – all will be changed to the sombre hue of death. How true it is, that it is too late to catch the living form and face of our dear friends, and well illustrates the necessity of procuring those more than life-like resemblances of our friends, ere it is too late – ere the hand of death has snatched away those we prize so dearly on earth.' (Burgess 1855, 80)

A short history of the photograph, as it evolved throughout the 19th century, is briefly summarized by Kent Norman Bowser in his exploration of the post-mortem in America: 'Although expensive, because they required silver-plated copper sheets for support, daguerreotypes were popular from 1839 until the Civil War. Ambrotypes, using glass for supporting the emulsion were popular from 1854 until about 1866; tintypes, which were popular from 1856 until 1865, used sheets of iron as emulsion supports. Later, popular processes used paper as the support: cabinet cards were made from 1866 until about 1910, and paper prints were popular from the 1870s onward.'

(Bowser 1985, 6) The almost prohibitive price of a post-mortem daguerreotype, usually $75 (Rinhart quoted in Bowser 1985, 13) may be correlated to the fact that the majority of early post-mortem daguerreotypes represented children – families would make an often consistent effort in order to have a portrait of their gone too soon young members.

The year 1854 marks a significant breakthrough in the art of photography, as André Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri patented the new technique of the carte-de-visite, which allowed the photographer to take eight different images on a single negative, then transfer them on cardboard mounts. It was the beginning of a new era in the history of death as a photographic subject: for centuries, and even after the daguerreotype gained popularity, the image of the dead subject was unique, in the sense that there was only one copy of the painting or the photograph available. With the advent of cardboard photography, this uniqueness was lost, since the negative allowed for the reproduction of multiple copies of the same image. 'Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be. (Benjamin 1970, 218) In the case of post-mortem photography, the aura of uniqueness resided in the bonding role of the image inside the complex relationship between the living and the dead. The artistic nature of miniature daguerreotypes perpetuated the long-standing tradition of funeral portraiture in the sense that it preserved contact with the dead and provided psychological support in a direct, although paradoxical manner (by helping the bereaved accept death while at the same time encourage him/her to deny it). Its unique nature as an object of art may have been lost as cardboard photographs could be multiplied, but its core function was maintained and improved: families would order more copies of the photograph of the dead and would give them to other relatives, some living in other cities, thus strengthening the connections and relationships inside the social nucleus.

A 'socially constructed artefact' and 'object of material culture' (Ruby 1995, 6), post-mortem photographs offer valuable insight into the dress codes of the 19th century and its generic 'beautification of death' (Aldridge 2008, 54). Since for many families the post-mortem would be the only photograph they would have of their beloved dead one, it is safe to assume that, at least in the case of infants, children and, generally, the young, their funeral dress (probably the same as the one worn at the time the photograph was taken) reflected social status, the fashion of the moment and an obvious effort to make the dead subject appear well taken care of and peaceful. An analysis of American dress codes in post-mortem photography (Aldridge 1995) reveals interesting yet not completely surprising aspects. If, in the case of adults, day dress and occupational dress (popular among the military and clergy) was the norm, children and the young (mostly girls) would often be dressed in nightgowns, as if to strictly follow the convention of 'the last sleep' and nurture the Romantic illusion of death as a mere dream, not an irreversible departure. Social class differentiation is problematic in the case of post-mortem photography, since even more modest families would try to dress well their dead ones. Young girls would wear accessories, such as coral necklaces, given to them during their lifetime for protection against illness (Severa 1995, 162), fingerless gloves or hair bows, and it would not be uncommon for boys to appear in school clothing. Infants and very young children would be dressed in white infant gowns – long ones for infants 6 months old or younger and shorter ones for toddlers. Some family portraits depict two siblings, one dead and one alive, or a mother with two children, again one living and the other one dead. In this case, the dead child would wear visibly better clothes, as the dead one 'was probably photographed in [her] best dress for the final portrait' (Aldridge 1995, 86). A rather striking image is that of a mother holding two babies in her arms, one of which would be covered in a white sheet signifying its passing and inherent absence.

The Romantic 'taming' death, to use Ariès' terms again, is doubled, as it has been mentioned before, by its resigned acceptance. This apparently paradoxical knot reunites a remarkable effort to aestheticize and mask the disturbing brutality of death as material decay and a rather serene acknowledgement of its inevitability, marked by the presence of undeniable signifiers: lividness, patches of blood, a dropped jaw, the coffin, etc. As Kathryn Beattie argues, this apparently unsolvable opposition reflects 'the paradox of the Victorians` simultaneous acceptance and denial of death (Beattie 2005, 3).

The fascination of the abomination

When, in 1858, Henry Peach Robinson displayed his now famous composite

photograph, *Fading Away*, he caused quite a stir. An albumen print combining five different negatives, the image depicts a young girl dying of consumption, surrounded by her relatives. This 'fictionalization' of death and the implied transfer of meaning from the realm of the real into that of imagination were regarded as a clear deviation from the 19th century norm that accepted only 'real' death as a suitable subject for photographic representation. The essentially private function of post-mortem photography could not undergo such a radical metamorphosis and become a theme of visual fiction. Almost a century and a half later, between March 5th and May 26th 2002, the Musée d'Orsay hosted the 'Last Portrait' ('Le Dernier Portrait') exhibition, reuniting over 200 works of death-related art, from death masks to funeral portraiture and post-mortem photography, from the end of the Middle Ages to the 20th century. In an essay published later the same year, Emmanuelle Héran, the curator of the exhibition, presented some excerpts from the visitor's book, voicing the powerful impression the artistic event had on the public. 'Disturbing in a way that leaves me somehow changed forever.' (Héran 2002, 185); 'Inadmissible! Taking photographs of babies and displaying them in a museum' (186); 'Despite the respect and dignity of these 'last portraits', I find regrettable the morbid curiosity that almost invades the last breath of these persons…' Unsettling as they are, the faces of death has persisted in collective memory in the most diverse manners, eliciting paradoxical reactions that prove its key role as the primal, irrational fear of human condition.

The Romantic, beautiful death seduced the modern collective imagination once again on May 1st, 1947, when the gracious New Yorker Evelyn McHale, aged 23, fell to her death from the Empire State Building, in one of the most famous suicidal gestures of the 20th century. Quite inexplicably, her body fell on top of a black limousine parked near the building in a posture that left her beautiful appearance intact and unaltered. With her legs gently crossed and her gloved left hand holding a string of pearls around her neck, Evelyn resembled the sleeping beauties of the 19th century, as she was lying peacefully on the dark bed of folded metal and broken glass framing her delicate doll-like body, a modern muse reminding of John Everett Millais' *Ophelia*. The striking image of the dead young woman, engaged to be married in less than a month, was photographed a few minutes after her fall by art student Robert C. Wiles, and was placed on the 12 May 1947 cover of *Life* magazine. Evelyn's last wish, written in a note found in her pocketbook was 'I don't want anyone in or out of my family to see any part of me.' Years later, Andy Warhol used this image in his *Suicide (Fallen Body)* serigraph and integrated it in the *Death and Disaster* series he created between 1962-1967, turning it into an iconic image of the 20th century's fascination with abnormal death. Jay Ruby's conclusion provides a suitable closing argument: 'Our culture's censors have decided that exposing us to the act of procreation or birth is not healthy. However, dismemberment, death by torture, suicide, mass murders to name only a few, are acceptable viewing events.' (Ruby 1995, 12)

One of the strongest metaphors of modern culture, the young dead body, as it is represented in 19th post-mortem photography, proves to be a strong bearer of aesthetic meaning, since the reunion of beauty and premature death is a nexus connecting the permanently opposing forces that support and suppress life.

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From *Seppuku* to *Hikikomori*. Suicidal Patterns in the 20th and 21st Centuries Japanese Literary Imaginary

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Motto: 'Death doesn't lie at the opposite pole of life, death is part of life'
(Murakami Haruki; Murakami 2002, 32)

Abstract. This paper is aiming at an overview of the image of suicidal death in the Japanese modern and contemporary literature. The research involves an X-ray of the suicide patterns that the Japanese society has been confronting with in a controlled, but also out of control way. We are writing this topic neither in favor, nor against suicide, but somewhere in-between, in a less judging and more analytical position so that we further grasp into the psychological depth of the mind, into the cultural and sociological resorts of choosing voluntary death, from a literary point of view. Our methods will include classification of suicidal acts that the Japanese society had experienced and is experiencing at the moment, contrastive outlook of European and Far East cultural patterns regarding our issue and analysis of a few novels that cross upon suicide. The main ideas that are to be developed are the cultural tradition of suicide in Japan as opposed to the West, the unprecedented social crisis that leads people into committing suicide out of lack of communication, loneliness, shame of failure, no religion restrictions, literary outbursts as a way of exorcizing and bestselling it in some novels of Natsume Sōseki, Mishima Yukio, Taichi Yamada, Inoue Yasushi, Abe Kōbō, Murakami Haruki, Taguchi Randy.

Keywords: suicide, death as ritual, Japanese literature, *seppuku*, *hikikomori*, *shinju*

Introductory Notes on Suicide

Death is a part of life, and though an end, a gate or a beginning, it is still a dreadful mystery. Since mankind remembers, man has strived to understand it, acknowledge it, fight it, mock it, pray for it, tame it, and, of course, write about it. So, we've written it and painted it and sung it. We've immortalized it so that the unreachable seem somehow more reachable. Literature, among other arts, has the power to get into people's minds and souls and explore our limitations, our pains and fears, and, by converting them into stories, it has given us ways of dealing with them.

Suicide is defined by Émile Durkheim as 'any death that results in a mediate or immediate way from a positive or negative act committed by the victim oneself' (Durkheim 1993, 11). It takes many shapes, but basically, it may present itself as of two types: an active suicide, which stands for *killing oneself* [nn] and a passive one, which is *letting oneself die* [nn]. The suicidology as a scientific approach has quantified the phenomenon and classified it by several categories, and we shall discuss further on those shapes that the Japanese history and culture have established as their own in the large arena of suicidal human behavior. The Japanese as social entity has built a tradition of suicide, and, from both historical and religious points of view, it has an open attitude towards death. Religion has put a mark on the lack of dying taboos, encouraging a permissive vision upon life and death. Psychology and sociology have also treated the subject with intense and, up to a certain point, abstract, statistical and theoretical interest.

For a more extended view, it is necessary to mark a *mise en abîme* and refer to the Western perspective on suicide. George Minois, analyzing the history of suicide in the Western society, has come to the conclusion that 'suicide is a taboo that must be wrapped in silence (…) repressed along with the other great social interdictions. Suicide is everything, lest the manifestation of human freedom' (Minois 2002, 336). The author presents Sigmund Freud's theory of 'suicide as reverse of the aggressiveness against the self' (*Ibidem*, 337)

and concludes that the rate of suicide is higher in countries with low crime rate as a form of repressing the violence by turning it from outside towards inside, from somebody else towards the self. A similar idea is presented by Durkheim (Durkheim 2002, 39), in which insanity and suicide are repressions of the social human being and countries with fewer madmen are the countries with the highest number of suicides.

A philosophical approach can provide a suicidal overview, structured on three dimensions: 1) For suicide; 2) Neutral position; 3) Against suicide. We see that over time suicide has interested various fields of knowledge, among which the philosophical one relates to all the others, like medicine, religion, literature. From a negative position as Saint Augustine's belief that nothing justifies suicide, or Albert Camus's who states that suicide is the rejection of freedom, or Kant's idea of suicide as unethical behaviour, to a positive position, encountered in the ancient Greece and Rome, in liberalism, which states that a person's life belongs only to oneself, or in psychiatrist Thomas Szasz's idea that suicide, as freedom of choice, is the most basic human right so that death control should be as rightful as birth control. At last, but in our main interest, the code of Confucianism, which encourages altruistic suicide, being praiseworthy if it is done for the sake of certain values, suicide finds a way as a neutral position in David Hume's ideology that lies emphasis on situational stances, when suicide is either considered an affront to God, or it can be justified or even desired. The in-between position is to be further developed in this paper, as ritual suicide or heroic suicide set against crisis or pointless suicide in the Japanese literary imagery.

From sociological and psychological perspectives, suicide occurs on two basic grounds: a pathological ground, when the subject is not fully aware of the act, and a consented one. At this point, we can oppose the psychological collapse that leads to total recluse from society, which stands for a spiritual suicide, later on surpassed by physical suicide ('egotistic suicide', in the terms of Durkheim), to fully awareness of the act justified by prohibited love, patriotic duty, and fidelity to the Lord or the Emperor, 'altruistic suicide' as Émile Durkheim classifies it. Referring to the Western society, the author speaks about Danish warriors who committed suicide to avoid disgrace and shame, or the Gaul servants who had to follow their master into death. We can notice here the similarities to the Japanese behaviour.

Concerning religion, the Japanese have a specific and quite unusual way of dealing with it, paying a lot more attention to the rites, than to the conceptual, abstract faith, determining Octavian Simu say in his work on the Japanese traditional civilization that 'it may seem odd and inefficient the effort to analyse the religions of a people proved to be not at all religious' (Simu 2004, 51). The symbiosis of the Shintōism and Buddhism interweaves in a very practical manner, so that Ian Reader's phrase 'Born Shintō and die Buddhist' (Reader 1991, 56) may stand for the essence of the Japanese religious experience. Since they perform Shintō rites to celebrate life as an animistic reminiscence of the inner self of this nation, they also perform Buddhist rites to see the deceased through and tame the Spirits. The most impressive religious syncretism has defined the Japanese spirituality. From the ancient animism to the New Age religions, Japan has burnt like a melting pot: primitive religious practices, exorcisms, shamanism, purifying ceremonies, animism, later developed into Shintōism; India borrowed Buddhism, Zen Buddhism; China borrowed Confucianism and Taoism, and Christianity (Simu 2004, 5).

Thus, in such a diversity, death has been surrounded by divergent and, more important, practical attitudes. The main direction leads us believe that death is not feared, nor tabooed. It may be simply an act in the process of existing, a disappearance in the invisible world, a becoming a *kami*, a 'family spirit' (Shintōism), a state of harmony with the universe (Taoism), an endless cycle of death and rebirth called transmigration or a state of endless happiness as reached Nirvana (Buddhism), a benevolent cutting off life in the spirit of honour or in avoiding dishonour (Confucianism). The only religious pattern left, the Christianity, has a very clear definition of the life and death paradigm, where death is also seen as a passing through towards an afterlife, but, at this point, the similarities end. In Christianity, as we know, death is tabooed and mystic, and suicide is forbidden, doomed to eternal damnation, due to 'moderate individualism, characteristic of Christianity' (Durkheim 2002, 179).

Another issue to grasp in the Japanese mentality is the idea of life after death. We can understand that in the Japanese religious realm life overcomes death, as a primary principle of being *in* the world. The afterworld is somewhere *after* or beyond life, but there is little concern

about it. Their whole culture and philosophical thought is based on the principles of intense life (*haiku*, *ikebana*, tea ceremony, martial arts) and, at the same level, intense and practical death. Zen masters have a saying: 'If you want to see, do it of a sudden, for if you start to think, you lose the essential'. That is why voluntary death comes along so easily, with not much emphasis or anxiety from society. The doctrine of Confucianism focuses on the ethical code of the family and, by extension, the state, leaving out of the existence all the transcendence of the spirit by building a rigid code of life. Here death is welcomed as an act of honourable or redemptive sacrifice for the Lord (*seppuku*).

On Japanese Suicidal Forms

Japanese suicidal acts are wide and frequent because, on one side, death is regarded with much permissiveness and, on the other side, afterlife is either a rebirth or dissolution onto the Energy of the Universe, and hence the concept of penitence is merely acknowledged in the cycle of reincarnations. From a historical point of view, we can speak about three main categories of suicide as a phenomenon: the traditional ritual of *seppuku*, the war *kamikaze* and the modern shut-ins *hikikomori*. In-between there are other forms of suicide, some of which are similar, like *jisatsu* (general term for suicide), *junshi* (following the Lord in death), *shinjū* (double suicide), *boshi-shinju* (mother-child suicide), *ikka-shinju* (all family suicide), *kodokushi* (lonely death). With such heritage of suicide, the Japanese have established a suicidal cultural identity, which is to be seen in stamps, literature, film, *kabuki* and Noh theatre.

Seppuku is known as the ritual of suicide by cutting open one's belly, followed by the decapitation performed by an assistant. It has been the expression of honour and obligation for the samurai code (*bushido*), whose moral precepts included the assimilation of death as the way of the warrior, so that Confucian rigid conduct has fused with the three Shintō elements: love and mercy (the gem), rightness and neatness (the mirror), and courage and firmness (the sword) (Simu 2004, 146). Therefore, dying of *seppuku* was perceived as the highest honour for a military man to follow and serve the superior in the after death world known as *junshi*, while for females the only honourable allowed way of *junshi* was the *rigaki* (cutting one's throat). Also, *seppuku* was performed if guilt lay upon a samurai's life, the suicidal act redeeming his good name. Dying by one's own hand requires a mental strength, as well as an unquestionable education of almost ascetic endurance, obedience and sacrifice, consolidated in the subconscious for centuries.

Another pattern of honourable and, at the same time, obligatory death is *kamikaze*, the heroic bomb charging pilots in World War II. Literally, the word means *the wind of gods*, where we can see the Shintō influence and, acknowledging today, a lot of fanatical despair in some officers' decisions that led to 'an organized insanity' (Naito 1995, 241). The story tells that a powerful wind has turned back the ships of the Mongolian invasion under the command of Kublai Khan in the 13th century. At the uncomfortable sight of receiving the first war defeat in the nation's history, Japanese ultranationalists desperately proposed the use of certain 'special attack' units by which young soldiers (at first volunteers picked up from universities) were sent to a blind death in bomb planes, called 'Kamikaze'; manned rocket bombs, named 'Ōka'; 'Shinyō' boats, or simplified submarines, called 'Kaiten' (Cook 1932, 316). It must be said that *kamikaze* is not a suicidal act *per se*. The soldiers have accepted it as a deep sense of self sacrifice for their families, dear ones and country, but they have not despised their lives. The terror of those days is unspeakable. The very few survivors tell the same story of being deceived, sent to a sure death, turning the human being into a lifeless tool, which hardly had it been trained to be one, and which had to repress all emotions, fear and uncertainty, in the spirit of the deep implanted Confucian education that wouldn't allow shame, weakness or disbelief in superiors' judgment.

Shinju represents the double suicide. It may take the shape of *joshi-shinju*, meaning suicidal couples who's 'love is fulfilled in death' (Katō 1998, 51) due to social, financial or political obstacles. Like the mandarin ducks, the two lovers, who are socially different, prefer dying together than living apart. This type of double voluntary death is well known also to the European culture and literature, famous couples embracing it as a form of ultimate fight against social obtuseness. Variations of it in the Japanese society are *boshi-shinju* (mother-child suicide), *ikka-shinju* (all family suicide).

The last two patterns belong to the second type of voluntary death, that of 'let oneself die' [nn]. Recurrent in contemporary times, they are the expression of a social and psychological collapse. These deaths are not at all honourable or altruistic. They are not entirely egotistical either, but somehow 'anomic', because they represent 'the malfunctioning

social mechanisms' (Durkheim 2004 in Minois, 337). The history of modern Japan is very impressive for its efforts to rebirth both physically and morally after the defeat in World War II. The economic boom has been a visit card for the inner power that this people has when they are motivated. So it has been the fanatic behaviour of the war. The crush has begun in the 60's when the student protests have alerted the authorities, then in the 90's the economic down fall has increased the social crisis and a smoulder identity problem. Since the young generation found the familial, social restrictions and pressure too intense and frustrating, and the elder generation couldn't understand the new reality, nor fit in the new industrialized world where the company considerably diminished their social life and the divine essence of the Emperor has been publically abolished, social and cultural identity dissolution has increased the individual's identity crisis.

Kodokushi are elderly people that die alone, in total solitude as a result of being left out by the society they have served with loyalty. They represent a case of solitary deaths, when there is nobody to care for them, because they have worked their whole life and had no time for social life, family life, or their children are away, busy, living in the same workaholic way. Their bodies are found in bad conditions.

Hikikomori, on the other side, are young males (from 15 to 30 years old), who isolate themselves indoors, shutting off all external communication, up to such a degree that they die in total reclusion. The major causes are: lack of communication, high degree of repressing their feelings, shame of failure, high social and familial expectations, all intrinsically related to the Confucian educational legacy in a male-dominated society, with a consistent heritage of suicide. *Hikikomori* are at best internet addicted, representing a negative effect of modernization. An alarm signal suggests that they might be indicators of a pandemic of psychological problems that the global internet-connected society will have to face (Shinfuku 2011).

Considered social parasites, these youngsters have lost the social dimension of the human nature, developing a homophobia that for many of them leads in death. They isolate themselves in their rooms or in the kitchen and live there with or without magazines, computer or music. That room is the only place secure, which in a psycho-analytical interpretation can be associated to the protective womb. They are fed by the family who can't let them die and some are reintegrated in society. Studies that discuss *hikikomori* show that it is a social psychological disorder caused mainly by the modernization, and Japan had experienced an ultrafast economic over-grading, leaving behind social and spiritual equivalent. Statistics show that the phenomenon is taken care of, various centers being initiated and supported by the Health Ministry (Hakamada, Shimbun 2010). Michael Zielenziger, the author of *Shutting Out the Sun: How Japan Created Its Own Lost Generation*, in which he analyses the problems of the Japanese young generation after the 90s' economical breakdown, states: 'They are not depressives or psychotics; nor are they classic agoraphobics, who fear public spaces but welcome friends into their own homes. (…) Japanese psychiatrists say that *hikikomori* is a social disorder, only recently observed, that cannot be found within other cultures. These men – as I found during months of conversations with them – are often intelligent, stimulating, highly open and responsive adults full of cogent ideas and fascinating insights into society and themselves. (…) in the confinement of Japan's neo-Confucian society, which preaches the importance of obedience, discipline, self-inhibition, and group harmony – and where even individual identity is deeply swathed in mutual interdependence – men like Jun and Kenji have imploded like vacuum tubes, closing themselves in, cutting themselves off, and utterly marginalizing themselves' (Zielenziger 2006, 19).

Literature and arts have played in Japan the role played by philosophy in Europe. Therefore, all the individual and collective struggles have been transfigured, analysed in fiction or poetry, art in general functioning as a catalytic axe. As we have mentioned above, there is a gap in Japanese society reflected in literature, too. Starting with the Meiji Era (1868-1912), when the country opened to the West, assimilating in a fast rhythm technology, medicine, culture, philosophy, and putting at ease their old principles, the Japanese have built a new country, modern and still Japanese. They succeeded what has been called 'the Japanese miracle'. While the country became the second world economic power, literature was taming and revealing the true problem of the nation: the individual's alienation, loss of cultural identity. Modern and contemporary Japanese literature reveals a dark side of the cherry blossoms: solitude, lack of communication, alienation, drug, sex and alcohol, and death everywhere.

Suicide in Japanese Literature

Voluntary death is as we have seen a widely ranged social pattern and writers have not escaped it. There are novelists that have committed suicide, with different motivations and by different means. The most famous suicidal writers are Kawabata Yasunari ([157]), first Japanese Nobel prize winner, who has gassed himself at 73 years old, although his death was considered by his family as accidental. Dazai Ōsamu has committed *shinju* at 39 years old, by throwing himself and his lover in a river. Akutagawa Ryūnosuke has killed himself at the age of 35 by a drug overdose. The most spectacular suicide of all is that of Mishima Yukio, who committed *seppuku* in 1970 at 45 years old, as an extreme gesture of punishing the ultimate disappointment: the moral support that the Emperor had on the Japanese people was lost, by reducing his divine essence to a mortal, non-significant presence. His traditional death, 'wonderfully crafted, well-staged, and exposed' (Hosea 2005, 124) had to be and had been a demonstration, a public denunciation of his country's traditional (cultural and social) death. His entire literature is scenting, foreseeing death, and at some point revealing *seppuku* rituals.

The authors and novels proposed in this paper are Natsume Sōseki's *Kokoro*, Mishima Yukio, *Runaway Horses*, Inoue Yasushi, *Tea Master*, Abe Kōbō *The Box Man*, Taichi Yamada, *Strangers*, Murakami Haruki's *Norwegian Wood*, *After Dark* and Taguchi Randy's *Outlet*.

Natsume Sōseki's *Kokoro* tells the story of a tormented *sensei* who finally commits *seppuku* out of guilt for his youth friend's suicide over the woman they both loved and *sensei* married. Guilt is progressively consuming him so that at some point he thinks of a liberating way: 'I have started to live with the sensation that it's long time since I'm not among the living anymore' (Natsume Sōseki 1985, 193). We can find here Jean Améry's idea of 'living with death in one's mind' (Améry 2010, 135). The ethical, cultural and historical implications are deeper. *Sensei* decides to take his life after enduring its sufferance all his mature life, at short time after General Nogi committed *junshi* in respect for the death of the Meiji Emperor, Mutsuhito. Yamanouchi Hisaaki writes: 'in early Meiji, forward-looking modernization and right spiritual values appeared inseparable. By the end of Meiji this coherence was breaking apart, with the spiritual ideals increasingly overshadowed and atomized by the material progress of an impersonal industrialization. *Sensei*'s suicide then represents one answer to the predicament of perceptive intellectuals in a post-Meiji Japan' (Yamanouchi Hisaaki 1978, 70).

Natsume Sōseki, studying in London for a few years, grew a permanent feeling of estrangement, even when returned in Japan, due to the rapid changes in society. This alienation is obvious in his literary work, as it is obvious in the novels of the most modern and contemporary writers. And it is precisely this rootlessness lived at a social, psychological and cultural levels that leads to suicide.

A modern writer who pulled out of history the traditional honourable death is Inoue Yasushi with his *Tea Master*. It is the story of a famous tea *Sensei* who had lived in the traditional Japan (Keichō Era) and committed ritual suicide out of obedience to his Daimyo, Hideyoshi and in defense of a belief: the spiritual power of *chadō*, 'the way of the tea'. 'Tea ceremony has become my preparation ceremony for death' says Sensei Rikyū (Inoue Yasushi 2007, 177). A short epistolary novel, concentrated to its essence, *The Hunting Gun*, goes deep down a woman's soul and engraves what Mihai Eminescu used to call 'death's voluptuousness'. A lovers' betrayal is stalked by death and the repeated words 'crime, crime, crime' leads the mistress to poison herself in order to escape the guilt.

Mishima Yukio, masters the ritual suicide in the second part of the Tetralogy *Sea of Fertility*, *Runaway Horses*. It is known the predictability of the writer's death in his literary work, the quest for a rebirth of the traditional identity of the Samurai. Therefore, the novels either hint at the old way or expose the entire cultural, social, military imagery of the samurai as in the rebel movement named *Shinpūren* in *Runaway Horses*. *Seppuku* is described here as a glorifying death for the Emperor and it is performed by samurai of the *Shinpūren* (back in Meiji Era), but also by the character Isao Iinuma that renewed the group in order to revive the power of the Emperor in Shōwa Era. What is striking for the reader and perhaps the touch of the author is the name of the rebellious group, Shinpūren, which is an alternative reading of the same ideograms that were read *Kamikaze* in the Second World War. Thus *seppuku* is explicit on many occasions, and perceived as the highest self-sacrifice gesture that a man must be able to

([157]) The names of Japanese authors follow their specific order, which is last name and first name.

do to fulfill the ideal of *bushido* (way of the warrior).

Another type of suicide, presented in the novel of Murakami Haruki, *The Norwegian Wood*, experiences the mental instability, which leads to suicide. Naoko, the adolescent heroine, whose boyfriend inexplicably kills himself, can't find a way out of the more and more surrounding death. The narrator, a mutual friend, tries his best at rescuing her, but her solitude and alienation are as deep as a dark forest: 'I feel as if I would have lost myself in a deep forest. It is cold and dark and nobody comes to save me' (Murakami 2002, 146).

A contemporary, postmodern type of suicide is the *hikikomori*. It is a social reality and also a literary subject. Total reclusion can substitute physical death with a spiritual and social death. This kind of solitary and alienated existence is fictionalised in some novels such as: Abe Kōbō's *The Box Man*, Murakami Haruki's *After Dark*, Taguchi Randy's *Outlet*. Although in the first two novels there is no suicidal act, we have chosen them because of the social suicide.

Abe Kōbō's *The Box Man* is an experimental novel in the spirit of Kafka and Beckett. The box man is a critical metaphor of the contemporary society, idle, alone and without an identity, an amorphous mass. A, the hero of the novel, desist his human condition as a form of protest against dehumanisation and absurdity of life. This regression to a non-human form of existence is a painful counterpoint of man's reality, day by day surrounded by machines. He builds up a box as a home surrogate, from under which he sees the world, but he is not seen. It is the ultimate form of isolation *in* the world. It is a symbolic death for the world. He doesn't exist, more than that, he is not human anymore. He is a box man. He has comprised the world in his box. This social withdrawal is the literary form of the social reality of *hikikomori*.

Similar, but with mythical insights, is Murakami Haruki's *After Dark*, where the reclusion is inside a TV set. The story of a young girl, Asai Eri, who is asleep for two months and Mari, her sister, who struggles to wake her up. Eri's sleep is not natural, as she transgresses the physical world and is awake on the other side of the TV set, in a room like an office. The surrealist accents of the plot and scenery entitle the text as fiction, but beyond that, the message reveals the same social reclusion from the world. Mari remembers Eri say: 'from now on I will sleep a while' (Murakami 2007, 179).

The case of another *hikikomori* suicide is revealed in the end of Taichi Yamada's novel: *Strangers*. Kei is shutting herself in because of a scar on her chest that could not be removed by any plastic surgery. She becomes a *hikikomori* and on the one refusal at her attempt to socialize, stubs her chest. The plot evolves from Harada's, the main character, perspective – her victim, who she haunts – into a love story that sucks the life out of him, but the only one who notices is Harada's friend, who, at the end saves him by confronting him with the truth. Fantastic elements draw the net, where the character is caught like in a parallel world.

Outlet by Taguchi Randy is the open story of a *hikikomori*, the brother, Taka, of the heroine, Yuki. She is given the news that Taka was found dead on the floor of his kitchen and can't understand how that could have happened. She rememorizes with her psychology professor, as a patient, Taka's life, sensing that there is more about him than just a simple suicide. Taka was a *hikikomori*, a reclusive man (dead at 40 years old), who had quit school, couldn't hold on to a job, careless with himself, in bad relationships with their parents. She tries to integrate him in society, but fails, and Taka disappears one day. From this point on, the novel is a shamanic quest for identity. The main conclusion being that suicidal 'let oneself die' may be a gate to a different perception of life and death, an open road to heal an agonizing society, which has lost contact with transcendence, and a shamanic perspective, according to which those who can transgress the worlds can mend the inner troubles of an ontological blocked society.

Japanese literature proposes an alternative to suicide and alienation. There are ways (*dō*), new ways, to regain human hood. Suicide is a social act, individual through execution and collective through cause and motivation. Thus, society must step aside and look at the whole picture so that to see the problem, the cause and the solution. Suicide is not a solution. We cannot grasp beyond the close door at what death is like on the other side, and we shouldn't be curious, because, as Epicure had said: 'Death doesn't regard us, because as long as we exist, it doesn't, and when it comes, we no longer exist' (Epicure 2012 in Améry, 30).

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The European Idea Reflected by the Post-communist Romanian Intellectual Elite in *Dilemma*

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Abstract. The paper aims to present a historical analysis of the European idea perceived and reconstructed at a cultural level by the intellectual elite during the 1993–2007 period in Romania. The main idea stresses throughout the study states that Europe perceived by the Romanian society has suffered remodeling due to the internal and external transformations. The debate regarding the European idea has generated multiple opinions in cultural circles. Parts of them can easily be studied through the scrutiny of the articles present in the cultural journal *Dilema* [*Dilemma*] which afterwards became *Dilema Veche* [*Old Dilemma*]. Therefore, the main result of the study would be the acknowledging that the position of the Romanian intellectual elite, in regard to the European idea has indeed been a metamorphosing and independent one, subject of real and substantial analysis.

Keywords: Europe, cultural magazine, transition, analysis, Euro-Realism

1. Background

The Romanian communist regime, publically denounced as 'illegitimate and criminal' (Tismăneanu *et al*., 2007, 628), has created a rift between the Romanian society and Western Europe for approximately 45 years. The fall of the Romanian communism has been characterized as an 'uncontrollable, passionate, and violent revolution' (Carey, Eisterhold 2004, 1). Accordingly, the transitional period that Romania was supposed to overcome in the next years had met 'a Leninist heritage […] more persistent and resilient than in the other countries in Eastern Europe' (Tismăneanu, 2004, 27). This problem, amplified by the lack of democratic exercise on the part of the newly-formed politically parties, has led to a slow evolution to the much desired functional democracy. The intellectual elite, typically responsible for 'the resurrection of civil society' (O'Donnell, Schimitter, 1984, 44) in cases as these, found itself in the position of having to blindly-guide the enormous mass of Romanian population. Hence, during the '90s, an entire spectrum of specialists and opinions on different subjects surfaced.

The press played a valuable role in the process of rebuilding the state in accordance with the international demands (rule of law, separation of powers, human rights and so on) and in recreating the Romanian identity capable of facing the challenges of the new internal and international realities. On this matter, many newspapers appeared in trying to fill the void left by the communist system. Thus, in December 1989 appeared *Adevărul* [*The Truth*] – a newspaper which previously was known as *Scînteia Popoarelor* [*The Spark of the People*] and *Libertatea* [*Freedom*] – previously edited as *Informația Bucureștiului* [*The Information of Bucharest*]. In the early 1990's also ran *Tineretul Liber* [*The Free Youth*], *Dimineața* [*The Morning*], *Universul* [*The Universe*] and *Dreptatea* [*The Justice*]. There were also edited weekly or monthly journals like: *Zig-zag*, *22*, *Expres* or *România literară* [*Literary Romania*], *Contrapunct* [*Counterpoint*], with a lower circulation ([1]). However, these weekly papers had the advantage of deeper analyzing the problems at hand.

2. Dilemma and Old Dilemma

One of the main magazines that were edited from the January 1993 and were available for sale twice a month was *Dilema* [Dilemma].

([1]) The information regarding the evolution of press is obtained from the articles: Vasile Surcel, *1990: 'Ziare, ziare, ziareee!!!'* in *Jurnalul Național*, 12 March 2010, online http://jurnalul.ro/special-jurnalul/1990-ziare-ziare-ziareee-538325.html (17 June 2014), Alexandra Buzaş, *'FOCUS: 20 de ani de ziare – între idealismul dat de libertate şi afacere, în capitalism'* in *Mediafax*, 23 December 2009, (online) http://www.mediafax.ro/cultura-media/focus-20-de-ani-de-ziare-intre-idealismul-dat-de-libertate-si-afacere-in-capitalism-5201723, (17 June 2014) and information regarding appearance of newspapers online http://www.e-ziare.ro/index.php?z=ziare-a-z (on 17 June 2014).

This magazine has easily been categorized as a *cultural, sociological, occasionally political, and resolutely European* ([2]) one. The founder of the journal, Andrei Pleşu, has been described as a 'philosopher, a former dissident of the communist regime' ([3]), 'a prominent intellectual, and a former Romanian minister of culture' ([4]). The collaborators of this magazine were considered to be intellectuals as they 'exert critical thinking […] upon society' (Mihăilescu, 2010), among them being: Teodor Baconschi, Alexandru Duțu, Bogdan Ghiu, Teodor Meleşcanu, Vitilă Mihăilescu, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Alexandru Papilian, Andrei Pleşu, Dumitru Solomon, Mircea Vasilescu, Mihai Zamfir, Zigu Ornea and many others. The majority of the publishers were professors at the university level, journalists or researchers, hence being considered an authority in the domain that each of them activated in. The program of the magazine has been described as being one of 'political, social, and cultural analysis, features, and essays by leading writers, intellectuals, and journalists'. ([5])

The impressive number of collaborators did not prevent the problems that were to appear in 2004, namely the rupture between the Romanian Cultural Foundation that transformed into the Romanian Cultural Institute and the editorial group that managed *Dilema* (*Dilemma*). As a result, on the 5th of January 2004 the following statement was issued by the editorial team:

Starting January 1, 2004, the entire editorial staff of the magazine 'Dilemma' has stopped working at ICR.

As is known, Romanian Cultural Foundation – which edited the magazine 'Dilemma' since 1993 – recently became Romanian Cultural Institute (ICR). According to the law of organization, honorary president of the Institute is the President of Romania, and the Board is formed of members appointed by the President, Government and several ministries.

Under these circumstances, the editors expressed their concern that the new institutional structure could pose problems regarding the independence, credibility and unbiasedness of the magazine and could affect the spirit that has imposed on public consciousness. Therefore, since September, when the Institute was just created, I asked Mr. Buzura Augustin, President of ICR, for a meeting with the entire editorial team in order to clarify the status of 'Dilemma' in the structure of the new institute, as well as our professional status. The discussion was all the more necessary as no directory member had informed us of the changes that were to be applied by the Romanian Cultural Foundation, the editorial team never being summoned at the meetings of the Foundation. Due to the lack of interest from management regarding Dilemma, we decided that together with Mr. Andrei Pleşu, founding director of the magazine, to present to Mr. Chairman of the ICR the solution of a cordial separation given to us by the pathways provided by law, the name 'Dilemma' (upon which the editorial has the moral right), to finding a private source of funding in order to ensure continuity in the spirit of its original issue. Mr. Augustine Buzura rejected the idea to assign the name and did not comply with the request to discuss with the editorial team.

Having been put in this situation and taking into consideration the tensions between the editorial team and the management of Romanian Cultural Foundation/Romanian Cultural Institute, the members of the editorial board demanded the termination of employment, and the president of ICR agreed with this solution. […]

'Old Dilemma' will continue to promote the free expression of all points of view, to put questions without a formula of definitive answers and to cultivate intellectual dialogue and debate ideas. Although with a new name, the spirit of 'Dilemma' of the past 11 years will continue.

We thank the 'Dilemma' readers because they have been with us during all this time. We hope that they will become readers of our new magazine, 'Old Dilemma'.

On behalf of the editorial team,
Mircea Vasilescu
Editor in Chief ([6])

([2]) *Old Dilemma* description (a) http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/content/source-information/30481-dilema-veche (on 14 June 2014).
([3]) *Old Dilemma* description (b) http://www.eurozine.com/journals/dilemaveche/selfdescription.html (on 14 June 2014).
([4]) *Old Dilemma* description (c) http://www.voxeurop.eu/en/content/source-information/30481-dilema-veche (on 14 June 2014).
([5]) *Old Dilemma* description (d) http://www.eurozine.com/journals/dilemaveche/selfdescription.html (on 14 June 2014).

([6]) The statement of the editorial team is reproduced only fragmentary, the entire discourse is available in Romanian (online): http://www.stiri.com.ro/revista-dilema-veche/i-165.html (on 17 June 2014).

In this context, the journal *Dilemma* continued to be available for the readers by using the alias *Old Dilemma* and also by using the private funding of *Adevărul Holding* ([7]), a Romanian media trust. The majority of the editors decided to remain part of *Old Dilemma*, several editors being added to the team: Magdalena Boiangiu, Adrian Cioroianu, Radu Cosaşu, Andrei Manoliu, Matei Martin, Cezar Paul-Bădescu, Iaromira Popovici or Simona Sora (Buzaş, 2009) and many others.

3. Issues and typology

The European idea in the post-communist period is presented by the Romanian historiography from the angle of the institutional Europe (the formal term generally used is the European Union) and only tangentially presented the debates that prevailed in the Romanian cultural circles. These considerations tend to reflect the inner struggles, fears and hopes of the intellectual elite during a very problematic period, the 'transition period'. As a consequence, the number of studies that actually define, analyze, and illustrate the idea of Europe is quite limited. However, some researchers have used their expertise in order to present a cultural or identity aspect of Europe. One of these researchers is Adrian Marino, in his work *Pentru Europa. Integrarea României. Aspecte Ideologice şi Culturale* [*For Europe. The Romanian Integration. Ideological and Cultural Aspects*.] presents the main unifying cultural links between Romania and Europe ([8]). Alexandru Duțu, in *Lumea dinăuntru şi lumea din afară* [*The Inner and the Outer World*] stresses upon the historical linkage that has existed for a very long period of time between the West and the East of the European Continent. Andrei Marga, in his work *Filosofia unificării europene* [*The Philosophy of European Unification*] tries to underline the need for unity between the nations of the European continent. These studies establish the fact that one of the primary concerns was of the Romanian membership of the European continent and, most of all, of the European culture. The researchers who have been named here have different fields of interest, providing different types of arguments in order to support the main ideas of their studies. Hence, the recognition of the Romanian membership of the European continent and, above all, culture is the most important development. However, taking into account that the studies have only a limited impact on the masses, the best course of action for a wheel – steering cultural elite was to reach the public faster through smaller, relatable articles, which were to be delivered weekly to those who were concerned with the changing realities.

Even with the help of the above mentioned studies, the existing debates that emerged in the Romanian cultural press during the 1993-2007 period remain relevant, as it not only analyzes the impact of the joined administrative and legislative, but also how Europe is perceived geographically and institutionally.

Thematically speaking, the articles chosen for this analysis are those that present the perception of Europe as a geographic area. The main focus being the Western European states: Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Greece, Portugal and also the USA, and the Eastern part of Europe represented only by the Russian Federation. Romanian intellectuals, who were involved in the process of writing articles, addressed the problem at a rate of approximately 2% from the total number of articles considered, in both the *Dilemma* and *Old Dilemma*. The articles that reflect the institutional / legal presence items are around 97% of the number of articles taken into consideration. Europe in its mythological meaning is found only in a fragmented way, in certain articles, with the obvious aim of arguing different points of view, the theme not being considered as a subject on its own.

The presence of articles translated from other languages (especially the English – articles from the U.S.A., but also French and German ones) shows interest in the topic of the European idea and, at the same time, need to fill a vacuum type information on this aspect. The number of articles translated decreases proportionally with the increasing number of articles written by Romanian intellectuals during that period.

On the matter of intellectuals interested in presenting and analyzing the many aspects of Europe, we may list: Mircea Vasilescu, Andrei Pleşu, Zigu Ornea, Teodor Baconschi, Vintilă Mihailescu. Their articles are constantly referring to Europe's problems and how they are perceived by Romanian intellectuals.

The differences of opinion in the articles are minimal, as each member tries to present Europe based on his/her own knowledge,

([7]) http://www.brat.ro/membru/adevarul-holding

([8]) Adrian Marino presents not only the links between Romania and the Western Europe, but also the existing one between Romania and the Eastern Europe.

addressing only certain themes that relate to the skills and knowledge of each intellectual.

Articles written by Andrei Pleşu fall within the above mentioned parameters as part of the type of articles published. The editor tries to demonstrate what are the Romanian needs regarding the geostrategic realities in relation to the European Union and the Russian Federation. Most articles of the former foreign minister of Romania with suggestive titles: *Geopolitica* [*Geopolitics*], *Nucleul tare al Europei* [*Hard Core of Europe*], *Europa şi călătoriile* [*Europe and Travelling*]), and so on. In the article *Geopolitics* (Pleşu 1993, 3), the diplomat and essayist tries to argue the fact that the smaller countries and therefore Romania should diminish the negative impacts and draw advantages from the favorable elements. In the *Hard Core of Europe* (Pleşu 2004, 3), Pleşu presents the center-periphery report, the Franco-German solidarity and as such, Romania does not belong to the core of decision-making in Europe. In the three articles entitled *Europe and Traveling* (Pleşu 1994 a, 3; Pleşu 1994 b, 3; Pleşu 1994 c, 3), the author tries to demonstrate that Europe has always desired to expand itself and has, from the beginning, experienced the wish to expand and the fear of external influences.

Regarding the articles written by Mircea Vasilescu, they are focused primarily on a well-argued criticism and on how Romanians perceive themself during the accession to the EU. Literary historian and critic, Mircea Vasilescu entitles his articles *O năzbâtie* [*A Foolery*], *Ca-n Europa* [*Like in Europe*] or *Vorbe naționale, reguli europene* [*National Talks, European rules*] denotes the editor's interest in practical elements of Romania's adherence to EU. *A Foolery* (Vasilescu 2004, 20) describes the frustrations created by the endless transition and the continuous delay in the process of adhesion to the European Union. *Like in Europe* (Vasilescu 2004 b, 20) discusses the problems that Romania faces when negotiating its EU membership in using the old Eastern ways. *National Talks, European rules* (Vasilescu 1998, 3) is the article in which Mircea Vasilescu debates the Romanian competitively on the European market.

Zigu Ornea, a philosopher and literary historian, presented with the issue of Europe, decided to focus on the problem of the European integration, mainly on the history of refusal to join the European structures through articles such as: *Europenizare şi autohtonie* [*Europeanization and Autochthony*], *Din tradiția împotrivirii la autohtonism* [*In the Tradition of Opposition to Autochthonism*], *Tradiționalismul şi refuzul Occidentului* [*Traditionalism and the Refusal of the West*]. *Traditionalism and the refusal of the West* (Ornea 1993, 6) states that the Romanian traditionalism is a 19th century attitude. *Europeanization and Autochthony* (Ornea 1997, 10) upholds that the traditional way of thinking only delays modernization in general. In *The Tradition of Opposition to Autochthonism* (Ornea 2000, 10), Ornea concludes that even if euro-skepticism has strong roots in the Romanian cultural space, the European idea had more and more supporters.

Teodor Baconschi, a religious anthropologist, presents the idea of Europe with the issue of religious perspective, pointing out that the current political organization known as the European Union is rooted in the basic principles of Christianity. His articles, *Noi şi ei* [*Us and them*] and *Europa reanimată* [*Reanimated Europe*] highlighted this perspective and even tried to argue the necessity of perpetuating Christian principles so that the Europe that we are familiar with may carry on. In the article *Us and Them* (Baconschi 1999, 6), Baconschi states that the difference between Romania and Western Europe is the lack of assimilation of the Christian principles, while in *Reanimated Europe* (Baconschi 2000, 11) he underlines the fact that the only way for Europe to overcome its problems is by reconnecting with its past and its traditions.

Vintilă Mihăilescu, psychologist and anthropologist, describes in his articles *Europa* [*Europe*], *Europeni second-hand* [*Second-hand Europeans*] and *Cealată Europă* [*The Other Europe*] the issue of differences and similarities of institutional type of social activities and also the problem of morality during accession to the European Union. In *Europe* (Mihăilescu 2000, 3), Vintilă Mihăilescu discusses the Romanian Europeanization, while in *Second-hand Europeans* (Mihăilescu 2001, 3) the author of the article explains that the Romanian people have to pay in order to feel equal to the Western Europeans. *The Other Europe* (Mihăilescu 2002, 3) presents the great difference that exists between social Europe and 'the legal' Europe.

The typology and evolution of these articles demonstrate the growing interest shown by the Romanian intellectuals regarding the theme of Europe, whether it refers to the geographical relevance or regional organization that addresses the subject of evolution – the European Union. Initially, during the 1990-1997

period, most articles written by Romanian intellectuals was mainly based on some general considerations (e.g.: EU developments, the basic principles of the idea of Europe and the manner in which Europe could be successfully reconfigured). As soon as the desire to apply for accession to the European Union, the articles present in the cultural press registered a series of transformations, their typology changed visibly. Editor chooses to write pieces in almost every article that met the practical needs of Romania during the course of negotiations and subsequent integration into the European Union. Hence, a series of articles that dealt with problems of various sensitive nature were published, the best examples being the Romanians' inferiority complex in relation to other EU citizens, the equality of chances (compared to the citizens of other EU countries), the issue of identity and the rise of euro-scepticism in Romania and so on. Each subject is detailed and argued in manners that would prove important for the further development of Romania in the EU organization. As a result, clear descriptions of problems were presented and practical and sustainable solutions offered.

By analyzing the position of the Romanian intellectuals (specifically those involved in the drafting of articles published in cultural magazines) as a group, the European Union was mainly from the perspective of Euro-realists because their attitude could be categorized as 'realistic but critical of the EU and European integration overall' ([9]). However, by the beginning of the 20th century, the Romanian intellectual attitude displayed new tendencies, as the intellectual perception has undergone a number of changes. A part of the newer intellectual generation displayed more Pro-European views – Adrian Cioroianu, Constantin Rudnitchi, Victor Neumann and others presented Europe in a lesser critical manner, counteracting the inferiority complex. However, the opinion remained essentially critical and applied to the needs of Romania.

4. Conclusions

To conclude with, even though the Romanian political factor has considered the European Union the only possibility for the post-communist period and thus rendering all its efforts into obtaining the accession, the intellectual elite has proven itself to stand its own ground so that the public may be properly informed of the challenges that laid ahead. This fact is easily demonstrated by analysis of the articles selected for the study. The advantages, the disadvantages and the problems that were to appear were accurately described in many articled.

The main fields of interest for the Romanian intellectual elite were the institutional Europe and establishing Romania's adherence to the European continent.

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Turks' Image in the Romanian History Textbooks, in the Post-Communist Period

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Abstract. The study aims to identify, based on a semantic analysis applied to the educational texts, the main national stereotypes applied to Turks, created and perpetuated by the history textbooks used in the post-communist period. In order to achieve a systematic analysis of the educational texts, we have identified the major themes that address or just transit the Ottoman or Turkish history, which are reflecting the structure of the study: the Creation and Expansion of the Ottoman Empire, Christianity versus Islam, the Fight of the Romanian Principalities against the Ottomans during the 14th-18th Centuries, the Eastern Question, the Phanariot Century, the Fight for Liberation of the Peoples from the Ottoman Empire – the Revolution of 1821, the War of Independence.

Keywords: stereotypes, history textbooks, Turks, ethnocentrism, Ottoman Empire, post-communist Romania

Introduction ([1])

The study aims to identify, based on a semantic analysis applied to the educational texts, the main national stereotypes applied to Turks, created and perpetuated by the history textbooks used in the post-communist period. In order to achieve a systematic analysis of the educational texts, we have identified the major themes that address or just transit the Ottoman or Turkish history, a categorization which served to simplify and systematize our analysis. From the methodological point of view, it is necessary to differentiate between the alternative history books introduced in 1996 in secondary schools, and in 1999 in high schools and the unique books used in the first half of the '90s. However, we must mention that we have not made a separate analysis of the unique history books used before the introduction of the alternative books in 1996 and in 1999. Seeing that large topics related to Turks' image and identified in the texts overlap to a great extent, obviously with some exceptions, the books are differentiated by the type of approach used for these topics, herein discussed.

The Creation and Expansion of the Ottoman Empire

The first information on the Turks in the post-communist history books refer to their geographical origins, located in Central Asia. The first contact of students with the Turkish civilization and with the beginnings of the Ottoman State can be summarized in an omnipresent chronological picture, which includes, with small variations, the following elements: the Islamization of Turkic tribes after the 7th century, the creation of the Seljuq Turkish state in the 11th century, its partition into several states, after three centuries of domination over Asia Minor, culminating with the election, as head of one of these states, of the emir Osman I or Othman (1299-1327) – a structure which will be the basis of the future state, taking over the etymology of its founder's name – Ottoman (Bălețoiu et al. 2008, 67).

Educational texts gradually focus on the topic of the Ottoman advancement in the Balkans and then continue with the topic of national unity and of the Ottoman resistance, these being essential aspects of the development and projection of the Romanian national consciousness.

In spite of its approach and importance in the context of universal history, and of its longevity, the Ottoman Empire, more precisely its creation and expansion, has been presented for four hundred years in a limited space. For example, it is a two-page lesson compared to the next lesson on the *Creation and Development of Romanian Medieval States*, covering four pages (Bichman et al. 1992, 232-235). At this level, the quantitative aspect is a message indicator of the importance and place of that period in the chronology and importance of universal history, and of the place that the receiver, i.e. the student,

([1]) Research for this paper was supported by CNCS-UEFISCSU, PN-II-RU-TE-2012-3-0077.

must grant to this topic in his/her global historical knowledge.

As we said, the presentation of the beginning of the Ottoman state coagulates around two interrelated topics that explain each other, and that include military dimensions of the Turkish image, i.e. the creation and the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The basic idea, which also can be detected in the lesson titles, is the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The affirmation and reaffirmation of the *expansion-conquest* concept represents the essence of the central message deriving from the text, which indicates the main attribute of the Ottoman state, and actually the essence of its creation. Taking into account that we are mainly talking about textbooks for the 5th grade, we should note that they represent the first contact of students with the history of Turks. Therefore the texts induce the idea that the Ottoman state was created through the conquest of certain territories in Asia Minor, and that the Turkish expansion took place through the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula, of the Byzantine Empire, of new states in Africa, Asia, and Europe. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 (Băluțoiu *et al*. 2008, 68) is considered to be one of the most essential moments which contrastively marks the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the fierce advancement of the Ottoman Empire in the perimeter of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as the irreversible penetration of this space in the Ottoman political and cultural area.

The emphasis of the factual history leads to a delineation of the basic hypostasis of Turks, the Ottoman state. This implies a general image of the Turks, which comes down to this abstract political notion. More rarely, but in an identifiable way, historical texts refer to the group of Ottoman Turks, which is delineated as a collectivity. Therefore, we can say that the historical narrative is valuated around two basic entities, one state, political, abstract – **the Ottoman state** and one related to the group – **the Ottoman Turks**.

The Ottoman State

The portrayal of the Ottoman state is built exclusively on its military dimension, emphasizing the exclusively warlike preoccupations of the Ottoman state, confusing it with the idea of army organization and of conquest, as a major preoccupation. Within this hypostasis, we note that the political-military generalization is doubled by a tendency to personalize the Ottoman state, by presenting some state, military personalities of the time. This orientation is also reinforced visually, through figurative representations, providing an image of the abstract notion of the Ottoman state, while remaining strictly in the political and military area. These confirm and visually reinforce the autocratic nature of the Ottoman state and the portraits of sipahis and janissaries reinforce the military, warlike nature of the Ottoman society and state.

The portrayals of personalities can be considered standardized; they are not individualized and they serve their original purpose, namely asserting the militaristic and autocratic nature of the state. An example is that after presenting the personality of sultan Mehmet II on half of a page, insisting on his military career, and on some aspects of his personality and physical appearance, thus trying to individualize him, the question accompanying the text marks the idea induced to students by the authors, directing in this way the selection of the memorization process: *Why was Mehmet II called the Conqueror?*, which reiterates the idea of the warlike, militarist nature (Băluțoiu *et al*. 2008, 68).

The Group Image - Ottoman Turks

The group image attributed to Turks is also structured on a military dimension, this time generating ethno-psychological valuations. We can identify human-moral considerations, which are obviously also connected to the communicated basic concept – expansion by conquest.

The texts indirectly induce the idea of the deceivable, mean nature of Turks, by using in several lessons the verb *to take advantage of*, in the context of explaining the beginning of the expansion in the Balkans, which automatically generates the idea of the opportunistic nature of Ottomans, this being one of the few situations where the Ottoman Turks appear in the text represented as a group, while preferring for the rest the above presented concept, that of the Ottoman state. Thus, taking advantage of the lack of political unity and of the fights between the Balkan states, they conquered many territories, turning Bulgaria into a pashalic and Serbia into a vassal state (Băluțoiu et al. 2008, 69).

The predatory nature, cruelty, inclination to make a living by depriving others result also implicitly from two recurring lesson topics related to Turks: the organization of the Ottoman army and the tribute of blood. An example is the definition given by a universal history textbook for the 5th grade, from 1992.

‘Janissaries (new bands) came from the most beautiful and healthy children of the conquered people (Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Albanians, Bosnians), given as a tribute. They were raised in a spirit of sacrifice and dedication to the sultan and to Mohammedan religion’ (Bichman et al. 1992, 229). We can identify another similar example in the 6th grade history book from 1999. ‘The Turkish army, a true war machine, was made of riders (sipahis) and foot soldiers (janissaries). Infantry soldiers were recruited from among young people offered as tribute of blood by the Christian states conquered by the Ottoman Porte’ (Pippidi et al. 1999, 50).

The military dimension is the one which indirectly outlines in the reader's mind the origin environment of the otherness represented by the Turks. Although the cultural or social perspective on the Ottoman Empire is only shortly presented, the exclusively military presentation of Ottomans and the prevalent presence of the abstract state of the Ottoman Empire suggest a warlike society. As shown in the educational texts, emphasizing the importance of the organization and efficiency of the Ottoman army, the centrality of the sultan's personality, both indicating a militarized, autocratic state, the expansion desire and actions, together with the visual component, usually presenting ritual scenes from the Sultan's Court, fighting scenes and depictions of the army contingents, all these talk to the student about a warrior society strongly militarized and rigorously hierarchized.

Christianity versus Islam

Another approach of the beginning of the Ottoman state is based on the religious dimension, which automatically implies a dichotomous perspective: Christianity versus Islam. Starting with the chapter titles such as *Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire* (Băluțoiu et al. 2008, 66), and of the related lessons – *The Ottoman Empire. Christian Europe and Islam*, there is a message on the opposition between the two parts of the historical narrative by repeatedly suggesting the religious antinomy between the Ottoman Empire and Europe at the political level, overlapped by the religious antinomy Islam/pagan and Christianity. This idea is repeated throughout the lessons, by subtitles such as *Christian Europe and Islam* (Băluțoiu *et al*. 2008, 70) or *Christian Europe and the Muslim World* (Scurtu *et al*. 2004, 90). Within this dimension we notice the overlapping and connection between Islam and the Ottoman expansion, defined as the greatest danger befalling on Christian Europe (Scurtu *et al*. 2004, 90). A textbook from 1998 chooses to explain the expansion and the Ottomans' warlike nature only from a religious perspective, as a consequence of their belonging to the Muslim religion, saying that: ‘Islamic religion divided the world into two, the House of Islam or the House of Peace, which included the Islamic nations, and the House of War, or of infidels. This latter included people with a religion other than the Islamic one and had to be conquered by the Ottomans. This explains the warlike character of the Ottomans and their unceasing battles against Christians’ (Vulpe *et al*. 1999, 53).

The term of crusade is explained in the same context, being defined as an action for banishing the Muslims from Europe (Vulpe *et al*. 1999, 53), a term which will be abundantly used in the context of a vastly approached topic, i.e. the fight of the Romanian Principalities against the Ottomans. Explaining the idea of crusade also occasions the visual consolidation of the Christianity-Islam (including the Ottomans) antinomy, an example being the painting of the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher from Jerusalem by the Muslims.

The Fight of the Romanian Principalities against the Ottomans during the 14th-18th Centuries

The fight of the Romanian Principalities against the Ottomans, for preserving their independence and national unity, represents the core of the historical narrative of the period between the 14th and 18th centuries, becoming a place of national memory, where the historical personalities of the period and their battles against the Turks are turned into core symbols of the national consciousness, by force of the attributes with which they are vested in the history books. Therefore we can say that the fight against the Ottomans is a central topic, indispensable for the first and the second generation of history books, appearing as a defining element of the Romanian identity in the medieval period.

The 14th – 16th Centuries

Within this topic, the Turk, in its two hypostases, as a group – *Turks* and as a state – the *Ottoman Empire*, is the image of the absolute enemy, ‘who, through his robbery and conquering policy’ (Pascu *et al*. 1997, 95), represents a ‘serious threat to the independent political essence of the Romanian Principalities’

(Daicoviciu *et al*. 1994, 104). Such direct statements are characteristic for the first generation of post-communist textbooks, as the alternative textbooks insist on explaining the situation of the Romanian Principalities, resulting from the international context of the time, which clearly emphasizes the statute of the Ottoman Empire as an ascending military power and the problem of its territorial expansion as a stringent issue within the international relations of the Romanian Principalities.

'The history of the Romanian Principalities takes place, between the 14th and the 15th centuries, in a complicated international context. It is marked by the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and by the sufferings suffered from the Christian kingdoms – Poland and Hungary who were trying to subordinate the Romanian Principalities and to expand their control in the areas of the Lower Danube and in the Balkan Peninsula' (Dumitrescu *et al*. 2008, 103).

The fact that the Romanian Principalities entered under Ottoman suzerainty in the 14th century is explained around an equation that is omnipresent in the post-communist history books: **unequal balance of powers – capitulations – tribute – suzerainty – autonomy** (Cârțână *et al*. 2000, 37). Its first component, the unequal balance of powers, which particularly refers to the numerical inferiority of the Romanians, has a justificative role. The fact that Romanians obtained some political and diplomatic victories against the Ottomans, despite this inequality, fulfills a compensating role for the self-image of the Romanians, the preferred term in many second generation textbooks being that of *asymmetric conflict* (Dumitrescu *et al*. 1999, 42*)*, taken over from the works of the historian Florin Constantiniu.

The conclusion of Capitulations, the acceptance of the Ottoman suzerainty, the payment of the tribute to the Porte and the maintenance of internal autonomy instead is a recurrent unit, where the signs of a form of submission are counterbalanced by elements of pride and national dignity – the internal autonomy.

'Romanian Principalities kept their sovereignty and state organization. But they were forced to accept, under an undeniable superiority of the Turks, the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, materialized in the payment of a tribute (haraci), which expressed only a ransom for peace, and not another form of dependence' (Bălețoiu *et al*. 2008, 71).

The fight against the Ottomans, described as a continuous and constant effort throughout the 14th-16th centuries, coagulates around the personalities of the Romanian leaders of the time, as the lessons related to this subject of the anti-Ottoman resistance are actually a broad and detailed presentation of the pantheon of historical-heroic characters of the time: Mircea cel Bătrân, Alexandru cel Bun, Iancu de Hunedoara, Vlad Țepeș, tefan cel Mare and culminating with Mihai Viteazul. The textbooks use the individual image for enhancing the politico-military actions undertaken by princes, which may be considered an essential characteristic concerning the approach and structuring of the lessons treating the battles with the Turks. Some examples are the battle of Rovine of Mircea cel Bătrân (1394), the battle of Belgrade of Iancu de Hunedoara (1456), the night attack from 1462 of Vlad Țepeș, the battle of Vaslui of tefan cel Mare (1475) (Manea *et al*. 1997). In this context, a prince archetype is outlined, a pattern-model, endowed with military and moral qualities, a pole of the fight against Ottomans. Through their acts of bravery and perfect human personality they are endowed with, in the text, princes intermingle with the political and regional identity of the Romanian Principalities and represent the dichotomic element of referential operations, for the delineation of the image of Turks/Ottoman Empire. From the structural point of view, we can identify some basic dimensions, each coagulating around some ideas, expressions, many of them being transformed, through and excessive repetition, into identical forms, clichés and stereotypes.

The human dimension. If self-image is individualized by focusing on historical figures, endowed with qualities such as patriotism, the spirit of justice, bravery, perspicacity, diplomatic and military skills, the image of Turks emerges in contrast with the Romanian princes. At this level, we identify the trend of personifying the image of Turks through the standardized figures of sultans, present both in texts, and especially at the visual level and representing the archetype of the conqueror and supreme autocrat. These images are indeed placed in contrast with the image of the Romanian princes, but, at the same time, they visually consolidate the ideas of the educational text such as the Ottoman state – as a militarist state, the Ottoman society – as a warrior society.

In the two hypostases mentioned above, as a group and as a state, Turks are invested with attributes such as the spirit of and the

preoccupations for conquest, invasion (Pascu *et al*. 1997, 95), aggression (Daicoviciu *et al*. 1994, 105) or by integrating them in lexical formulas introduced in the lesson texts, like ‘peoples threatened by the Turks’ (Pascu *et al*. 1997, 95), or a ‘serious danger’ (Daicoviciu *et al*. 1994, 105), thus outlining their exclusive and unilateral image of the enemy. The second generation of the textbooks prove to be more balanced in dosing the attributes used in the authors' texts, for Turks/the Ottoman Empire, but, in their case, another characteristic is identified. In theory, they use a practice that can provide a multiple perspective on the studied period. For example, in a 2004 manual, the actual text of the lesson is completed by sources, official documents of the time. Thus, within the lesson on the reign of tefan cel Mare, for exemplifying the support requested by the prince to the Christian princes of Europe against the Ottomans, authors quote the text of the *tefan cel Mare's letter to the Christian princes*: ‘(...) and I tell you that the infidel king of Turks has been for a long time and still is the loser of the entire Christendom, and every day he is thinking about how he could submit and destroy Christendom. (...) Hearing and seeing all that, we took our swords and with the help of our Lord, God almighty, we went against the enemies of Christendom...’ (Scurtu *et al*. 2004, 98). In order to avoid a decontextualization, we must note that the textbook also presents the Ottoman perspective, exemplified by a text of the chronicler Kemal-Paşa, on the battle of Vaslui, who calls the army of tefan – ‘the army of giaours with a wicked nature, which moved off like a hurricane and like a strong wind causing catastrophes (...)’ (Scurtu *et al*. 2004, 98). Indeed, we can see that these sources communicate the conflicting relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian Principalities, being an expression of the official opinions and policies of the time. However, the use of these textbooks as opinion makers has the power to transform the political, ideological and religious conflicts dominant during that particular historical period into present, current attitudes. This feature is also reinforced by the absence from the historical picture of the Ottoman period, of the economic, social, cultural, administrative and even religious perspective, on the relationships existing within the provinces or vassal territories of the Ottoman Empire (Mantran 2001). Neglecting these issues and balancing the educational text on the factual, conflicting component result into fixing the student's final perception on the Romanian-Turkish military antagonism.

The politico-military dimension is combined with ***the religious one.*** We can notice the dichotomous image of the Turks, resulting both from the political-military antagonism, and from ranging the Turks as pagans compared to the Christian Romanians. The two types of opposition derive to a large extent from the collocation *Gate of Christendom* (Băluțoiu *et al*. 2008, 72*)* assigned through the actions of the princes of the Romanian Principalities, which puts them on the undeniable position of *defender of the Occident*, in contrast with the Ottoman Empire, which is outlined as the danger which threatens Christendom (Cârțână *et al*. 2000, 39). Thus, the anti-Ottoman resistance gets an *European significance*, by the fact that the Romanian Principalities assumed the position of an outpost of Christendom on the Danube (Dumitrescu *et al*. 1999, 104), an idea constantly repeated, and which is mainly revealing for deciphering the meaning attributed to the leit-motif of the ‘battles with the Turks’ (Boia 2000, 233), in relation to their own self-image, as it is projected in the Romanian consciousness.

Thus, through Iancu de Hunedoara's Victory from Belgrade, the penetration of the Turks on the Danube to Central Europe was delayed for a while (Cârțână *et al*. 2000, 39). Mircea cel Bătrân's victory from Rovine and tefan cel Mare's victory had a European echo, turning Romanians into ‘the most important factor of the fight against the Ottomans in these regions’ (Bichman 1992, 235). All these, given the fact that the historiography of this issue talks about the advancement of the Ottoman armies, on the Belgrade-Buda-Vienna line, and then to Rome (Gemil 1991, 170), which implied the eccentricity of the Romanian Principalities, in relation to this axis (Boia 2000, 235-236). Among the few counterexamples exposing, to this extent, a balanced perspective connected to the historical truth, there is a textbook for the 12th grade, published in 1999. While, as we already said, most textbooks depict the Romanian Principalities as a bastion for defending Christendom, situated on the central line of the Ottoman advancement into Christian Europe, the textbook in question states that the Romanian Principalities were not on the strategic advancement direction towards Central Europe –which was Vienna – but somewhere at the edge of this direction (Dumitrescu *et al.* 1999, 32).

We should note one aspect in the relationship between self-image and this

important chapter of our national history, through its importance for Europeans and universal history, i.e. *battles against the Turks*. More precisely, the defeats in these battles against the Ottomans are also due to the ingratitude of the Occident, the abandon of the allies or the refusal of Christian states to provide the Romanian Principalities with military support in difficult times. For example, in the case of Mircea cel Bătrân, 'the lack of a real support in the fight against the Ottoman Empire, both from Poland and Hungary, made him ... accept to pay tribute to sultan Mehmet I (1415)' (Dumitrescu 2008, 41).

The numerical inferiority-superiority antinomy is part of the same line of depiction, pertaining to the **military dimension** of the Turkish image. The acceptance of the Ottoman suzerainty is, as we have already stated above, a result of the unequal balance, of the disparity of power between the two parties, the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire (Bălețoiu *et al*. 2008, 72).

The Eastern Question

Although a decisive and important issue in the development of the international relations during the 18th century, the Eastern Question as a context, at least in the first generation textbooks of the post-communist period, plays second fiddle. The emphasis is on the content elements of this issue, on the deployment of this period, without them being necessarily presented as such: the Phanariot rules in the Romanian Principalities, the Russian-Austrian-Ottoman wars, the battles for national liberation of the late 19th century, from South-Eastern Europe. There is no clear contextualization in terms of the international relations, the image of the Ottoman Empire being outlined only in relation to the particular developments mentioned. The terms preferred for describing the situation of the Ottoman state are those of internal crisis or decline of the Ottoman Empire, marked by the parallel affirmation of the two great empires, the Habsburg and Russian Empires (Daicoviciu *et al*. 1994, 153). The most complete explanation which can be found in these textbooks is that of a consequence of the military defeats suffered by the Ottomans, complemented by the popular riots and by the rebellions of some military units (Manea *et al*. 1997, 382). In the case of the second generation of textbooks, we can see a change of approach. The Ottoman Empire is predominantly presented in relation to the emancipation tendencies of the Romanian Principalities, using the phrase of 'the sick man of Europe' *(*Manea *et al*. 1997, 382) (Hanioğlu 2008, 79) widely spread in that era. The merit of these textbooks is that of defining the Eastern Question, coinciding with the Ottoman Empire during this period, by providing the necessary elements for a complete, comprehensive and educational definition. For example, we clearly chose one of the most relevant examples of a balanced exposure of this issue:

'The defeat of the Turks under the walls of Vienna in 1683 and the peace of Karlowitz (1699) marked the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The old content of the *Eastern Question* (the danger represented by the Ottoman expansion to Christian Europe) was replaced with a new one (the difficulty of maintaining the European political balance in the context of the Ottoman decays and of the Russian rise). The object of the fierce competition in the 18th century between the Habsburgs and the Romanovs was the partitioning of the Europe's *sick man*'s territories. A series of wars troubled South-East Europe and led to territorial losses for the Ottomans' (Cârțână *et al*. 2000, 50).

The Phanariot Century

The lessons on Phanariot rules usually begin, especially in the first-generation textbooks, with the anti-Ottoman actions of princes Dimitrie Cantemir and Constantin Brâncoveanu, with the episode of this latter's killing together with his sons by the Turks, and the suppression by the Porte of local rulers as punishment and, as a consequence, the establishment of Phanariot rulers (Manea *et al*. 1997, 325).

The Phanariote epoch strengthens the image of the Turks as an oppressor, rapacious state, which survives by dispossessing others, with an emphasize on such elements like the suzerainty-vassalage relation between the Turks and the Romanian Principalities, the tightening of the Ottoman domination and pressure on these latter, accompanied by the penetration of the Greek elements. In the presentation of this period, the image of the Turks is a predominantly institutionalized one using the appellative of Porte. 'Phanariot rules represent a continuous aggravation of the Ottoman domination over the Principalities... Obligations to the Porte were bigger and bigger. Reign confirmation taxes (the mucarer), occasional gifts (peskes) and obligations in kind (wood, sheep, grains) are added up to tributes, especially in wartime. They were not clearly established, a new request could have intervened

anytime from the Porte, and not paying it attracted the loss of the throne and sometimes even the loss of life' (Vulpe *et al*. 1999, 80).

Taking the Romanian Principalities their right to appoint local rulers (Murgescu 1999), and granting this privilege to the Phanariots of Greek origin, also leaded to a negative change of focus on the ethnic group of Greeks. However, the Turks remained the central enemies, the main responsibles for the Phanariote epoch, one of the most noxious periods of national history.

'Autonomy was severely affected by the sultan appointed rulers from among the Greeks or Hellenized Christians from the Phanar in Constantinople, reduced to the status of simple servants of the Porte, any foreign policy initiative for their own use was canceled, the essential responsibilities of domestic institutions were lost and the economic obligations to the Turks were continuously increasing' (Cârțână *et al*. 2000, 51).

We may notice a significant difference between the two generations of textbooks in the evaluation of the influences of the Phanariot century on civilization and mentalities. Textbooks used immediately after 1990 admit an orientalization phenomenon of the Romanian society only at the level of the political class, saying that 'the majority of the population practiced a traditional lifestyle largely unchanged' (Manea *et al*. 1997, 387). On the other hand, the second generation textbooks provide a broad perspective on the orientalization phenomenon, pointing out the vertical influences on the Romanian society and civilization, from architecture, clothing, culinary arts to attitudes and behaviors, indicating at the same time 'Romanians' effort to detach from this model and to orient, especially from the ideological and cultural point of view, towards the Western European model' (Barnea *et al*. 2005, 46). An example for the approach of the Romanian attitudes and of their subsequent reference to the Turks and the Orient, as a whole, is the textbook of Alexandru Barnea, published in 1999. He uses some important works of the current historiography as Lucian Boia's *Istorie şi mit în conştiința românească* (*History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*) (1997), which explains the blaming of the neighboring peoples and cultures as a result of the rupture with the East, decided by the elite of the 19th century. Using the same work as a source, the textbook concisely exemplifies the perception on the Turks and on the Ottoman domination in the Romanian society: 'Turks have their share of guilt in the evolution of Romanians: Salwars, some very large pants, as we know, the enter with long and floating sleeves, over which they put on another coat with split sleeves or a giubea with large and short sleeves, all these bear the mark of a life of ease and idleness' (Barnea *et al*. 2005, 47). The multiple-perspective approach of the subject is completed by the exercise section. Instead of the absolute truth assertions, students are asked to bring some pro and con arguments in support of the examples offered by Lucian Boia in his book (Barnea *et al*. 2005, 47).

The Fight for Liberation of the Peoples from the Ottoman Empire - the Revolution of 1821, the War of Independence

Throughout the 19th century, the anti-Ottoman fight coagulates around two moments of national history: Tudor Vladimirescu's uprising of 1821, culminating with the War of Independence of 1877-1878.

The Revolution of 1821 led by Tudor Vladimirescu is placed within the fight against the Ottoman rule in the Eastern and South-Eastern parts of the continent (Cristescu *et al*. 1992, 7), where the fight is updated in the context of the anti-Ottoman movements of the local leaders against the center. If the first-generation textbooks insist on the fact that the objectives of the revolution are directed in the sense of the idea of national emancipation (Cristescu *et al*. 1992, 14), the textbooks published after 1999 note that beyond the anti-Ottoman project, the movement of 1821 was a response of the Romanian society to the problems it faced. 'It observed the changing mentalities (homeland is the people and not the tribe of robbers) and the need to restructure the state outlined in a coherent program (the Demands of the Romanian People). The state must be based on people sovereignty and the laws ordered without its consent had to be cancelled. The ruler had to be chosen by the country and the boyars' privileges had to be abolished... (Cârțână *et al*. 2000, 58).

The War of Independence is presented in the general context of the disintegration of the multinational states and of the creation of national states, on the background of the assertion of nationalist ideology, in the second half of the 19th century (Barnea *et al*. 2005, 60). In the context of national history, authors insist on the developments of the Eastern Question, i.e. the anti-Ottoman movements in South-Eastern Europe, Russia's involvement in this context, its place in this political-diplomatic and military equation, and the emancipation tendencies of the

Romanian Principalities under Ottoman occupation (Vulpe *et al*. 1999, 98).

As an obvious turning point is the War of Independence of 1877-1878. In this context, the first generation textbooks insist on the idea of fight against the Ottoman domination of the conquered peoples. Both in these textbooks and in the new generation ones, the military confrontations of the war in which Romania participated together with Russia represent the focus of lessons, enhancing the militarized image of Turks and decisively contributing in the formation of an antagonistic perception of the students. They insist on the military training and on the persistence of the Ottoman resistance in order to emphasize Romanians acts of courage. The conquest of Grivița redoubt on the front of Plevna is a symbol of Romanian heroism and of the triumph of independence against the Ottoman rule.

Regarding the **image of the modern Turkey** in the post-communist history books, we can agree to this effect with the analysis made by Luminița Murgescu in her article on the image of Turks in the 19th and 20th century history books. She notes that the Ottoman Empire enjoys a much wider attention in the Romanian history books compared to the modern Turkey. She explains this through the Ottoman influence exerted on Romanian history, for almost five centuries (Murgescu 1999, 284). This pattern also expands in the case of history books published after 1990, where Turkey, heir of the Ottoman Empire, occupies a more limited space, since it no longer plays such an important and direct role regarding our national history. We can identify some historical moments, mentioned in most history books: Turkey's participation in World War I, the rejection of the Treaty of Sèvres strongly affecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Turkey, the national movement led by Kemal Atatürk (Barnea *et al*. 2005, 86), the imposition of the Treaty of Lausanne, the creation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, along with its participation together with Romania in the Balkan Entente of 1930 (Oane *et al*. 2001, 63).

Conclusions

In order to draw out a conclusive comparative analysis of the image of Turks in Romanian post-communist history books, we consider it is imperative to adopt an approach using the perspective of the political and legal status of the Romanian Principalities during the Ottoman administration. Only such an approach can reveal any interrogations in this regard, and the historical, social and political explanation of the practiced discourse vis-à-vis the Ottoman past.

Thus, in the case of the Romanian Principalities we notice their status as autonomous states under Ottoman suzerainty, over the 14th-19th centuries. We may say that, for the presentation of this period in history books, the antagonistic perspective is defining, being based on two characteristic discourse components: the ethnocentrism and blaming of the other, i.e. of the Turks. Thus, with few exceptions, the core coordinate of the historical-educational narrative on the Ottoman period is the relationship between us (the Romanians) and the others (the Turks), a direction that can be seen, for example, in the tendency to integrate the Turks' presentation in the national history, in a direct correlation with their own history. An exception to this are the parts presenting the origin and expansion of the Ottoman state, but the emphasis on the factual perspective and depersonalization, counterbalanced by the militarized portrait of the Turks prepares their subsequent transition to another hypostasis. That is the hypostasis of the perpetual enemy in which Turks/Ottomans are reflected within the lessons dedicated to the Ottoman period of the Romanian Principalities.

In conclusion, one of the essential characteristics of the Romanian history books derives from the relations with the Empire, more precisely, the separation from the Ottoman Empire. Thus, we can see a tendency of denying their appurtenance, by overbidding the special autonomous statute of the Romanian Principalities within the Ottoman Empire. Also, in this regard, we note the antagonistic placement in their relation to the Turks and the non-recognition of the Ottoman heritage, of cultural and social elements that could be points of congruence between the current Romanian society, the Ottoman culture and other Balkan communities.

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Georgian musical art in the context of European and non-European musical culture (The Case of Globalization in Georgia)

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Abstract. The present paper focuses on the ongoing transformation of Georgian musical art under the influence of globalization. In particular, it examines both popular music and folk music in the cultural context of both traditional and innovative music.

Musical culture, as it is dealt with in this paper, consists of folk, classical, and modern music. Modern music depends on a connection with past musical cultures, as it builds on the foundation of the musical traditions that preceded it. The 21st century is characterized by new tendencies and styles, and the field of music is no exception. Modern musical culture represents a mixture of different tendencies, thoughts and worldviews, and globalization is a key factor in their development and dissemination. In modern times, this topic is very significant. Researchers take contradictory stances as a result of different perceptions of and attitudes towards the process of globalization.

In contemporary culture, one very important issue is determining and defining the influence of globalization on the cultural sphere. Is this influence destructive for national identity and values? How does globalization influence modern musical culture? From this angle, this report will analyze the synthesis of traditional Georgian folklore and different musical trends in jazz, rock, and pop music.

The analysis of globalization in 20st – century musical culture requires complex consideration. This will be conveyed by the study of modern musical tendencies and their structural analysis. From this perspective, Georgian traditional culture, which is undergoing certain changes in the post-modern epoch, seems to be very interesting. We consider combinations of folk and jazz elements and entirely new folk jazz bands to be representative for this change. We would also like to mention that the aesthetics of Georgian folk jazz is built upon the search for enrichment of the musical-technical side through the combination of folk, jazz, and the so-called 'world music'.

Georgian popular music is abreast with the current musical tendencies in Western pop culture. It is important to note that there can be found in popular music the transformation of folk music, which is used in its entirety and in the form of citations, giving a specific musical touch to the composition.

Keywords: culture, globalization, musical art, 21st century, world music

Musical culture is a multiform phenomenon, which embraces music of all styles and trends. Modern music cannot be imagined without cultural memory, because cultural memory is a link connecting modern and past musical cultures, whereas modern music is being formed and developed on the basis of the past and by taking the past into consideration. For us, the 21st century is the period of searches, artistic tendencies, the artistic decade of the generalization of style. Modern musical culture is a synthesis of various trends, thoughts, outlooks of the world, in the development and spreading of which the process of globalization plays an important role. Globalization is a phenomenon, characteristic to all the spheres of present-day epoch. Discussion of this issue is most urgent nowadays. The positions of researchers are contradictory, a fact which is caused by their non-uniform apprehension of the globalization process.

Some researchers consider that the globalization process is the main reason for losing national culture and peculiarities, the result of which being a global cosmopolitan culture, where everything national is lost (Smith 2008, 198). Other researchers think that the process of globalization is unable to change national features of culture and its diversity as globalization aims at making different cultures grow familiar among themselves. There also is one more view, according to which the currently ongoing processes serve to merging national cultures and the formation of a new multi-

national global cultural network (Gills 2006, 20). Thus, it becomes apparent that, as a result of globalization, national cultures experience serious changes. It is interesting to see how these changes look like and how they are reflected in different cultures? The works of G. Holton, S. Huntington, B. Barber, U. Beck, and others are dedicated to this very issue. In the opinion of the British sociologist A. Smith, global culture involves three peculiar features, namely: 'university, technical capacity and existence without time' (Smith 1995, 20).

Within modern culture, it is of great importance to make clear the impact of globalization and how it is actually felt in the sphere of culture, whether its influence is a destructive force for national cultural peculiarities and values and how globalization is perceived in modern musical culture.

One of the most important issues for modern musical culture is the 20th - century musical-intonational thought, which changes in compliance with the new cultural prevalent features, caused by the strengthening of multi-national relationships in the 20th - century music ('East and West' and so on), in the past and present dialogue among different musical systems, through the inter-relation of various cultures and their assimilation, by the synthesis of different trends, styles, and genres. From this viewpoint, musical culture is of great interest. Georgian musical culture has absorbed elements of different musical cultures and has not lost its national peculiarities. Because of its geographical location, Georgia is placed on the border between East and West. Consequently, along the centuries it has been the economic and cultural hub of Transcaucasia, which involved the spreading and existence of elements of two cardinally different cultures (Kavtaradze 2003, 508). In the meantime, representatives of other nations have also been living on the territory of Georgia: Armenians, Azers, Abkhazians, Jews, Kurds, Kists, Ossetians, and Russians, all of whom possessing their own sub-cultures. Proceeding from this, it can be said that Georgia is a multi-cultural country, which is different from others due of its ethnic multiplicity and diversity. It should be mentioned, however, that it has not lost its traditional national peculiarities, a fact proved by Georgian musical folklore. From this viewpoint, modern Georgian ethno music is very interesting, being a synthesis of both traditional and popular music.

It should be also mentioned that the yearly festival 'Art-Gene' plays an important role in the development of modern Georgian ethno music. Ethno musicians from different countries participate in the festival. Parallel to traditional music, this festival includes concerts of popular music as well.

Among modern Georgian ethno musical bands we can distinguish: 'Zumba da Chveneburebi' ('Zumba and our people'), '33a', which are the most popular within the Georgian musical space. Both bands are characterized by creative individuality and unite the elements of Georgian folklore tradition, rock, and reggae elements. They use traditional folk instruments and also guitar, bass-guitar, wind, and percussion instruments.

The band 'Shin' enjoys a special place among Georgian ethno musical bands, and deals with elements of jazz, folklore, oriental, and western cultures. The word 'Shin' means in Georgian 'the way home'. For many musicians, the way signifies the return to the beginnings, national culture, and the age-old traditions. The band members are: Zaza Miminoshvili (guitar, panduri, vocal), Zurab Gagnidze (electronic and acoustic bass, vocal), Mamuka Gaganidze (percussion, vocal). The 'Shin' musicians amalgamate Georgian folklore and jazz, elements of Flamenco, ancient oriental, and modern European music. It is difficult to define in one single word that musical trend, in which this band falls-fusion? Folk jazz? World music? New age? The 'Shin' musicians themselves call it 'Iberian-Caucasian' style.

The band 'Shin' was founded in 1998 by emigrant musicians working in Germany. It should be mentioned that the group 'Shin' is not the first attempt in the process of searching for national music and modern forms. In 1990, the same musicians founded the group 'Adio', which was quite an interesting experiment in Georgian musical space. It was a synthesis of Georgian national and modern music, and a search for novelty. It can be said that the band 'Adio' was the first band of the ethno jazz trend in the Georgian musical space.

Ethno jazz is one of the several directions in jazz, which is apprehended as being the quintessence of world musical traditions. It has got its own definite socio-cultural context and aesthetics, based on national-cultural music of different peoples worldwide, formed in the course of centuries. A synthesis of tradition and modern, old and new, ethno jazz witnesses the existence of two simultaneous origins: one the one hand, a conservative origin, directed towards the past and enforcing the hereditary relationship with it, and on the other hand, a creative origin, oriented towards the future

(Kamien 1992, 583). Ethno jazz is generating new values on the basis of the cultural-historical experience of the previous generation. It should be mentioned that by basing ethnos on traditional folklore, ethno jazz is open to the cultures of the peoples; a dialogue is gaining ground among their values and traditions. On the other hand, this process is promoting the exposure of national self-identification. The national component of ethno jazz is being revealed, due to the fact that it is based on folklore. Dialectical mutual influence of traditional and innovative elements in ethno jazz is representative for national culture in the world music space.

Jazz-fusion is a musical style which combines the elements of jazz, pop, rock, reggae, funk, hip-hop, electronic, and ethnic music. Its origin is connected with the 1990s, when jazz musicians began to mix different forms and improvisational technique with electronic instruments, blues, and soul rhythms. The music of fusion is mostly instrumental. It is characterized by complex rhythm and compositions of long improvising type. As to world jazz, it is essentially synonymous to folk jazz.

As we have already mentioned, the activities of the band 'Shin' are most varied. The use of traditional folklore holds a foremost place, namely, folk song and instruments. Polyphony is the main attribute of Georgian folk song. It is characterized by free musical play, improvisation, variations, and a live creative process. Proceeding from this, we can say that the principles resembling formation of musical structures are characteristic to Georgian folklore and jazz (Tsurtsumia 2008, 626). It is the unfixed-live process of improvisational and compositional principles of development that are particularly merged. Just this specificity has become the basis of the so-called Georgian jazz original style. In the creative activity of the band 'Shin', Georgian musical folklore participates as the means for the self-expression of individual artistic will. It is this very case, when as a result of creative mastering of the folk tradition a new artistic-aesthetic value is being born. Thus, Georgian musical folklore, just like the folklore of other nations, has revealed an ability of creation in different systems of modern artistic thinking, in result of which it directly takes part in and exerts an influence on modern musical practice. First of all, the concerts of 'Shin' are of great scenic interest, where vocal polyphony is merged with different instruments and choreography. Their musical style is based on the mutual shift of melodious voices, parallelism, and polyphonic conformity. In vocal polyphony, scat is used – a specific means of jazz vocal improvisation – in the course of which voice is used for imitating a musical instrument, and where the word does not have any sensible meaning (Berliner 1994, 67). It is a musical dialogue of the question-answer type among musicians. The instrumental music of the band 'Shin' is a dialogue among cultures, which involves elements of Spanish flamenco and represents the merging of musical accompaniment, song, and dance, masterly solo guitar parts, and the strengthening of the rhythmic origins by means of applause. From the viewpoint of musical language, the sounds of modern and old folk instruments are organically merged with one another. The music of 'Shin' forms unusually harmonious melodic lines, combinations of archaic and contemporary music, expressed in the dialogue of the ancient and new, oriental and western cultures.

It is important that members of 'Shin' do not limit themselves only to concerts. They also compose music for films, theatres, cooperate with famous musicians and composers, such as: Gia Khancheli, Randy Bracker, Chaka Khan, Okay Temiz, Giora Feidman, Shankar Lal, Theodossii Spassov, Jorge Pardo, and others. In recent years, 'Shin' has implemented many interesting projects. In 2006 'Shin' had a successful appearance in the most important forum of world music, the 'Womex' in Sevilla. Then, concerts followed in many countries, winning the German competition of world music. One of their albums, 'Es ari', was recorded by the Georgian band together with a few Latvian musicians. This album was nominated as the best album in Latvia. In Stuttgart, 'Shin' has formed a new unique band, The 'Open World project', in which musicians of Argentina, Algeria, Germany, and Georgia are taking part. It may be said that the present project represents one of the best samples of musical cosmopolitism.

From the viewpoint of the problem discussed in the present paper, an interesting experiment is the 'Assa party' project of the Georgian national ballet 'Sukhishvilebi', in which with new compositions are created by making use of traditional musical elements. It is important that the formation of a new musical discourse is followed by innovations in choreography, costumes, scenic movements, and the use of elements from different national dances.

Consequently, based on the case of Georgia, it can be said that in the process of evolution and dynamics of the 20th century musical culture a new cultural 'pyramid' has been created, brought about by the context of globalization, which points to its transition to a new stage, which will be cardinally renewed and is apprehended as being different from the previous epoch.

As for the influence of globalization processes on culture, it is difficult to evaluate it from one viewpoint – positive or negative – because it contains both positive and negative elements.

In addition, globalization is the means to develop and establish the nations' place in the world, it is especially important for small nations and their cultures (Erlmann 1998, 14). This consideration is, however, quite debatable, as the threat of assimilation of cultures of small nations exists. Thus, it is expedient for us to discuss the attitude of different cultures with respect to globalization, which will facilitate us to better analyze the nature of this process, as what is acceptable for one, may be unacceptable for another. The influence of globalization on culture is positively apprehended when, as a result of the approaching and merging of separate cultures, it is their mutual enrichment that takes place, national values not being lost, whereas another culture experiences innovation and is enriched with elements of other national cultures.

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The Dialogue between the Contemporary Writer and the Bible

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Abstract: The present study analyzes the dialogue between the contemporary writer and the Scripture. We refer to the analysis of biblical quotations that exist in a text written by a contemporary Romanian writer – Livius Ciocârlie. It is about the text *Cu fața la perete* [*Facing the Wall*]; more specifically, the latest quotations from the first part of the text and the second part of the text under discussion.

The quotations are from *Ecclesiastes*, *Book of Ephesians* and the *Old Testament*. The envisaged aspects (recognition, grumbling, interpretation, searching, curiosity and the upside down reading) reveal an ingenuous and competent reader, also honest, serious and with theological knowledge. The dialogue with Bernardo Soares retains many types of interpretation. The confession of the author and the selected quotations reveal modesty, the personalization of the religious sentiment, the desire to renew the intertextual sources, the troubles of unfaithfulness and also the indirect exhortation to read the Holy Scripture.

Keywords: intertextuality, biblical quote, dialogue, Bible-literature dialogue

The Bible is a reservoir of inspiration for the current literature. Parables, proverbs or biblical narratives impregnate the literature and are often a prolific source of inspiration. The effort of the current literature to explain the *Sacred Text* is materialized in an attempt to find out the meaning of a world in a continuous change.

The present study represents an attempt to analyze the dialogue between the contemporary writer and the Scripture. We will refer to the analysis of the biblical quotations that exist in a text written by a contemporary Romanian writer – Livius Ciocârlie. It is about the text *Cu fața la perete [Facing the Wall]*; more specifically, the latest quotations from the first part of the text and the second part of the text under discussion, because the quotations of the first part of this text were the subject of another article (*The Bible – Source of Postmodern Literature. Scriptural Quotation in Contemporary Literature*), published in *Brukenthalia – Romanian Cultural History Review. Supplement of Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, no. 3, 2013, p. 180-191.

The second part of the text *Cu fața la perete [Facing the Wall]* transcribes the biblical quote seen through the eyes of Bernardo Soares. The dialogue of the contemporary writer with the sacred text leads to several conclusions that capture a valorisation of the Bible by the contemporary. We consider from the beginning that Livius Ciocârlie's text reader is an informed one, a reader who is able to establish the intertextual relationship between the two types of so different texts.

We shall deal with the modes of being of the Sacred Text itself into the text that quotes, but we shall deal also with the functions that the biblical quote has in a diaristic text, highlighting the advantages of the inclusion of such a hypotext in a literary text.

Northrop Fry entitled one of his books dedicated to the literary study of the Bible – *The Great Code. The Bible and Literature*, revealing the archetypal and paradigmatic discourse of the Bible as the fundamental codex for the imaginary of Western cultural tradition, revealed as 'an enigma at the heart of our cultural heritage, and like the great Boyg or the sphinx from Peer Gynt' (Fry 1999, 22). The starting premise of the Canadian literary critic confirms that within the territory of literature, the biblical passages are becoming *models codices* that preserves the basic configurations of the sacred.

The presence of the biblical quotations in the contemporary literature shows sensitivity and a constant desire to relate to the divinity. The sacred text is and will remain alive and challenging for the writers of all times. The coherent way in which the Bible renders the eternal themes and expresses the feeling of possessing an origin justifies the writers to have such a prolific dialogue with the Grand Text of mankind.

The Last biblical quotes of the first part of his book are from Apostle Paul and Ecclesiastes:

> 'The Holy Apostle Paul: <<For the weapons of our warfare *are* not carnal but mighty in God for pulling down strongholds, casting down arguments and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and being ready to punish all disobedience when your obedience is fulfilled>>. Impressive! Lenin would have talked in the same way. Oh, yes, but here it is about the faith. But Lenin did not believe? No wonder that the say <<new man >> of Paul started' (Ciocârlie 2010 a., 162).

Chapter 10: 5 speaks about the struggle of Satan against the man for the deviation from the true knowledge of God. The interpretation of Livius Ciocârlie is, through the mention of Lenin, one inside out, and by mentioning of the faith, one in the spirit of the Gospel.

It follows the chapter 12: 11 and Chapter 13: 2 of the same epistle:

> 'The Holy Apostle Paul: <<I have become a fool in boasting; [b] you have compelled me. For I ought to have been commended by you; for in nothing was I behind the most eminent apostles, though I am nothing>>. So ingenuity you cannot sympathize. But he also said: << I have told you before, and foretell as if I were present the second time, and now being absent I write [b] to those who have sinned before, and to all the rest, that if I come again I will not spare>>. He spared not even up to being a Christian. He changes only the master. The sympathy was running out' (Ciocârlie 2010 a, 164).

The exegetes of the *Holy Scripture* counted as 'madness' that Paul was to 'boast of the Lord's work in and through Him' (Moldoveanu 2001, 328), thing that didn't make him happy, but because 'to those posing as <<apostles> > and which overturned the way of the Lord and his gospel' (Moldoveanu 2001, 328) and in face of this danger, Paul used the praise that considers it 'foolishness'.

We don't want to load the memory of the readers with too many contextual details of exegetes in order to explain 'scientifically' some 'misunderstandings'. The writer's annotations are here in point of the Biblical Interpretation – 'St. Paul was like his Saviour: unchanged. How he firstly comes to the Corinthians, like it was the second time and so a third time. He is unyielding against the way of the Gospel. He doesn't leave anything unfulfilled, both in his life and in the lives of the brothers' (Moldoveanu 2001, 339).

The biblical intertext continues with verses from the *Epistle to the Galatians of the Apostle Paul* (Chapter 2: 20) and with the *Epistle to the Ephesians of the Apostle Paul* (Chapter 3: 13):

> 'The Apostle Paul: <<I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me>>' (Ciocârlie 2010, 164-165).

> 'The Apostle Paul: << Therefore I ask that you do not lose heart at my tribulations for you, which is your glory>>' (Ciocârlie 2010, 167).

And again, the *Epistle to the Ephesians* (Chapter 5: 25 and 5: 33):

> 'In the *Bible* is a lot of truth about man, I have said. There are also omissions. Paul: <<Husbands, love your wives>>. Love and duty are not even opposites. They have nothing in common. However, the chapter ends *en fanfare*: << and let the wife see that she respects her husband >>. Thanks!' (Ciocârlie 2010, 168).

Here, the interpretation of Livius Ciocârlie wants to be the one that would detect

the so-called scriptural inadvertencies, but at a careful study of the text or of the comments on the text, we find out that Livius Ciocârlie makes only a surface reading, adding the final ironic remark. 'The omissions' of the sacred text are considered by Valeriu Anania as challenging 'the uncomfortable reactions in modern social mentality, and that, for the reason that it is not understood and applied within the analogy of Christ-Church, namely love-submission'([1]).

It seems that the interpretation made by Livius Ciocârlie is not very far from the scriptural in point, but it seems to ignore the latest interpretations. The complexity of the forms that may take the biblical intertext and its annotations on the text by Livius Ciocârlie is demonstrated once again; the literature is not stopping to move beyond 'in the science of the literature.' The temporal distance seems to be cancelled; the rereading of the sacred text – always actual, the biblical intertext creates a distinct image in the current literature.

The recognition of the scriptural quotation is easier in the following pages where the author confesses exactly on the source from where he has quoted.

> 'We read the Ecclesiastes with the feeling that I should not comment and I am, however, unable to murmur. For example, I would say at most << What remains of all human labor >> and not << What remains to man of all his labor ... >> '(Ciocârlie 2010, 194).

The 'murmurings' on the edge of the sacred text prove the impossibility to keep and the accurate reading of the verse is not far from the interpretations of the experts in the domain: even a controversial move by the Jewish circles, the book of Ecclesiastes was later adopted by Christianity because it is crossed from one end to another by the 'gray thoughts of a man who finds that his whole faith in a God of justice and harmony is contradicted by the immediate human reality, which he subjected to a relentless critical examination and which did not discovers him but one certitude: << the vanity of vanities, all is vanity >> ' (Bible 2001, 848).

It continues with the same book of the *Old Testament*:

> 'Is the *Old Testament* the religion of authoritarian and vindictive Father and the *New Testament*, the Jesus loving religion? Yes and no. In *N.T.* we are taught to hate our life and in the *Old Testament* the Ecclesiastes says>: << Behold, what I have seen to be good and fitting is to eat and drink and find enjoyment in all the toil with which one toils under the sun the few days of his life that God has given him, for this is his lot. Everyone also to whom God has given wealth and possessions and power to enjoy them, and to accept his lot and rejoice in his toil—this is the gift of God>>' (Ciocârlie 2010, 195-196).

The author reads the *Bible* upside-down, interpreting and searching for a legitimate response to satisfy the curiosity of a reader ingenuous and competent at the same time. Another attempt of penetration of the Christic mystery is transcribed below:

> '<<There is a vanity that takes place on earth, that there are righteous people to whom it happens according to the deeds of the wicked, and there are wicked people to whom it happens according to the deeds of the righteous. I said that this also is vanity>>. This is true, but then why even talk about God? The answer seems to be: for human being, everything looks vanity because man does not understand God. <<Then I saw all the work of God, that man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun. However much man may toil in seeking, he will not find it out. Even though a wise man claims to know, he cannot find it out>>. If this is true, the whole speech so powerful about vanity has softened. It's not vanity, only it

([1]) *The Holy Bible: Letter of Saint Paul to the Ephessians.*
The same exegete, Valeriu Anania, believes that 'anything above (v. 21) it talks about his fear <<(against) Christ>>; the one who loves we answehim not only loving, but also with awe, as of one that inspires and deserve. Some Protestant translators offer this concessive phrase: <<respect the man>>, which, however, is far from the real meaning, because the respect for one is a cold, aloof, disengaged, feeling lacking the necessary affection in a marriage' - *Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură* [*Bible or Holy Scripture*], Bucureşti, BOR Institute, 2001.

> seems to me, because I do not understand. There's nothing so powerful, only that perhaps it would be accessible to me, <<I think, because it is absurd>>. No, I need to repeat to satiety: <<So the Lord wants, and I cannot understand>>. Faster, I would say that the Lord is surpassed by his own creation. He created the life, and life is so that, often, the righteous are rewarded as the wicked - and vice versa. If it would not happen, the life, it would soften' (Ciocârlie 2010, 195).

Further on, it requires a review of the biblical moments that the author referred to by the end of the journal: after returning ([2]) to the *Old Testament* - Isaiah 47: 3 and Isaiah 50: 6, Isaiah 53: 4, 5, 9, Isaiah 54: 15,12, 5, 8, Livius Lark says: 'I do not read the Old Testament as a holy book, I'm reading it like a great novel.' (Ciocârlie 2010a, 211). Is the confession the sample for honesty? At a first reading – yes, but the rereadings remove from the surface of the text only an apparent honesty. *The Book of Books* is reading like a novel just in some parts, many passages denoting the serious and detailed theological knowledge.

Biblical quotes that follow this confession: Isaiah 65: 12, 20 ([3]), then the question, 'What am I going through right now? At Solomon's book. To find out what's wisdom' ([4]). The literary Reading from the Book of Wisdom (Chapter 2: 24 Chapter 3: 8, 10, Chapter 10: 17 Chapter 13: 1, 9) ends the dialogue with the *Holy Scripture*. Another aspect of the biblical quotation from *Cu fața la perete* [*Facing the Wall*], consists in the reading of the sacred text through the eyes of Bernardo Soares:

> 'If I were intellectual, I would know which the connection between the *Old* and the *New Testament* is. B. S. *The gospel recommends loving our neighbor: no talks about love for man or mankind, to which anyone would be really interested.* It would be saw the original. To recommend in this context, it's funny. Or, are there the Gospels more realistic than I thought? It's more a trickery of B. S. Isaiah speaks of the hungry, the poor, the naked – which we are not close. To recommend, it does the City Hall: Do not go out in the street for a while. She has: to sweep the snow from the front of the house. Like the man or humanity << not bother us>>' (Ciocârlie 2010 a., 214).

The essential moments in the reading the *Old* and *New Testament* are cited and analyzed so they would to fit into a kind of summary approach: the parable of the lost sheep, the episode of the Last Supper, the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves, the trial of the Jesus – the Jewish-phase, etc. In this dialogue with the sacred text, the 'reply' of the author in his dialogue with Bernardo Soares seems essential:

> 'B. S.: ..... *not even know if God exists*! Not that the problem of God's existence seems important. The important thing is to be able to believe in Him' (Ciocârlie 2010 a., 130).

It is, I think, the justification of the presence of the biblical passages in his diaristic text and the origin of the existence of many types of questions (on the front or inside out) of the various Bible verses. The problem of faith becomes the 'healthy patience paradigm: it means to remain into the race >> << beyond the ubiquity of all the stumbling blocks.' (Pleşu 2012, 95).

After another confession – 'not faithful, but living under the weight of the original sin' (Ciocârlie 2010 a., 135) – a request is forthcoming a few pages later: 'I ask who is reading me, if he reads me, he should not learn anything from me.' (Ciocârlie 2010 a, 197). After going through several important moments of the *Scripture*, the author seems to have

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([2]) In the chapter *Oracle for the fall of Babylon* is told of a virgin:<<Your nakedness shall be uncovered and your disgrace shall be seen. I will take vengeance, and I will spare no one>>. The avenger can be only one. Why urging her to undress? In order to be able to take revenge? God is blamed for many things wicked!' – Livius Ciocârlie, quoted work, p. 205.

([3]) '<<I will destine you to the sword, and all of you shall bow down to the slaughter, because, when I called, you did not answer>>. God speaks as a feudal. And make promises too affected: << No more shall there be in it an infant who lives but a few days, or an old man who does not fill out his days>>. At the end they get, but how?' – *Ibidem*, p. 217.

([4]) 'I read the first chapter. Only threats. God slip into any nook. In the hidden thoughts. They bring out and of course, punished. I'm a little tired. But Solomon says something impressive about unbelievers' – Livius Ciocârlie, quoted work, p. 219.

exhausted the 'sense of the circuit' of the biblical intertext, but not of it only, and exclaims:

> 'Suddenly I'm saying ready! I do not want the *New Testament* anymore, no more Romanian modernism, I do not want Bernardo Soares. Maybe on another day, who knows when.' (Ciocârlie 2010 a, 173).

Comparing the quoted text with the text which quotes, we find no deviation from the source (the cut is 'regular' in terms of group μ), fact that denote a thorough search of the sacred text, any text cutting out and moving to another one, firstly says something about the who cites. In the text by Livius Ciocârlie, the biblical text is inserted, without any processing or styling. The quote is accompanied often by a comment that develops around him.

A legitimate question is born: why were there chosen biblical passages and not another type of quotations? The fact of choosing a particular text is a matter of taste and becomes thus a good opportunity for self-definition. The inserting of the scriptural passages in a diaristic text also means the inclusion of the literature into a universal system. So frequent biblical quotations in the text of Livius Lark denote a kind of personalization of the religious feeling. V. Daniel Boyarin, in a book about intertextuality, considers that the rabbis are the ones who discovered that 'the production, explicitly, of a literature with intertextual features represents the ideal and the regenerator tool, able to preserve the privileged status of the biblical text by his release like an immutable block'(Boarin 1994, 28).

As we have emphasized in the previous article, the appetite for biblical quotes can be the cause of inability to believe (or the lack of 'healthy patience') and the hope that, in this way, the biblical text replaces the inability / the lack of an internal order witch is absent. Also, so fecund presence of the fragments from Scripture reveals the need for authentic and stable points in a changing world, an increase in the value of the dialogue in itself, a desire for a renewal of the intertextual sources or to establish a minimum reference point for itself and for readers.

Clopotul scufundat [The Sunk Bell] contains some confessions (the only ones, in fact, of all the books written by Livius Ciocârlie) regarding the religious feeling:

> 'I missed God since I had a child. Apart from the stories about Jesus, at primary school, the week of Easter when we went to Eselnita and the trees were lit in the churchyard, with silence, near the water, the sun was out over the hill, and maybe, after we identify the gifts under the tree, in the evenings of the Christmas Eve, when Heilige Nacht is playing at the radio, I do not had emotional contact with religion'(Ciocârlie 1988, 15).

In the dialogue with Mircea Bențea, the latter considers that the religious feeling which his dialogue partner is trying is as part of a series of paradoxes of Livius Ciocârlie. The writer confesses to not having more deeply contact with religion neither from the family, nor at school, but their own readings were those who had aroused his interest of the *New* and *Old Testament* (Ciocârlie 2010 b, 18). The 'narrative' and 'earthly' reading ('My reading was and remained terrestrial' (Ciocârlie 2010 b, 18)) of the *Old Testament* offered him a view of a tyrannical God:

> 'Reading of the *Old Testament* narrative left me perplexed. A world full of noise and rage, mightily watched by a tyrannical God. I did not understand and even today I do not understand what kind of shyness could generate this writing, if is not somehow about the fear of God. There's a certain sense of social utility (although, in everyday life I do not really notice the effects), but who otherwise I despise nearly as much as I despise the Pascal's Wager [...]. To kill your son in order to please to a proud God! I did not raise any meaning to the story of Jov. I read the *Old Testament* as a Shakespearean tragedy, as a great novel. I would be disappointed to find out that it must be <<deciphered >> ' (Ciocârlie 2010 b., 18-19).

And then he confesses his frustration with those who live the spirituality, because the necessary sense was not cultivated when he was little:

> 'You can be a dumb man of spirituality, either because you lack the

> necessary sense, either because at a decisive age it has not been cultivated. It is my case also, which I live with frustration not as an atheist' (Ciocârlie 2010 b., 19).

The questions regarding the fidelity or the infidelity to the biblical quotes to the original text are not entitled, because the comparison of the two texts shows that the text written by Livius Ciocârlie does not contain and does not assume false or degraded biblical quotes.

The upside-down readings, ad-litteram of the first meeting with the biblical text *Cu fața la perete* [*Facing the Wall*], seems to be entirely subordinated to confessions of Livius Ciocârlie, confessions that we transcribed above. But, a more careful bending over the text of *Scripture* and the frequency with which the biblical text is brought into question reveal a unique configuration of the text by Livius Ciocârlie according to this intertextual source. Is it about an enlightening experience during the writing of the volume in question? We do not guarantee the fixation of such an experience during the writing of the book, but we are sure that there is such a revelatory experience of the religious sentiment.

> 'I had such an experience, manifested as a sudden illumination of the sky far as the horizon, accompanied by an intense feeling. I remember with a kind of horror that time. I do not support the bright light, I am attracted by the negativity. Regarding the mysticism, I'm sensitive to the apophatic, who seeks God in darkness and nothing' (Ciocârlie 2010 b., 19).

- a possible supporting experience of the *Old* and the *New Testaments*. Or the experience of the prayer (confessed in a very recent interview) for the four people so closed (Ciocârlie 2012), or the belief that 'the reading of the fundamental religious writings cannot miss from the band of an educated man. Even if, perhaps, God does not exist, it remains – and is the most important of all – God's problem, as Cioran said. Until the understanding – at least intellectually, if not spiritual – of those writings, you should start by making from the history of religions – not just of a particular one – an important object of study in schools' (Ciocârlie 2010 b, 19-20).

The author offers the same type of justification-solution of the sacred text researching in the same interview. Asked why he confesses his unfaithfulness so firmly, the author responds:

> 'It's a serious problem, an important one. I find that the religion is gathering more thinking and most creativity. And, as such, to find that so many people have support in faith and for you it cannot be like for the author, it really did not leave me indifferent. I knead my unfaithfulness' (Ciocârlie 2012).

Entering into a dialogue with the author, the reader of such texts makes a pact that consists in the promise of reading the *Sacred Text* in order to become a real dialogue partner of the Romanian writer, Livius Ciocârlie.

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Convenient Truths: Representations of the Communist Illegalists in the Romanian Historiography in Post-Communism

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Abstract: The present paper analyzes the post-1989 historiography of the underground communists, in order to identify their main representation in the scientific literature. I highlight the existence of continuity between the interwar and the post-communist discourses; historiography was regarded by historians rather as a moral reform than a method of scientific investigation. I will show that the research on the Communist Party between 1921 and 1944 was not among the main interests of the historians and researchers.

Keywords. The underground communists, depictions, historiography, interwar period, post-communism

Introduction ([1])

The history of the underground communists was an understudied topic after 1989, as most historians have focused their attention on the communist regime. Hence, the abundant scientific literature on communism covers numerous aspects such as communist repression, collectivization, penitentiary system, history of Securitate, etc. The communist movement from May 8th 1921, the foundation of the communist party and August 23rd 1944, the moment when the communists moved from the underground directly to power, has been scarcely addressed in historical literature.

The main characteristics of the historiography

The few studies on this topic are usually biased, governed by preconceived ideas, and with very little flexibility towards interpretation. Most of the studies on interwar history of the Communist Party published after 1989 reflect the mentality of the times when they were written.

Some of them have simply resumed ideas stated in the 1930s in propagandistic works coming from high ranking authorities. Such an inspiring personality was the magistrate colonel Petre Popescu-Cetate, prosecutor in the trial of Ana Pauker and 18 other communists in June 1936 at Craiova; he authored the book *Conspirația comunistă în România şi evreica Ana Pauker în fața Justiției militare*. In his work he identified 'their tactics', namely 'from all their thoughts and words only results the hatred against everything national, Christian and moral'. According to the former prosecutor and political prisoner during the communist regime, the first enemies that the communists tried to destroy were '**family, church and motherland** [Emphasis in the original]'. (Popescu-Cetate 1941, 46). The depiction of the communism as imminent danger for the 'priceless material and spiritual values of the Romanian people' (D. Zamfirescu 1995, 18) is an idea which originated during the interwar period. This conviction has annihilated the critical debates on the Romanian communism between the two wars.

Another book written in the 1930s, notorious for its extremely violent approach is Jos masca! (Mask off!), by I. Dragomir; it describes the communists sentenced in the 1936 Ana Pauker trial as not only traitors of the Romanian national interest, but also as dehumanized beings, deprived of any human feature. For Dragomir, the communists had 'fat faces, dolt minds, and their sight caused repulsion to anyone […] a lawless mob of foreigners who wanted to start a revolution in Romania but can't even speak Romanian, and

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who talk of communism and humankind happiness but their retarded minds can't help them understand its meaning' (I. Dragomir 1936, 13).

After 70 years, the approach of some historians hasn't significantly changed; some of them still analyze this part of Romanian history in a dichotomist perspective, lacking the critical perspective and moderate language, as is the case of Vasile Pascu, historian and history teacher at 'Gheorghe Lazăr' high school. In his book, which is a history of the communist regime in Romania, he presents the communist party as follows: 'the communist party and its doctrine held nothing sacred, both in religious and humanistic sense, and therefore they had no respect for anything, staining everything that was touched by its aberrant politics. Its main purpose was to transform the society into a collection of people to clap their hands like penguins in front of the supreme leader. **It was a return to humankind Prehistory: savage, ignorant, brutal'** [Emphasis in the original] (V. Pascu 2007, vol. I, 12).

Some authors have changed perspectives after 1989, as is the case for Gheorghe Neacşu and Marin Stănescu, former researchers at the Communist Party's Institute of History, or Cătălin Zamfir, a communist historian who in the 1990s became head of the Institute of Quality of Life Analysis of the Romanian Academy.

Generally, the Communist Party was presented as an entity alien to the Romanian society, formed outside the Romanian people, mostly by ethnic minorities such as Jews, Hungarians, Bulgarians. This assumption issues from a generalization of the study of Party's leadership in 1921-1944 interval (see the studies of Dan Cătănuş, Gheorghe Neacşu, Marin Stănescu, Ioan Chiper) who conclude that these leadership positions were actually dictated by the Comintern. Actually, there is no scientific analysis so far on the number and ethnic structure which to corroborate such a generalization.

Another feature shared by all these studies is their moralizing aspect, regarded as part of the attempt to reform a society which was dominated by the communists for 50 years, as well as the revealing of a truth that was impossible to say during the communist epoch: 'Thus, a process of falsifying the national history commenced, coordinated by the former <underground fighters> trained in Moscow as docile puppets' (D. Zamfirescu 1995, 17).

Analysis of the past was not among the purposes of the main historiographic works, but rather was the presentation of a truth that could not be said during the communist years. The historians have thus taken the role moral reformers of the society, aimed at: 'demolishing the myth built upon lies and the affirmation of the historical reality the way it was' (R. Ciuceanu 1995, 74). The same historian regarded the restoration of 'the truth about communists and communism' as a redress act for 'moral cleansing of current and future generations' (R. Ciuceanu 2001, 14).

Florin Tănăsescu, editor of several collections of documents regarding the early years of communism in Romania, stated that this truth contained the following assumptions: 'The communist structures from Romania undoubtedly demonstrate that at their initial acts they were organizations alien to the Romanian spirit and tradition, nation's interests and aspirations, diverging from the nation's independent existence within its natural borders and aspirations in 1918' (F. Tănăsescu 1995, vol. I, 109).

In support for this idea, he stated a truth that during the communism used to rest unspoken: '*according to their traditions, psychical structure and aspirations, Romanians reject the bolshevism*' and went further by arguing that '**through their very nature – as the history shows – Romanians are not inclined to adhere to political extremist movements** [Emphasis in the original]. (F. Tănăsescu 1997, vol. II, 47). This statement is in sharp contrast with the Romanians' attitude towards the Legionary party.

The study of the documents from that period reveals a situation different from the facts presented by the historians. Among the communists, some were supporting full commitment to the Comintern program, while others were advocating its modification according to Romanian context. They were also supporting the rights of Romania upon Basarabia, a topic that was debated in the first interwar years and was revived during Nicolae Ceausescu (see the memoires of the first secretary general of Romanian Communist party, Gheorghe Cristescu-'Plăpumarul', In: ANIC, Colecția 60, ds. 447).

The role of history in moral reformation of a society traumatized for 50 years can be identified not just in the works on the interwar communist movement, but also in the study of another topic massively approached in post-1989 historiography, namely the communist

repression. This side of the historian's mission was clearly expressed by Marius Oprea, one of the most reputed scholars on the matter. He argued that writing the history of Securitate and communist repression was 'not just a historiography but also a moral approach'. He concluded that 'writing about Securitate equals standing for a moral reformation of the Romanian society' (M. Oprea 2008, 13, 15).

Historians highlighted some of the particularities of the party in interwar period: permanent competition for leadership, and the existence of several rival groups inside the party. For the end of 1930s, the historians have identified three such groups: the communists from Moscow, led by Ana Pauker, the communists from Romania, led by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, and the free communists from Romania, led by tefan Foriş, secretary general of the party (A. Cioroianu, 2007, V. Frunză, 1999).

The number of the underground communists

Most of the researchers agree with an estimation made by Ana Pauker that at the end of the underground period the Party had ca. 1,000 members. Also referring to the number of the members, V. Frunză stated that between the wars, the communist party was 'a head, maybe two, in the search of a body' (V. Frunză 1999, 180). It is worth mentioning that during the war, the communist leader had no longer contact with PCdR and knew nothing about the structure of the party, because contacts between Comintern and PCdR were suspended (see C. Diac 2010). As a matter of fact, Ana Pauker, the representative of the Moscow group was interested in reporting a low number of Romanian communist members and fellow travellers because of its political implications: it was standing against the demands of the Romanian communists who stayed in Romania during the first years of World War II and were led by Gheorghiu-Dej. By minimizing their number, their role in the struggle for power could be diminished. In the struggle for power, their main arguments were their relatively high number and years spent in Romanian penitentiaries.

Regarding the number of communist members before August 23rd, 1944, one can talk about a true 'historians' consensus' which hampered the historical debate on the documents mentioning the numbers of communists from Romania and which could contradict Ana Pauker's statements.

Thus, the historians' efforts were oriented towards discrediting the documents indicating other numbers. In one of the most important studies on the number of the communists before the communist regime, I. Chiper states that in 1974, during the 11th congress of communist party, an internal note 'mentioned that until that moment had been acknowledged total of 5237 members prior to August 23rd 1944, of which 4385 had been members before 1940'. The same historian mentions another document in which the total number of member in 1940 was 4210. This disparity has led Chiper to disregard their importance of these documents, found by accident; he also tried to parallel those who claimed they took part in the 1989 revolution and those who claimed to be communist after august 1944. He argued that these claims were motivated by 'the privileges and benefits that could be attained by those who declared to be former party members or were involved in the revolutionary activities' (I. Chiper 1996, 25-26)

The main method to discrediting these documents was the projection of contemporary assumptions on documents belonging to the past. Employing such reasoning was most likely facilitated by the fact that many contemporary historians were aware of the means to obtain a 'revolutionary certificate', which convinced them that such methods have been previously used by the communists after World War II.

The historian's conclusion was confirming Ana Pauker's estimation which, 'although vague, is close to the truth and confirmed by other sources' (I. Chiper 1996, 26). In his paper, the author does not indicate the documents and sources. From the quotations he used one could infer that it is about documents created during the 11th congress of the communist party.

Actually, the documents which provide information on the communist party structure during the underground period were not created during the Ceausescu regime, but within the first years of the communist regime. The document was based on an internal census of communist members in 1950-1951. It was created shortly after the examination of the party members, an operation which resulted in the exclusion of 192,000 members (see S. Tănase 1998).

Communist membership for the interwar period was only validated after the verification of the activities: when and where people were active and with whom. After naming the communists they were working with, they were thoroughly checked. These three questions were

only a few of the many included in the form for underground communist inventory.

It is hard to believe that people would choose to provide false information on underground activities in a climate dominated by terror. Moreover, the Securitate had already obtained the archives of Siguranța and courts of law on the communist movement (see the statements of Teohari Georgescu, In: ACNSAS, fond Penal, dosar 246, vol. 4).

Thus, by setting a minimum number for the members at ca. 1000, as well as stressing the presence of numerous foreign members within the party, the historians aimed at highlighting the illegitimacy of communist regime and party ever since its early years.

The main categories of books

When consulting the literature that covers the subject, three main categories of works can be identified: document collections, synthesis works and biographies. Within the first category, the following volumes should be mentioned, rather for the raw information than for the interpretations employed in introductory chapters: C. Feneşan, *Sub Steag străin*, Bucureşti, Editura Enciclopedică, 2011; Alina Tudor Pavelescu, *Copilăria comunismului românesc în arhiva Cominternului*, Bucureşti, Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2001; Florin Tănăsescu (coord.), *Ideologie şi structure comuniste în România*, vol. I-III, Bucureşti, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 1995-2001. Among other works worth mentioning are Dan Cătănuş, Ioan Chiper, *Cazul Ştefan Foriş. Lupta pentru putere în PCR de la Gheorghiu-Dej la Ceauşescu. Documente: 1940-1968*, Bucureşti, Editura Vremea, 1999 ; Stelian Tănase, *Rakovski. Dosar secret*, Iaşi, Polirom, 2008 ; Gheorghe Brătescu, *O anchetă stalinistă. Lichidarea lui Marcel Pauker*, Bucureşti, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1995; Ilie Oana, Cornel Constantin Ilie, Gheorghe Cristescu – *„Plăpumaru', primul secretar general al PCR. Corespondențe, documente, imagini*, Bucureşti, Editura Semne, 2009.

The highlights of the second category are the books of Adrian Cioroianu, *Pe umerii lui Marx. O introducere în istoria comunismului românesc*, Bucureşti, Editura Curtea Veche, 2005; Victor Frunză, *Istoria comunismului în România*, Bucureşti, Editura Victor Frunză, 1999; Robert King, *A history of the Romanian Communist Party*, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1980; Ghiță Ionescu, *Comunismul în România*, Bucureşti, Editura Litera, 1994. They present the history of the Romanian communism from the founding of the party until 1964 (Ghiță Ionescu), until 1980 (R. King), or until 1989 (A. Cioroianu, V. Frunză). Unlike other works, they are less biased and generally less influenced by the stereotypes on interwar communism. Nevertheless, these volumes cover only briefly the period before August 1944.

Within the third category, among the best publications are Robert Levy, *Gloria şi decăderea Anei Pauker*, Iaşi, Polirom, 2002; Stelian Tănase, *Clienții lu' tanti Varvara: istorii clandestine*, Bucureşti, Humanitas, 2005; Lavinia Betea, *Lucrețiu Pătrăşcanu. Moartea unui lider comunist*, ed. a II-a, Bucureşti, Curtea Veche, 2006; Lavinia Betea (coord.), *Viața lui Ceauşescu. Ucenicul partidului*, Bucureşti, Adevărul Holding, 2012; Dorin Liviu Bîtfoi, *Petru Groza. Ultimul burghez. O biografie*, Bucureşti, Editura Compania, 2004; Thomas Kunze, *Nicolae Ceauşescu. O biografie*, Bucureşti, Editura Vremea, 2002 plus some of document collections already mentioned above.

Conclusion

It appears thus that the history of interwar communism was a topic scarcely covered by scholars. Their attention was rather oriented towards 1944-1989 period, with particular attention to communist oppression. The literature on the Romanian communism is governed by a few stereotypes, i.e. the party's ethnic structure (Jews, Hungarians, Russians, Bulgarians, etc.) or its sectarian character (most often referred to as a cult). Aside from their lack of scientific ground, they represent a simplistic generalization of a few authors' conclusion on the number and leadership ethnic structure of the party's underground years: 'Typical for leadership structure was that most people belonged to ethnic minorities, and the percentage of Jews and Hungarians was sometimes overwhelming' (M. Stănescu 1994, 99). During the interwar period, only one secretary general was Romanian, Gheorghe Cristescu-Plăpumarul.

The predominance of such clichés in Romanian historiography can be explained by the preferential focus on oppressive aspects of the communism (especially 1945-1964), the spirit of the post-1989 era which tried to explain the 'red plague' through the activity of ethnic minorities, but also because some documents on the interwar period have only recently become available in archives.

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B. CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON WAR

The Happy Few, the Band of Brothers and the Two World Wars

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Abstract: William Shakespeare was evoked, in the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, as a memorial figure, symbolizing the moral and intellectual fraternity of men, a notion vastly in use during World War I and World War II propaganda, in Britain, but also – quite surprisingly, though justifiably – in enemy countries, like Germany. The paper will look at the history of Shakespeare's reception during the two world wars, when the English Bard's historical plays (such as *Henry V*, with its memorable exhortations to 'the happy few' and the 'band of brothers') were commented, staged, adapted in such a way as to raise political issues, increase people's patriotism, and justify military actions.

Keywords: brotherhood, historical plays, patriotism, propaganda, reception, war

Introduction

As recent and less recent history proves, Shakespeare has been most successful in the process of appropriation, the international phenomenon in which various cultures and even subcultures have loosely employed the Bard's texts in order to reclaim elements that were connected to their identity, political ambitions, or cultural projects. As early as the 1750s, a pressure group which was very influential in Britain, the Anti-Gallican Society, wanted 'to extend the commerce of England […] and oppose the insidious Arts of the French Nation' (Dobson 1995, 200) with the help of Shakespeare. For them, the glorious world of the chronicle plays and the Elizabethan rule, which defeated the Spanish and French Catholicism, were major propagandistic tropes. In a political essay of 1747, William Guthrie, one of the main representatives of the Anti-Gallican Society, was writing:

> Where is the Briton so much a Frenchman to prefer the highest stretch of modern improvement to the meanest spark of Shakespeare's genius. Yet to our eternal amazement it is true, that for above half a century the poets and the patrons of poetry, in England, abandoned the sterling merit of Shakespeare for the tinsel ornaments of the French academy. […] the British spirit at length prevailed; wits with their patrons were forced to give way to genius; and the plays of Shakespeare are now as much crowded as, perhaps, they were in the days of their author. (Dobson 1995, 198)

Shakespeare's resurrection, in the 18th century, was, in many ways, the resurrection of the British spirit. For the Anti-Gallicans, Shakespeare's time and work was vital, virile, inspired, as opposed to contemporary Francophile effeminacy and hypocrisy. The Anti-Gallicans were 'neo-Elizabethans' rather than anything else and Shakespeare became the exclusive logo and mascot of 'British nature.' The actual institutionalization of Shakespeare probably came with David Garrick, actor and theatre director, who devoted his career to the adaptation and staging of Shakespeare's work, being one of the first who gave shape to what we call today a Shakespearean canon. The Bard's rediscovered plays, staged by Garrick, presented the early modern playwright and his famous characters as paragons of British glory. The Shakespeare cult based on an extensive cosmetic surgery performed on both the Bard's text and his private life reached a climax at the Stratford Jubilee, in 1769, when Garrick established the Bard as national deity, in an *Ode* to Shakespeare which he composed and recited on the occasion: 'To what blest genius of the isle,/Shall Gratitude her tribute pay,/Decree the festive day,/Erect the statue, and devote the pile? […] 'Tis he! 'tis he!/The god of our idolatry!' (Dobson 1995, 217). Needless to say that, with all the encomiastic evocation, with all the pageants and speeches in the Bard's honour, Shakespeare was totally irrelevant to the entire proceedings. His works had a purely symbolic value: at the celebration devoted to Shakespeare, not a single Shakespearean line was uttered. Even an allegorical procession of Shakespearean characters that Garrick was supposed to lead was cancelled due to heavy rain.

Shakespeare at War

At the end of April 1916, England celebrated the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death with due pump and circumstance on the now long established pattern of the 1769 Jubilee. April meant Shakespeare's birthday, Saint George's Day (the patron saint of England), and that, year, Easter. To mark this three-fold holiday, a committee, with the Prime Minister himself as president, prepared elaborate ceremonies. For an entire week, important institutions in the public sector paid homage to Shakespeare: for example, on Sunday the Church, on Monday the Government and political parties, on Tuesday the arts, on Wednesday schools and universities (Engler, in Alexander and Wells 2000, 101). Consequently, Shakespeare sermons were preached in churches all around the country about the enduring English spirit embodied by the Bard. Special performances took place in London, in the spirit of the Bayreuth festivals, in the presence of the King and Queen. A memorial volume, *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* was issued, with lavish illustrations and hundreds of pompous addresses, poems and critical essays in many languages. In schools, children were given badges with the Bard's portrait, sang songs devoted to Shakespeare and said a 'Shakespeare prayer.' Speeches were given to students about Shakespeare's patriotism. During this week, Shakespeare was used as an instrument to stir patriotic feelings in a time of war when the conviction of British glory in the hearts of England's sons and daughters was essential. Paradoxically, at the very same time, in the opposite camp, Germany also organized celebrations for Shakespeare, where similar messages of patriotism and nationalism were delivered. Official speeches made it clear that 'Shakespeare is among the oldest and most beautiful conquests of the German mind, which we shall defend against the entire world, like our other spiritual and material possessions' (Engler, in Alexander and Wells, 2000, 104). Shakespeare could be rightfully claimed by the Germans as he was, since the German Romanticism, a genius of the Germanic North, placed near Schiller and Goethe (the *Shakespeare Gesellschaft* had been established nowhere else but at Weimar) and, just like for the Anti-Gallican Society in England two centuries before, Shakespeare's icon had been used to oppose the influence of French classicism and French culture. In the same year 1916, when Britain was saying prayers to the national poet, a performance of *Twelfth Night* staged in Berlin had Feste add in the Prologue, quite absurdly, that he was a fugitive who sought in Germany a second home (Engler, in Alexander and Wells 2000, 110). This was the predictable result of a process of 'naturalization' which Shakespeare had undergone in Germany for more than a century. In a word, Shakespeare contributed to the creation of a sense of German nationhood just as he contributed to the establishment of British patriotism. The Bard was, in 1916, an ideological object fought over by both nations, in a different manner: while England recognized his patriotism more than his literary genius, Germany praised the poet as a man whose opinions on war coincided with the Kaiser's propaganda.

Henry V and the longbow brotherhood

Among Shakespeare's dramatic texts, the historical plays, especially those which dramatized important wars in the history of England, were overexploited during periods in which war propaganda was a priority and boosting people's patriotism was a necessity. Among the figures most frequently evoked in such moments was Henry V, a legendary warrior and a spectacular feudal leader. In the dispute with France over the territories on the Continent, he believed in the rightfulness of his cause with obstinate enthusiasm (Allmand 1993). The English medieval chronicles, indeed, present a skilled soldier, who reached maturity on the battlefield at the age of fourteen, during the conflicts with the Welsh rebels. At sixteen, he helped his father in the battle of Shrewsbury. He was in his late twenties when he annihilated a heretic rebellion and barely thirty when he negotiated a truce with the King of France. During this negotiation, Henry demanded Anjou and Normandy, which the English had considered their 'birth' right since the legacy of William the Conqueror. King Charles VI' refusal triggered another stage in the One Hundred Years' War. When Henry won at Agincourt, in 1415, this victory offered him the desired territories, the French princess's hand in marriage and a medium-term peace with France. Unfortunately, although Charles was planning to let his son-in-law sit on the French throne, Harry was unable to enjoy this privilege. His dream, the dream of all Plantagenet kings, to hold the double crown of England and France, was about to come true in 1422, but Henry died at 35, grown old prematurely because of the long and

difficult military campaigns he had started so early in his life.

Shakespeare's portrayal of Henry V is somewhat different from the historical evidence, the Bard insisting on the spectacular evolution of a young and spoiled brat, as Prince Hal is in *Henry IV*, into a mature, heroic leader, an inspiration to his people, in *Henry V*. This latter play evokes Harry as one of the most luminous figures, the king who was closest to win in the Anglo-French arch-rivalry. The Bard borrows from chroniclers, accordingly, the characterization of a popular but just leader, fortunate in battle, merciless with his enemies, with thieves and traitors, a loyal, virtuous friend (Maurois 1970). But the peculiar details of the battle of Agincourt, recorded in history and processed by Shakespeare's chronicle play, are as significant as all of Henry's biography. Late medieval and early modern England was significantly different from other European kingdoms in that it preserved, amongst its military structures, a traditional category and weapon – the longbow. Famous for the victories against the French and the Scots many centuries on end, the English found it hard to say good-bye to the longbow. Henry VIII, a conservative admirer and practitioner of archery, kept the longbowmen active in his army and the Scottish rebellions during his reign and during Elizabeth I had no chance against the skill and agility of the yeomen-archers.

The presence of longbowmen in the English army is to be seen against two other categories. On the one hand, the cavalry, the noblest segment of any European army from the Middle Ages to the early 20th century, was in sheer contrast with the archers, who were, by definition, pedestrian commoners. On the other hand, the mercenary groups, appearing in the 15th century, very expensive and not fully reliable, offered another contrast with the yeomen who fought for their king according to the most basic principles of vassalage. The most famous and sought after mercenaries were the Swiss and German ones, highly paid by most European princes. But, while Emperor Maximilian fought the French with Swiss soldiers in Italy, Henry VIII made war in a traditional manner, with soldiers he recruited with the help of his loyal peers, employing Spanish and German mercenaries only during his last war against France, in 1544-1545 (Ridley 1988). Elizabeth I was still hesitant about employing mercenaries some decades later, when she helped the Dutch Protestants against the Spanish invaders. While most of the important battles of the time were won with the skill and experience of paid soldiers, England was a special case. English kings refused mercenaries not only because they were great patriots and the paid soldiers were very expensive, but also because the traditional system of military vassalage still worked well here, while it had already disappeared on the Continent. The mercenaries may have been more experienced, but their financial claims and dissatisfactions often led to subversive actions in the military camps and confusion among the other soldiers. The national troops, conversely, were more loyal and stable, a reason why English princes and lords were envied by their European counterparts.

In Shakespeare's *Henry V*, mercenaries are negligently evoked at a certain point, for three reasons: firstly, the configuration of an ethnic distinction between the two armies, engendering distinctions of strategy and recruitment; secondly, the projection of a divided image of war – mercantile, purely functional, cold-hearted (for the paid soldiers) vs. heroic, enthusiastic and sublime in the supreme sacrifice (of the natives); thirdly, the provision, in the aftermath of the battle, of a social balance, the soldiers giving back the hierarchies to their commanders. For example, Henry V, in his exhortative speeches, promises his yeomen friendship and brotherhood, but later grows distant, while the French mourn the dead, trying to separate, even in death, the native princes from the mercenaries:

> That we may wander o'er this bloody field
> To look our dead, and then to bury them;
> To sort our nobles from our common men.
> For many of our princes – woe the while!
> Lie drown'd and soak'd in mercenary blood;
> So do our vulgar drench their peasant limbs
> In blood of princes; (IV, 7)

The English longbow was not an ordinary arch. The French were also good archers, but their bows were much smaller, slower and inefficient on longer distances. The English or Welsh longbow was a formidable weapon, 6 feet long (1.83 m), initially used for hunting purposes, later carried to all the wars fought by the English for centuries (Percec *et al.*

2010). Only during the One Hundred Years' War, the longbow was victorious at Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356) and, certainly, Agincourt (1415). The success of this weapon resided in teamwork. A single arrow could not annihilate the metal armours. But thousands of successive arrows, launched very high and very fast, worked wonders against the infantry and the cavalry, thanks to the soldiers' skill and the weapon's flexibility (Cornwell 2009).

The importance of the longbow in the English military history and the symbolic impact of this profession are unquestionable. It only takes the figure of Robin Hood and his merry men to understand that the longbow was the materialization of an ideal of freedom, independence and the expression of the pride of those who handled it. Robin Hood, just like Henry V's archers, was a yeoman, a middle class between the gentry and the peasants, a free category who took pride in their independence and the free choice they had to serve their king at war. The longbow is also an equivalent of military victory, a reason for pride and the development of a sense of belonging. The fact that the English were the *only* ones who could handle the longbow makes it stand out as a marker of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and spiritual uniqueness, of a cohesive group identity.

The referentiality of Henry V during the two world wars

The battle of Agincourt turned into a myth as soon as it took place, a myth all English generations after it continued to look up to, inspiring and encouraging them in many moments of national crisis. This is, probably, also because of the most important scenes in the play takes place in the night before the battle, in the English camp, when Harry takes the disguise of a common soldier to check on his soldiers' moral. In a play which, like most contemporary writings, tells the story of Agincourt from the point of view of the monarch, the lords, the generals and the bishops, an insight into the minds of ordinary people is all the more valuable. The soldiers are different in many ways: infantry rather than cavalry, common rather than noble, provincial rather than Londoners, some of them Welsh rather than English. They are few, scared, hungry and homesick, awaiting the confrontation with an army of well fed and overconfident knights.

The extent to which a community can refer to a founding myth in moments of great joy or despair is proved by the huge popularity of Shakespeare's *Henry V* during the two world wars. This has to do mostly with the stirring battle speeches, which have been so often used out of their original context. According to Stefan Goebel (2006, 11), the Middle Ages, with their chivalry and medieval spirituality, as brilliantly embodied in plays like *Henry V*, provided rich material – imagery and narrative motifs – for people to give meaning to the way in which they connected to the events of, later the legacy of, the Great War especially. In 1914, when war was declared, the official discourse promised to transform England into a land of heroes, an encouragement which bore many similarities with the Plantagenet kings' military discourse. But the Great War came to acquire this name for the very reason that it was so different from all the wars in the past, despite the initial announcement of a chivalric code continued and extended from one historical age to another. World War I was not only the first global battle, but also the first modern one (Bull 2002). New machines designed to kill people – not one by one, but by the hundreds of thousands – such as tanks, submarines and machine guns were now used for the first time. The machine gun was introduced while army generals still believed in traditional combat, an ill-timed strategy which cost all countries involved an appallingly high number of casualties. Only in Britain, one in eight men died between 1914 and 1918, after the expeditionary army was decimated in the first weeks of battles in the fields of France and Belgium. To protect themselves from machine guns, soldiers dug trenches, which were permanently flooded and rat-infested, adding dysentery and typhoid fever to wounds and mutilations.

In August 1914, the moment when the war broke out coincided with the opening of the Shakespeare summer festival in Stratford. For some years, this had been a much awaited three-week event, which, although initially scheduled for April, Shakespeare's birthday, started to take place in full summer. The famous Benson Company, under the supervision of Frank Benson, staged a special performance of *Henry V* on the eve of the great recruitment in Stratford. On the night of the show, every line of Shakespeare's play was meant as an encouragement for the young men who were preparing to leave for France. At the end of the play, the company marched on the stage, armed with weapons like spears and halberds. The actors in the Benson Company were famous not only for their dramatic skills, but also as sportsmen and patriots. The next day, the company, led by Frank Benson himself, took

part in the recruitment. The Stratford recruitment was significant not only because of the direct link with the Shakespeare festival, but also because here, a much higher proportion of young men than the national average signed up (Fogg 2008, 12). Benson's own son enrolled and died in the early days of the war. In mourning, Frank and Constance Benson interrupted the festival for a couple of years.

Decades later, during World War II, in 1944, one of the first Technicolor films ever produced in Europe was the adaptation of *Henry V*, directed by the famous actor Laurence Olivier. The film relied massively on the dramatic moment of the eve of Agincourt, which surely triggered painful memories in its English viewers. As D Day had not arrived yet and the outcome of the war was still unpredictable, the suspense of the story told by Shakespeare increased with every line recited by Laurence Olivier and his fellow actors. The day and night before the victorious battle were reminiscent of the most recent experiences of waging war on the French territory. More remote, but still fresh in the English consciousness, were the years of the trench warfare, during the Great War. Harry's infantry, short of food supplies, stranded in the French fields far away from home, poorly equipped and with their morals very low because of hardships and diseases, significantly fewer numerically than their enemies, was an efficient portrayal of the huge estrangement that World War I had brought in the consciousness of its survivors. An entire generation of writers, called the 'War Poets,' tackled somber themes inspired by the horrors of the Great War (Kendall 2013). Their lyrical testimonies are all the more touching since many of them lost their lives in the trenches. The fields of France and Belgium, where other wars had been fought throughout the history of England, were now the sites of slaughter and disaster. Among these poets, Rupert Brooke, who died in the first year of combat, wrote about the idealism and disillusionment of the first months of war. Wilfred Owen, who died in the last year of the Great War, just one week before the armistice, focused on the nightmarish atmosphere of the trenches, on the formidable experience of young men facing death, a harsh, realistic poetry in sheer contrast with Brooke's romantic patriotism. Siegfried Sassoon, one of the few important war poets who survived, used poetry as therapy, but his poems are dominated by an overwhelming sense of waste.

Closer in time, there were the events of 1940, at Dunkirk, when all the equipment of the British army had been abandoned on the French beaches and the soldiers could be barely rescued from the advancing German army. The operation, code named Operation Dynamo (Dildy 2010), which was supposed to help the French troops, initiating the so-called Battle of France, was a huge disaster. The British, French and Belgian troops were cut off and surrounded by the German army. It took a miracle to rescue them, at the high cost of leaving behind all the expensive and modern military equipment England was vaunting at that moment. Until 1944, the British had not yet been given the opportunity to get back.

Olivier filmed the scene of the Englishmen's march towards the camp of Agincourt against a sunset in blood-like colours. The camera shot close ups of the meager figures of the few soldiers remaining in Harry's army, with blank, almost resigned looks on their faces, looking forward only to the brief moments of peace and quiet during the night before the battle. The Chorus started to recite the lines opening Act IV, placing the moment and the characters in a universal, timeless frame, suggesting, among other things, the fact that history repeated itself, that all wars were tragically, absurdly similar, and that, notwithstanding the truth of one camp's cause, the only justness resided in the human dimension:

> Now entertain conjecture of a time
> When creeping murmur and the poring dark
> Fills the wide vessel of the universe.
> From camp to camp through the foul womb of night
> The hum of either army stilly sounds,
> That the fixed sentinels almost receive
> The secret whispers of each other's watch:
> Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames
> Each battle sees the other's umber'd face;
> (Act IV, Prologue)

Here, Olivier decided to move away from the Shakespearean source, filming the scene in the French camp later (in the original text, it preceded the English moment). Shakespeare's French army was reckless, merry, slightly irresponsible, over-confident in their victory. In the 20th century, both in 1914-1918 and in the 1940s, the French were no longer the enemy. Both wars had been and were still being

waged on the French territory, against a third party, an enemy that was silent, invisible, but overwhelming. Olivier saw the French camp, accordingly, in a different light. More responsible and more mature, the differences could be located somewhere else: an elitist, aristocratic cavalry, feeling superior not only to Harry's yeomen, but also to their Dauphin, a bit too young to be a convincing army general. The French officers pass their time in a pleasant torpor, making sophisticated conversation, socializing. They seem to represent a decadent social order which, according to evolutionary rules, must disappear to make way for a more resourceful, energetic, young world. This observation appeared, indeed, more as the result of a comment about the aftermath of the Great War, in which the two empires of Central Europe collapsed in the enemy camp, while the Allies' camp saw, on the one hand, the consolidation of the USA as the new world power and the inability of another great empire, the British one, to rise victorious from this war without the American support. The moment can also be read as a premonition, since, in the aftermath of World War II, the British Empire lost its prestige and colonies, one by one. The long war, the German raids and economic blockade, the isolation and financial depression gave Britain few reasons to rejoice in 1945, as many years of hardship were to follow and its position on the international geopolitical map was to change forever.

Back in the English camp in Olivier's film, the camera focused on the soldiers who were unable to sleep and waited for the first lights of dawn, announcing the start of the battle which they had very modest chances to win. The scene occasioned a profound meditation on the way in which man faced death. The Shakespearean experiment, so valuable in the Elizabethan age, when wars, epidemics and public executions made death a daily business for everyone, was adapted by Olivier to the situation of Britain facing the experience of the two wars in the 20th century, which had been and were still the most atrocious events the Western civilization had ever struggled to survive. The specters are numerous, again: the trenches warfare, the absurdly high mortality rate, the apparent futility of the war effort, when tens of thousands died during one single day of battle for a few inches of land; then, there was Dunkirk, when the best military equipment and the elite of the British army were abandoned on French soil, awaiting the confrontation with a better prepared enemy. The three soldiers in Shakespeare's play, who talk to their king without knowing it was Henry himself, are transported, in Olivier's film, into a timeless realm, which makes their dialogue easily applicable to other historical contexts. The boy who tells Harry about the pointlessness of violence, questioning the rationality of warfare, with his provincial accent, with his simplicity, his eyes wary and sad, became the ideal projection of the universal hero, the anonymous private who was to lose his life on the battlefield. His youth was a painful reminder of the juvenile sacrifice the Great War had come to be associated with, a standard image against which all future references would be made.

Shakespeare's epic story about Saint George winning at Agincourt is the first play adapted to screen which gained international acclaim. Olivier's *Henry V* became immediately popular with both critics and the general public. This success, which went beyond the quality of the adaptation, the feeling of patriotism and pride it ignited, was to be the very basis on which British cinema in the post-war period would develop. Olivier's success was all the more significant as the actor, trained on the stage, had repeatedly declared that Shakespeare must not and could not be put on celluloid (Jackson 2010, 70-126). Still, in the 1940s, those in charge with war propaganda had realized that only the cinema had the popularity and coverage they needed to provoke a national reaction. The impact was first tested on the radio, which had already played its part in boosting the people's moral, with George VI regularly addressing the nation since the outburst of the war, in 1939, especially through the hard years of the Blitz, 1940-1941, when London and other important cities were bombed by the Luftwaffe every night. Olivier read an excerpt from Shakespeare's play – the exhortation Harry utters before the siege of Harfleur, which begins with the famous lines:

> Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
> Or close the wall up with our English dead. (III, i)

As the reception was very positive, BBC producers made huge efforts to obtain the funding necessary to shoot the film in colours, a considerable effort in the austerity context of the war years. The fact that the money for the film was found soon indicates that the British authorities considered the maintenance of high collective spirits a major priority. After its

premiere, the film stayed in cinemas for eleven months in London only, a record for the British film industry at that moment (Agee 1946). As soon as the war was over, the Hollywood infrastructure turned Olivier's *Henry V* into an international blockbuster, selling it as a war film (a genre with contemporary connotations, therefore), rather than as a historical one.

In 1944, when Europe was on the verge of disintegration, the idea that war, good or bad, had to be assumed collectively was necessary. The years of sacrifice were to be repaid after just one more sacrifice, a last effort to be made before the old order could be reinstalled. Harry's encouragement in front of the gates of Harfleur couldn't have worked better, in this context. It is true that the British public in the year 1944 no longer remembered that the siege was the action of an occupation army. Nor did they seem to care that, when Shakespeare wrote the play for his contemporaries, the enemy was no longer France, but Spain. The traditional Anglo-French rivalry was gone anyway, in 1944, now that they had a common enemy, Hitler's Germany. The arrival of the English army on the French shore was no longer interpreted as an occupation, despite the explicit aggressiveness of Henry V's encouragements, who wanted his men to be savages in their assault:

> In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
> As modest stillness and humility:
> But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
> Then imitate the action of the tiger;
> Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
> Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage;
> Then lend the eye a terrible aspect;
> Let pry through the portage of the head
> Like the brass cannon; (III, 1)

Discretion and meekness were to be left behind, at home with the soldiers' wives and children. In Olivier's film, the landing of the English army referred back, on the one hand, to the presence of the expeditionary force in France during the Great War and in 1941, but, on the other hand, it also looked ahead, as an ideal projection of D Day, 6 June 1944, the military operation that the Allies had been preparing for so long. In the same spirit, Olivier gave up the scenes in Shakespeare's original text which were less flattering for King Henry's heroic figure: the execution of the traitor in Act II, the slaughter of the French prisoners during the battle of Agincourt, in Act IV, etc. Treason and espionage, as well as the treatment of prisoners of war, were taboo subjects in the 1940s. Because class issues were (for once) irrelevant during the war, Olivier – who was a member of the gentry, educated in a prestigious and expensive public school, Central School of Speech and Drama in London – chose to portray an almost abstract English army on the day of the battle, elegant and clean in their brightly coloured uniforms, receiving their commander's homage when being addressed as 'friends' and 'brothers.' This is the scene preceding the clash at Agincourt on a day which, historically, was rainy, but Olivier chose a sunny, shiny décor, in which weapons and armours sparkled, the tents were smartly tugged in the background, and the flags fluttered gaily in the breeze. This hygienic image was a startling contrast with the actual war experience, with the muddy, rat-infested trenches the 1944 public could easily remember but would, unconsciously, want to put behind in order to accept the novel challenge of another war experience.

As I pointed out, Shakespeare's play was supposed to make Englishmen proudly remember the most recent English military success, which was the defeat of the Spanish Armada at Tilbury, in 1588, a success which looked as much a miracle as Agincourt itself. Although the Anglo-Spanish war had never been declared officially, the confrontation which resulted in the death of 5,000 Spaniards and the destruction of Philip II's galiots was the first moment in its military history when England appeared on the international geopolitical map of super-powers (Martin and Parker 1999). Elizabeth I and her contemporaries regarded Tilbury as proof of divine support (a medal was ordered by the sovereign, with the inscription 'He blew with His winds, and they were scattered'), a justification for their actions and success. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that, in Henry V, Shakespeare had the king explain the victory of 6,000 longbowmen against 30,000 French soldiers as the result of divine intervention, on Saint Crispin Day:

> This day is called the feast of Crispian:
> He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
> Will stand a tip-toe when the day is named,
> And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
> He that shall live this day, and see old age,

Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
And say 'To-morrow is Saint Crispian:'
Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars.
And say 'These wounds I had on Crispin's day.'
(IV, 3)

Then Harry concludes, counting the dead in the English camp:

Edward the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk,
Sir Richard Ketly, Davy Gam, esquire:
None else of name; and of all other men
But five and twenty. O God, thy arm was here;
And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
Ascribe we all!
When, without stratagem,
But in plain shock and even play of battle,
Was ever known so great and little loss
On one part and on the other? Take it, God,
For it is none but thine! (IV,3)

He doesn't forget to point out that:

Come, go we in procession to the village.
And be it death proclaimed through our host
To boast of this or take the praise from God
Which is his only. (IV, 8)

In fact, most of the British imperialist discourse and self-image has relied, ever since the 17th century, on the vague notion that God, if not English, must have been at least Anglophile. One of the patriotic songs the British soldiers sang through the two world wars, accompanied by the English population on the home front, was *Rule, Britannia!*, dating from the 1740s, when the Bourbons were regarded as the 'haughty tyrants' whose slaves the British would never ('never, never') be, during the naval conflicts with France also known as the 'second One Hundred Years War.' Such an emphatic desideratum was so deeply buried in the collective consciousness that Winston Churchill, skilled orator, could not ignore it during World War II: 'We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender,' he famously said during the Blitz. And he added, after the Battle for Britain, in 1940, paraphrasing Henry V's repetitive pattern of the 'happy few': 'Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few' (Churchill 2010).

Conclusions

The absolute referential character of such rhetorical formulas, the invisible connections behind war speeches in various moments of English history seem to create a genuine archetype, activated by the Shakespearean play. A war novel, written by Stephen Ambrose, *Band of Brothers* (1992), adapted for the screen by HBO, is only the last example of a series of books and films about the exceptional destiny of the British and American pilots who fought back the Luftwaffe during World War II. Solidarity and uniqueness are the most important soldierly virtues, which writers and directors refer to with the help of intertextuality and the link to Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Harry and the longbowmen, like the Anglo-American pilots, become symbols of camaraderie, courage, resilience, determination to do their duty with grace and honour, all famous attributes of the equally famous brotherhood once invoked, rhetorically, at Agincourt.

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Dilemmatic Loyalties. A Case Study: the Church District of Sibiu before the Great Unification

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Abstract. For the Romanian nation, the church was still the most important stronghold, which ensured an identity, a unique means of expression as a nation and as an integral part of the Dualist State's society. In the area where they lived, the Romanians were not so attracted by the model of a disobedient nation in the way it was formed and presented by the authorities, which to some extent was a disadvantage. During the First World War, the Church District of Sibiu went through some difficult moments as a result of the presence of Romanian troops, after Romania had joined the war. In the period which followed, especially in the period between September 1916 and the summer of 1918, more difficult moments came, as a result of the attitude that the authorities had towards Romanians and especially towards the elite of the church. The documents presented in this study underline the way in which the priests of the mentioned Church District had understood their times. The situation was presented in reports and documents in the church archives by Dr. archpriest Ioan Stroia, mentioning all the involved categories of priests: from the border parishes, refugees, interned or exiled in the Western villages of Hungary, many of them suspected of not being loyal to the Hungarian state. Dr. Ioan Stroia had a cautious and politically correct tone in the reports, stressing the pain and sufferings of the Romanians in Transylvania during the war. Because of a situation of uncertainty towards the believers, but also towards themselves, the priests from the Church District of Sibiu, just as others, chose to refer to the war as a harsh but just punishment of the divinity. Far from denying this aspect, the archpriest and other priests present at the meetings of the Committee of the church showed the complexity of the situation in a difficult moment, the hardships of everyday life at war, which Stefan Zweig named one of the 'astral hours of humanity'.

Keywords: Romanian nation, Church District of Sibiu, loyalty, First World War, Orthodox Church

Introduction

The First World War was a known finality for the dualist Empire, but we are interested to study it thoroughly regarding every aspect of the complex Romanian society within the dualist state.

The Habsburg Empire had been the one to impose dualism, but it hadn't had the chance to benefit from its advantages, because over time Vienna kept fewer levers in order to remain a fundamental structure of the empire. As it was expected, especially for the nations from the Hungarian part of the Empire, the only process that followed its course, revealed in the case of the Romanian nation, had been the one to ensure the passing from the dynastic loyalty to the national identity.

Regardless of the religious confession of the Romanian nation, the Church remained the most powerful stronghold that ensured identity, a specific way of manifestation both on the social and national levels, because the Romanians hadn't been attracted by the model of the recalcitrant nation, as it was built by the authorities.

As we've explained, the Orthodox Church from the Transylvanian space has been first of all 'a complex institution, which widely overcomes her traditional spiritual role' (Maior 2006, 222). The historian Liviu Maior was convinced that, as the events went by, especially during the First World War, of all loyalties, which had been created by Vienna and then by Budapest, theorized and presented as a model in front of the nations of second rank within the empire, they chose (and this was also the case of the Romanian nation) the only viable one – the loyalty towards themselves. Thus, according to the historian Liviu Maior the so-called triad of loyalty (towards emperor, authorities and nation) was solved through a simplification of the first two, but that final process had been with difficulties and syncope.

In the same way, as in the case of the majority of those who were at war in the summer of the year 1914, it was thought that it

was a short conflict that would last several months, after which Serbia would be redressed. The rural Romanian world from the Transylvanian space, which represents the focal point of our study, had received some orders to accomplish, as it had been earlier, during other wars of the Habsburg Empire. The Romanians even had received laudatory words from the generals and sometimes from the emperor himself for their exceptional bravery.

The two Romanian Churches – Orthodox and Greek-Catholic – had tried through their speeches to impose again the image of a spotless loyalty towards the emperor. The sermons about war were based on examples from the Old Testament and were characterized by apocalyptical notes; the war remained the only way through which society could have been brought on the good path. Thus, for many believers, the war became a 'punishment given to men by God for their sins, a harsh, but necessary method' (Barlea 2004, 201).

The hierarchs of the mentioned churches were also forced to consider themselves political leaders of their believers, although it was known that the Romanian nation had lay elite, close to the clerical elite. Such a role had always been ingrate and especially impossible to annul. When Budapest had asked to demonstrate once more their loyalty through sermons and reports for the mobilization of the Romanian nation to defend their homeland, there were the first difficult moments due to the fact that all bishops and priests couldn't convince anyone – 'neither administrators, nor civilians' (*Ibidem*, 206).

Motherland had been a difficult notion to perceive, especially speaking strictly geographically for the majority of the Romanian nation, formed mostly of peasants. It is certain that the Romanian nation had become a society that traced its loyalties during the dualist period. Inevitably, all the functionaries or officers had as their model the literary hero Apostol Bologa, but in this context the peasantry was a special case, as it represented the majority of Romanians numerically. The peasantry had accepted either individually or generally its fatal fate, going to another war not due to the inspiring 'image of the Austro-Hungarian motherland', but due to the fact that the political elite had a selective memory. The historical events on Transylvanian ground were sufficient for the collective mentality to learn and establish a common denominator of the reality so that distrust became in time a fissure that couldn't resist any longer.

The Church District of Sibiu in Reports and Documents of 1916-1918

What we call today a weltered history with a triumphant end – the Great Unification on the 1st of December 1918 – had been a series of endless dark and complicated events, at the end of which the Romanians learned that beyond this war, there was another one – of becoming aware of the sense of the verbs 'to be' and 'to realize' in order to establish the destiny of their nation (Sorostineanu 2004, 190).

In our case, my interest was focused on the reports and the analysis of the state of mind of those who were involved at the Church District of Sibiu during a short, but significant period of time 1916-1917 for the Romanian nation of Transylvania. We've analysed the reports of the sessions during spring of 1918 held by Dr. Ioan Stroia and the Committee, respectively the Synod of the mentioned district.

We have to mention several aspects about one of the most distinguished archpriest in Archdiocese of Transylvania – Dr. Ioan Stroia – the one who became later the first bishop of the army in Romania. He was born in 1865 in Fântânele, Sibiu county and he died in Alba-Iulia, in 1937. He graduated the Evangelical Secondary school in Sibiu and then 'Andrei aguna' in Braşov, later the Theological Institute in Sibiu (1887-1890) and studies of pedagogy, history, geography at universities in Jena and Budapest. He held a doctorate degree in pedagogy obtained at Jena university in 1893; he was functionary of the Consistory in Sibiu (1894), professor at the Institute (1894-1901), priest and archpriest in Sălişte (1901-1908) and then in Sibiu (1908-1919). After the Great Unification in 1918 he was inspector in Sibiu county (1919-1922), regional director of education in Sibiu (1922-1923), metropolitan counsellor (1923-1925) and then bishop of army in Alba-Iulia. He was known due to his studies in pedagogy.

We may see the profile of a great clerical man from all the analysed documents and his writings on the horrors and tragic effects of war. We tried to understand the spirit of those involved in these documents, explaining their behaviour under complicated circumstances when the Romanian troops entered the war against the dualist state. That moment marked the new era of loyalties demanded from priests and believers alike. Far from being a comprehensive analysis of the attitudes at war of the Orthodox clergy or of the phenomenology of war, we analysed the ways in which the clergy related to the events mentally, emotionally and

in other hypostases: as refugees, interned in Western counties of Hungary, in parishes. Another analysed aspect is the situation of the family and the marks left by war (Stanca 1925; Păcurariu 1986; Triteanu 1919). Taking these aspects into account, we didn't focus on case analyses (such are: Dr. Ioan Lupaş' exile, Aurelia Goga's exile due to her son's (Octavian Goga) choice to leave for Romania, the activity of espionage of the priest Coman Baca etc.), but to reveal the gradual evolution in building the national individuality, separated from the official loyalty.

Most of the documents and information we got from Dr. Ioan Stroia, who was responsible for the Church District of Sibiu. The first segment of our analysis points out his attitude toward difficulties during 1914-1918, toward his superiors and his reaction toward his neighbours. The report of 1916, dated 15.10.1917 contains the strict required data: the Church District kept 26 parishes, the population was 31,828 inhabitants, 353 less than in 1915, the number of marriages (42) was smaller than of civil unions (53), the number of births 514, of deaths 720 (A.A. Sibiu 1917, III, 41).

There are numerous reports regarding the fate of other priests from this Church District and especially from parishes at the border with Romania. Thus, from the documents sent by him to Oradea, where the Orthodox Metropolitan Church was in refuge, we may sense a great fear and unrest for the future times. The military priests were the first ones forced to leave their parishes, as the archpriest wrote in a report at the beginning of the year 1917: Traian Petrişor from Gusterita parish, Patriciu Curea from Ocna-Sibiului, Dr. Aurel Crăciunescu, professor at the seminar, Marcu Jantea from Sibiu, teacher of religion, and others were mentioned: Nicolae Dorca from Loamnes, Constantin Moldova from Cristian (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 320; *Ibidem* 1917, 524).

Some of the priests who were called to war as militaries asked for an exemption at the Consistory in Sibiu, offering reasons for that: Constantin Moldovan was the administrator of 3 parishes in 1917 – Cristian, Poplaca and Gura Raului; Emilian Craciun had to administer the parish in Gura Raului and Sau, where there was no teacher nor priest; Nicolae Fara asked for an exemption due to his family situation – a sick wife and a baby in Armeni (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 524; *Ibidem* 1917, III, 1924). Some communities kept asking for the return of their priests, as it was the case of Nicolae Topolog from Turnişor. Another military priest from Gusterita – Traian Petrişor – returned to Sibiu, being able to help his family of 5 children; but later he was called again at war on the Italian front (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 181).

Due to the long war, the cantors were called at war, even though some of them were exempted at the beginning. Only 16 cantors were in service at 3 churches from 29, the rest of them being replaced by old teachers or other believers. Their situation got worse due to the need to send more people at war in spring 1917 and more churches from the Church District of Sibiu were in danger of being closed, as there were neither priests nor cantors in parishes. Only several cantors were serving in churches – Ioan Vasiu, Romul Busca – and two others were missing (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 181).

The next metropolitan Nicolae Balan was a refugee in Oradea and wrote a memorial on March, 19th, 1917, in which he was greatly concerned by the possible negative consequences of the lack of priests, especially in the Southern Transylvania, which was exposed to military operations. Even if many priests were interned or retreated with Romanian army, the believers couldn't been left without priests to protect the people 'in the nowadays harsh times'. If the churches couldn't remain opened, leaving thus thousands of believers with no comforts of faith, one of the solutions – concluded the priest – was to use priests widowers or priests from bigger parishes (*Ibidem*).

Other reports written by Stroia dating from 1916 state the situation of the priests with problems: 18 priests out of 26 parishes were interned, refugees or with material issues: Ioan Druhora in Boita, Nicolae Dorca in Loamnes, Isaia Popa in Ocna-Sibiului, Alexandrescu Vidrighinescu in Ocna-Sibiului, Emilian Dancasiu in Rasinari, Trandafir Scorobet in Roşia, Dumitru Bunea in Sadu, Emilian Craciun in Sadu, Nicolae Manitiu in Vurper, Ioan Roman and Ilie Piso in Talmacel – all interned; George Simplacean in Cornatel, Ioan Stanescu in Mohu – financial issues; Maniu Lung in Rasinari, Emilian Cioran in Răşinari, Dr. Ioan Stroia in Sibiu – refugees (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 620).

More aspects are written in a detailed variant of the report: in Cristian, the priest Constantin Moldovan with the inhabitants were forced to leave the village and when they came back, the houses were destroyed by the army; George Simplacean found his home destroyed, while Nicolae Dorca's home in Loamnes was destroyed by the army, even the windows and the doors were taken out.

Isaia Popa was interned and soldiers had lived in his home; the most difficult situation was for Coman Baca's family after the priest's arrest. The wife had to take refuge and one son died after trying to save something from their goods. Dumitru Bunea's house in Sadu was hit by a grenade, while Trandafir Scorobet's family lived in utter misery. The archpriest was also affected after his refuge to Oradea, as his house in Gura Raului was devastated by the army and destroyed by a grenade (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 620).

Another report written in 1917 by Dr. Ioan Stroia tried to establish a hierarchy of priests who needed an urgent financial aid. Two of the cases were obvious: Trandafir Scorobet in Roşia with 6 children, Dumitru Bunea in Sadu and Emil Dancasiu in Răşinari – all interned in Zombor, with no accusations; and Nicolae Dorca from Loamnas interned in Sopron (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 1028).

As it may be easily observed, the biggest problem was that of the priests forced to leave their parishes by authorities or by military operations, as well as of priests interned in the Hungarian Western villages: Zombor and Sopron, being considered potential dangerous people for the country.

In 1916 one of the priests from Rasinari, Emil Dancasiu, sent to Cluj to face the Military Trial as a witness, ended up in Zombor with no sentence. His despair is clear from his letter to the archpriest: 'I have to spend my time on streets like a dishonourable man' (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 600). Another priest Alexandru Vidrighinescu from Ocna-Sibiului wrote that he was 'destroyed with anger and lack of material means, not willing to receive charity'. These were new problems for the Orthodox Church to face in harsh times.

In a memorial sent to the Consistory of Sibiu in 1916 we learn more about the living conditions of those being interned; the paper was signed by priests and teachers from Alba and Sibiu, arrested and then interned in Zombor: Vasile Spatar, teacher and priest in Armeni, Ioan Morariu, priest in Bogatu Roman, Savu Avram and Savu Radu, teachers in Ocna-Sibiului and Dionisiu Raulea, teacher in Bogatu Roman. After the interrogations in Cluj, all of them were sent to internment places where there were also other Romanian peasants. Epidemics were normality in those interments, while the daily payment was insufficient 2 crowns/day. Metropolitan Vasile Mangra was asked to intervene so that they would be sent back or at least would get financial help, as 'under such dreadful and unbearable circumstances, anxiety and lack of occupation ruins us financially and spiritually' (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 1028).

Another priest Nicolae Manitiu from Sopron with his family in December 1916 felt humiliated by the impossibility to ensure bare necessities for his entire family and having a life 'incompatible with the priest's status'. Ilie Piso, priest in Talmacel was sent to Sopron on August 28th, 1916 with his family: a sick wife and two children with no financial support; he asked the Consistory for financial support to overcome the 'sufferings provoked by this cruel war'. In a similar situation was Isaia Popa from Ocna-Sibiului, interned with his family in Zombor and asking for financial support to be able to survive. Nicolae Dorca from Loamnes was interned with his family in August 1916 in Sopron with no reason. He was also asking for financial support, although he tried to take a bank loan, but everything he had was devastated. The priest Ioan Roman from Talmacel was among the refugees in Banat, at Milasul Mare with his family, being unable to return to his parish and in financial difficulty. Coming back to Loamnes and trying to rebuild the schools, the priests found himself in a difficult relationship with the mayor who requested his internment in Zombor. The entire case was solved by the direct intervention of the priest at the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Budapest (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 1028).

While the ecclesiastic authorities from Sibiu could intervene and mediate for clergy members, the chances were low in case of other citizens interned in Zombor. Joandrea family from Sibiu was one of many cases when the elders – Petru (62), Ioan (66) and Nicolae (72) were on the verge of death due to their internment and lack of financial support. The facts that one of their sons fought in Galicia, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania in the 12th Regiment of artillery, while another one died in Bucovina in 1915, decorated with the Golden medal for bravery, and Nicolae Joandrea offered his support to the mayor of Sibiu until the arrival of the German army didn't matter at all (*Ibidem*).

Archpriest's reports also described the situation at war, when the works of the Synod of the Church District in 1917 couldn't be held, as well as the exams at the confessional schools.

Priests' requests of financial support were also numerous in cases when they remained in devastated by war areas. George Simplacean, priest in Cornatel and teacher for 3 years, wrote about those times: 'after the Romanian invasion I had to take refuge and I

and my family became the victims of war, as village Cornatel was evicted, being between the lines of fire'. Coming back, he saw his house destroyed, the damage being of 800 crowns, aspect mentioned in a document by town clerks, specifying that the priest was of an 'exemplary moral and political behaviour during the Romanian invasion'. People didn't have animals, feed, and the artillery bombed a part of the houses, as well as the church and the school, so that the damage was of 800,000 crowns for a parish of 700 souls (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 620).

Another priest Nicolae Secasan from Rusciori was evicted from the village with other inhabitants, while the men were enrolled. He left with his wife, carrying on their back what they could, as the carriages were used by the Austro-Hungarian army to transport munitions. They buried the archive of the parish in the cellar of the vicarage to protect it from fire. When they came back, they noticed that everything was devastated, while the documents of the parish were scattered everywhere. He ended his letter, expressing his regret of waiting almost a year for a financial support from the state or from the church (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 620; *Ibidem* 1917, III, 1924).

In spring 1917 12 parishes didn't have priests and some of them were in that situation from the beginning of the war: Boita, Talmacel, Selimbar (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 161).

Valeria Dragomir, a priest's wife in Porcesti, requested financial support due to her husband, who 'left for an unknown place'. That was the best way to express the difficult situations in which were most of the priests from the Southern part of the Empire when Romanian soldiers forced the priests to become their guides. The priest Toma Dragomir came back, explaining his situation and considering that he was 'a loyal citizen of the state' (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 395).

The archpriest sent to Consistory a report with the support for the priests in 1916. The money had to compensate for the war situation, as they were not given to Orthodox priests due to political reasons. 25 of 29 priests received sums of 400 and 200 crowns; the total sum was 250,000 crowns, proving the difficulties in which were their parishes (*Ibidem* 1916, III, 620).

Another short report written by Dr. Ioan Stroia highlights the complicated situation of the priests in Poplaca, where Coman Baca and another priest George Modran were interned in Sibiu, being accused that they 'officiated the divine service during the occupation and preached on that occasion' (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 84).

Stroia presented detailed reports on the works of the Synod of the Church District of Sibiu in 1918, when the meeting could be held according to the schedule on the 6th/9th of April 1918. The official report was dated on the 26th of March 1918 in an uncertain period, as the tone and words used are politically correct (*Ibidem* 1918, I/136).

At the beginning of the mentioned session dr. Ioan Stroia had manifested his grief that at that date the war was far from being over. The war had negative effects on him and his activity due to the intervention of the 'brothers from kingdom, who messed with our homeland' so that the consequences were 'fatal for them and especially for us' (*Ibidem*). The conflict was complex, as it stirred many ethnic conflicts with negative effects from all perspectives so that for him 'the sad memory of it would remain in the conscience of the people for decades and centuries'. Although the Romanian nation should have reached the 'ethnic conscience and unity', the nation ended up in sacrificing it and the believers started denouncing each other without being aware of 'how much venom they pour in the arteries of their national body' (*Ibidem*).

That atmosphere of suspicion and distrust and the absence of some members of the Synod detained him from organizing the session of the Synod of the Church District of Sibiu in 1917. The suspicion of authorities, especially after the summer exams in 1917 was another reason: 'I didn't want to expose myself to suspicion due to some denunciations against me because of some advice I'd given to pupils on the occasion of the exams' (*Ibidem*).

The documents concerning the Church District of Sibiu refer to: the protocol written at the session of the protopresbiterial Synod of Sibiu on 6th/19th of April 1918, the protocol of the Committee on the same date, the introduction already mentioned and the most consistent part represented by the official report on businesses and state of the protopresbitery of Sibiu in 1917.

It is also important that there were 25 members and 11 absentees and among those who were present we mention: Maniu Lungu, Dr. Nicolae Balan, Dr. Pavel Rosca, Victor Tordasian, Demetriu Comsa, Candid Popa, Ioan Boiu, Emanoil Cioran, Dr. Ioan Bucur, Dr. L. Borcia, Pantaleon Lucuta, Dr. Silviu Dragomir, Dr. Ioan Fruma etc.

It is relevant to point out the archpriest's perspective, who managed to present not only the state of the Church District demographically, socially, economically, spiritually, but also to point out the state of those who were members of that association. The archpriest was pleased that despite all the hardships the works were restarted after the refuge to Oradea from September 1916. On the administrative level there were no problems, but there were many teachers to replace due to their mobilization (*Ibidem* 1918, I/136). Many priests suffered due to their close relationship with the Romanian army, whom they hadn't perceived as enemy (which was the official title at that time). The following are those who were found guilty: Ioan Druhora, Dumitru Bunea, Isaia Popa, Alexandru Vidrighinescu, Nicolae Dorca, Emil Dancas, Nicolae Manitiu, Ioan Roman, Ioan Piso. All of them were interned and the last one was sent in another Church District as administrator in Zarnesti (Brasov). Then it was read the list of fired priests: Trandafir Scorobet, interned in spring 1918 in the county of Zombor in Hungary; George Modran; Toma Modran and Ioan Damian – freed from detention in Cluj. Dr. Ioan Stroia's comments are the following: 'they were taken away by the Romanian army and after their return detained in Cluj, as they had to pay for their contract with the enemy for many months' (*Ibidem*).

There were some priests who preferred not to return from Romania: Ioan Marin from Rau-Sadului and chaplain from Mohu, Victor Slavescu. Other priests were called again to militia and some of them, among which Nicolae Moldovan from Vestem were 'absolved at the request of Consistory'. There were however serious cases mentioned by the archpriest with no comments: priest Nicolae Vlad from Selimbar, who 'was sentenced to 10 years of prison because he greeted and served the enemy' and Coman Baca, the vicar from Poplaca who was still in prison after he was initially sentenced to death, because he 'would have been a spy' (*Ibidem*).

After all these losses, at the end of 1917, the Church County of Sibiu had 1 archpriest, 23 priests, 3 priests and one chaplain in the military service, 1 interned priest, 1 fired priest, 2 priests in prison, 1 priest and 1 chaplain missing.

No other cases were mentioned that would have forbidden the activity of the Synod and Committee in parishes. On the other hand, the 'state of the population' was another motif for concern. There was a report at the Church District that mentioned the cases of those 'taken' by the Romanian army in its retreat; it was an ambiguous expression, as it was known that they left willingly. Another statistics stated the number of those about there were no news or official reports. The population decreased from 31,625 to 31,114 souls (*Ibidem*). 13% (8,463) of the population were illiterate, including children under 6 years and mostly women and old people. Because of war, the courses for illiterate were impossible to organize. The number of marriages decreased – only 47 in church and 2 civil marriages; 44 civil communions were signalled, 3 more compared to the previous year. There were 480 births: 254 boys and 226 girls; 48,10% were illegal, an explainable thing at war. The birth rate reduced 2,2% compared to the beginning of the war, while the death rate maintained at the same level. In 1917 786 people died: 391 men, 395 women; 16 people more than in the previous year. Compared to the birth rate, the death rate was bigger, representing 2% of the population of the Church District of Sibiu. Dr. Ioan Stroia presented a table with the evolution of marriages, births, deaths since 1912 (*Ibidem*) (Table 1).

The next important chapter to present was the 'state of the churches'. The church from Bungard was severely damaged and couldn't be used; the believers from Slimnic managed to paint the entire church after collecting money.

The most sensitive aspect was the schools – the conflicting point between the Church and the state for a long period of time. The archpriest was worried of the fatal consequences over the confessional school and the way authorities used the war situation against it. The first obstacle was that the school year had started late – at the end of November – in Boita and in March in other parishes, while in some cases the schools were closed: Rau-Sadului, Rosia, Vurpar.

The numbers support that reality: 45% attended school, while 2379 children didn't attend school in 1917; 579 of them attended other schools. Dr. Stroia was convinced that despite the sorrowful situation of the war, parents were responsible for that situation. The 'proverbial indolence of our people when it comes to school' was mentioned, as well as the inertia of the administrative organs. The situation of the Romanian pupils of Orthodox religion (621, 339 less than in the previous year) was difficult, especially due to the fact that the didactic activity couldn't be started before the 2nd semester. The number of disciples was reduced: from 330 to 64. Later, the priests responsible with catechism were sent to the

front, became refugees or were interned by the authorities. The final exams were established on 2nd of May and 9th of June with great difficulty (*Ibidem*) ([1]).

Although being most important, the exams for the graduates of the 6th grade were not that successful; during previous years, 70-80 candidates were present, but in 1917 there were only 30. Dr. Ioan Stroia pleaded that more candidates would get their diploma that would permit them to have a possible right to vote.

The teachers' situation was not that positive either. Several teachers were considered 'disappeared with the enemy': Nicolae Bogdan from Nucet, Nicolae Modran from Bungard, Ioan Vitelar from Poplaca, Ioan Iancu from Mohu and Moise Fratila from Rasinari. The last ones had returned and were imprisoned in Cluj. Those who left were suspended due to the order of the Ministry and they didn't have the right to teach for 5 years (*Ibidem*). In its 'patriotic zeal', the Ministry cut the salaries of all the teachers from those schools and parishes from where the teacher 'defected to the enemy' and 'so that the homeland would be saved, the cultural area was created', which was, in Stroia's opinion 'a cultural patriotic wall by ceasing all Romanian confessional schools and by establishment of state schools'.

The archpriest noticed that the Ministry didn't consult the Consistory of Sibiu and efforts were made to transform the Romanian Orthodox schools into state schools even in the case of the Southern Transylvanian parishes at the border (*Ibidem*). There are cases when the Romanian Orthodox schools were transformed in state schools due to the signature of the inspector in the teacher's room of the village.

In the Church District of Sibiu, in March 1918, from a total number of 51 workplaces of teachers: 24 were qualified teachers, 5 were locum tenens, 22 were not occupied and didn't have locum tenens. The teachers of the un-occupied workplaces were: 13 at militia, 4 suspended, 3 disappeared and 1 imprisoned, while 6 more workplaces were about to become available. Due to a lack of qualified candidates, the workplaces remained un-occupied: Sibiu, Poplaca, Vurpar, Rau-Sadului and three other workplaces in Rasinari (*Ibidem*).

The remuneration was realized with no problems, aspect that makes us realize the special efforts undertaken so that the Romanian confessional school would be able to support the costs ([2]). The 26 schools of the Church District of Sibiu were satisfactory if we refer to buildings and endowments, while repairs were made only where it was necessary (*Ibidem*). The budgets of the parishes for 1917 were sent to the Consistory of Sibiu, but due to some administrative difficulties, there was no answer at the date of writing that report, in March 1918. The same happened in 1916 because of the war and of the fact that Romania entered the war, causing many deportations of Transylvanian priests in Sopron county of the Western Hungary, in the camp of the Serbian prisoners at Nezsider or in Zombor and Bechicherec mic (former Yugoslavia) (Pacurariu 1986, 179-209).

Returning to the problem of the budgets, there were some cases when it was impossible to establish the budget, because the priests or the necessary documents were missing. That was the case of Rau-Sadului, Modu and Rosia. The archpriest Stroia presented facts about the fortune of the Church district in 1916, the sum being the same as in the previous year – 1,546,030 (*Ibidem* 1918, I/136, the Report of the Church District of Sibiu written on the 26th of March 1918).

Dr. Stroia's report was favourably received by the present priests, while means of financial protection for the priests in financial difficulty were adopted due to the war situation. Thus, it was voted that the annual fees would be 530 crowns so that it would be possible to support the financial situation of priests with 400 crowns. Another proposal was to raise the taxes for schools thrice so that the priests and their families may be helped in their difficult situations. Concerning the archpriest's salary, it was voted an increase of 50%, the salary being of 300 crowns. There were more discussions on this subject, but the raise of the taxes could be made only in Sibiu (*Ibidem*). Moreover, at the end of the session of the Committee in Sibiu it was mentioned that these fee increases may lead to 'animosities and angers', which can be solved only by 'higher Church organs' (*Ibidem*).

Conclusions

We've attempted to present the administrative state of a Transylvanian county,

([1]) For example catechist Marcu Jantea was called to war and replaced by 2 pupils from the Theological Institute and after their return to Oradea, by priests Ioan Boiu and Ilie Beleuta.

([2]) The total sum of salaries was 87.028 crowns, 4853 crowns less than in 1916: from churches 35,721 crowns, from the state 37,530 crowns, from Consistory 1,400 crowns and from other 4 sources 12,576 crowns.

as well as some spiritual insights, using the reports and documents of the Church District of Sibiu since the beginning of the First World War. During that period, nothing was clear and certain, and the balance of power was inclined. The overwhelming reality of war was difficult for the archpriest so that he wrote about the year 1916 in the Report of the office of the Church District of Sibiu: 'there was such a year that you are glad that it passed and you wouldn't like to think about it' (*Ibidem*).

Loyalty was a subject reduced to the Emperor, as it was clear from the Habsburg Empire, but dualism has changed it, doubling the notion of loyalty toward the Hungarian and Austrian state. The Emperor Franz-Joseph had to replace Vienna's weakness when it had accepted the dualist state, but from the military point of view, the Emperor had survived as the only commander. Budapest didn't excel in requiring political loyalties from the nations that were entrusted to her, but it tried to impose an ethnic and national loyalty, as it had manifested toward Vienna in 1848 and later. Decades later until the First World War the situation got worse, Romanians' loyalty toward their motherland was tested in the moments when Transylvanian Romanians faced Romanian Kingdom entering the war.

Confusion, sadness are emotional responses obvious while reading the archpriest's of Sibiu reports, as well as letters of the interned or imprisoned priests, refugees, especially because most of the internments had a preventive role with no evidence. The official acts used a neuter tone, politically correct, but between the lines we may sense the compassion for those who had suffered at war. Romanians were not preoccupied by the issue of loyalty for their country, as long as Transylvania, Banat or Budapest was mentioned during the dualist period. Were there two motherlands in their mind, were they a special case or the reduplication was made automatically in the case of all the nations within the Habsburg and then Austro-Hungarian Empire?

The subject of dilemmatic loyalties is still sensitive due to a lack of a dialogue, but it requires a complex general context in order to unveil the aspects of Hungarian and Romanian loyalties in Transylvania of the First World War. Dr. Stroia's letter to the Metropolitan explains well the spiritual state that had characterized most Romanians during the surprising and painful years of the war: 'I am a good citizen of the Hungarian state' and 'we were born Romanians, thus we bear the guilt' (*Ibidem* 1917, III, 1028).

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Annex:

Table 1.

Year	Marriages	Births	Deceases
11912	318	1213	760
11913	331	1207	882
11914	211	1188	888
11915	41	872	913
11916	42	514	770
11917	49	480	780

Source: The Archive of Archdiocese of Sibiu, The Consistory Fund 1918, I/136.

Life on the Frontline and the Horrors of WWI as Seen by the Romanian Newspapers of Transylvania: *Libertatea*, *Deşteptarea* and *Românul* (1914-1918)

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Abstract. WWI has created the favorable historical context for Romanians to accomplish national unification. A mobilizing important role for Transylvanians was played by the press in the province, which, against all odds, like severe censorship, draconic laws, high fines, threats and intimidation, was still able to connect the population to the leading politicians of the time. Giving top priority to the news reports and trying to maintain their objectivity, *Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] and *Românul* [*The Romanian*] made a real difference in the way the history of Romania was made in those days. By contrast, the newspaper *Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*], a manipulating tool, carry part of the information printed in the first two, but it is far apart in terms of the unionist stand and the patriotic fervor the other two promote. Our intent is to present how the three periodicals of Romanian language reported on the life of the Transylvanian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army and on the horrors of the carnage produced by the war.

Keywords: WWI, Transylvania, Austro-Hungary, Romanian press, life on the front

Preliminary Ideas

The Romanian press in Transylvania went through dramatic times during WWI, not only because of the draconic censorship subjected to by the new martial laws, but also by the financial hardships and the confusion and fear created by the journalists who fled the province for Romania (The Old Kingdom). The outbreak of the war turned the Hungarian government into a really oppressive one that passed new laws concerning the press. One of them, law XIV of 1914, in art. 1 says that it guarantees 'free communication of ideas through written means and free founding of newspapers, just to render them null and void a few lines down. 'The requirements to meet were so hard, that in the end they were nothing but suppressed' (Theodorescu 1941, 84). Under these circumstances, many famous journalists decided to take refuge in the Old Kingdom, 'where they managed to make their word heard in which the loyal expression of the grievances and hopes of subjugated Transylvania were laid' (Lupaş 1926, 26). During the war there were allowed two Romanian daily newspapers compared to the seventeen Hungarian ones (Theodorescu 1941, 128).

We have chosen three newspapers of different political colors of the time for this presentation: *Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] (from Orăştie), *Românul* [*The Romanian*] (from Arad) and *Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] (from Braşov).

Românul [*The Romanian*], the official newspaper of the Romanian National Party, 'a political daily with a literary page', based in Arad, was published between Jan.1, 1911 until Feb. 28, 1916, Oct. 26 until March 22, 1922, 1927 until 1932, and from 1935 until 1938. Between 1916 and 1918, *Românul* [*The Romanian*] appeared only a few times because it was closed down by the Hungarian authorities (Simion *et. alli.* 2006, 676). The editing team was made up of leading Romanian intellectuals who supported the unification: Vasile Goldiş, Al. Vaida-Voevod, Teodor Mihali, Iuliu Maniu etc. In the first issue, the editors published on the front page an appeal 'To all Romanians!' in which they expressed the direction the newspaper was about to take: 'to awake and strengthen the national conscience by enlightening the souls about the great truth that the national rights were the absolute condition for cultural and economic progress'. The paper's manifesto specifically stated the roles of the press and the journalists toiling this field: 'We know what power the press has, especially in times of peoples' awakening, and that's why we value both the talent and the honest souls that nurture them'. [...] The journalists of a nation

must be, first and foremost, dedicated, in blood and soul, to the spirit of national solidarity. Moreover, responsible journalists of a responsible nation must be the most valuable and stable expression of national cohesion' (Hangiu 2008, 759-762). All contributors to the newspaper played a key role in the Great Unification for which they worked tirelessly.

A short review of the activity of the newspaper *Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] is made by Constantin Sulică, the director between 1916-1917 'an independent newspaper', (as it is stated on the front page of each issue) founded by Arsenie Vlaicu and Constantin Sulică in 1904, in Braşov, 'in the middle of a true upheaval' right from the start, for the purpose of 'shedding the coat of a social-economic paper and that of a local entity and turn itself into a political tool, embracing all the manifestations of the political life of the entire Romanian population of the motherland'. In the first seven years, the activity was run by the founders, 'and beginning with 1912 Eugen Brote, then Arsenie Vlaicu and after the war broke out, Prof. Nicolae Sulică ran the paper'. After relocating the newspaper to Budapest (1916) the activity became the responsibility of Nicolae Sulică, while Ioan Făgărăşianu and Vasile Mangra became contributors. (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 27 a, 1). Vasile Mangra had quite an interesting trajectory through these times, as he first pleaded for the rights of the Romanian minority in Transylvania, even as a delegate for the Memorandum to Vienna, but later to become a turncoat and support the Hungarian government's policies on minorities.

Founded in 1907 in Orăştie, the newspaper *Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] changed its profile several times, from 'national people's paper' (Oct.8/21 1915 – Aug.23, 1917), to 'national political paper' (Dec.25, 1907 – Jan. 19, 1915) then to 'political, social and economic paper' (Dec.13/26, 1918). A biweekly, Monday and Thursday, the newspaper *Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] from Orăştie had a wide circulation because the editors felt a great moral responsibility toward their readers, the publication targeting not only an educated audience, but especially the rural population (Hangiu 2008, 363). Ioan Moța was 'director and editor' and, over time, the leadership was held by I. Munteanu, I. V. Ioanovici, Nic. Oprişiu, Şt. Popp, Savu Roman, Iulius Ioanovici, Alex. Iozon, Ioan Adam, Const. Şandru, Pompiliu Albu, Cornel Muntean, Ioan Vasiu, Ioan Moța. (Simion *et. alli*. 2006, 55).

Many of the materials published by these three newspapers about life on the frontlines of the Romanians in the Hungarian army and the horrors of war can also be found in many other documents, files, and memoires of those who participated directly at this world event, this way proving their authenticity.

Life on the Frontline

Living away from the frontlines and lacking direct means of information – visual or audio – the civilian population had two sources of news about the war: newspapers and letters from the front written by the soldiers there. The picture of life on the front was complex because it is divided between daily military routine in the barracks and the dreadful days fighting in the field when everybody was facing death. The newspaper *Românul* [*The Romanian*] took the initiative and published some of the soldiers letters, thus giving the readers a unique glimpse of life in the trenches of WWI, that simply overwhelm the imagination of any man of common sense and humanity. These letters had actually a therapeutic effect on the soldiers who this way were ridding themselves of traumatic images and repressed feelings accumulated during military actions. The newspapers become this way some sort of 'frontlines journal' that depicts the horrors of war, regardless of the places where it was waged. These memories are vivid proofs of the extreme limits man is forced to reach under the pressure of killing fellow men or being killed by the same.

Life on the front has many aspects. Mother Nature can be a very good friend or the worst enemy of a soldier. Geography also played a major role in winning or losing a battle. Exhaustion came not only from actually fighting, but also from other activities related to military action like digging trenches, long marches, adapting to living in the open without a roof above your head or putting up with cold or heat. 'We suffer of cold as at night falls with harshness. We've begun forgetting the comfort of civilization and became tough soldiers who have to suffer and die' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no.196, 4). A few days later, another soldier was writing: 'Early in the morning, we couldn't feel our frozen legs. Fire is banned, as we are ready for the enemy to show up at any time now and the fire would give us away' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 199 a, 1).

At the beginning of the war, although the winter was giving everybody a hard time, the fighting went on in high gear on all fronts.

Heavy fighting was reported between the Central Powers and Russia, with a praise for the first with emphasis on their perseverance and endurance, 'and who, with courage and strength fought under circumstances hard to imagine. Very often they had to fight in waist-high snow and bitter cold, clinging on their weapons with frozen hands' (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1915, no. 6, 1). In 1917, from different publications we learn about changes in the unfolding of events due to harsh winter conditions. The bitter cold weather was slowing down military operations so that 'due to harsh frost, military operations have come almost entirely to a halt'. On Bukovina front, the Russian made several penetration attempts, but all failed' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 2, 3). Later on, we find out that in spite of the bitter cold with temperatures of -25-30 C 'our soldiers, against these natural elements, have scored a few successes in a series of military operations' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 5, 4).

In spite of the harsh winter raising serious hurdles for the Central Powers' army, (whose lines stretched over 2,000 km), the soldiers in their trenches like a maze were at the ready round the clock, day or night, to stave off any enemy's attempt to break through our lines'. The alert is permanent with 'our batteries hidden in the woods, covered with snow or ice, ready to open fire any moment [...] our scouts crawl at night to the barbwire fences or the holes made by artillery shells in the ground [...], our army engineers dig non-stop and build carefully with an ear to any sound that comes from under the ground', and 'our troops are on patrol day and night, through cold or snow, in the line of fire of the enemy, to bring over ammunition, food supplies, and mail or to carry away to shelters our wounded' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 4, 3).

Even when the cold subsided, life was hard and lowered the troops' fighting spirit: 'The ground was wet and sometimes we were in the water day and night' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 272 a, 2-3). In the heat of the battle the ground played a crucial role. 'In some places, the soldiers had to go through water or mud up to the waist on the Serbian bank...' [...] (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 50, 4). Another soldier said 'he fighting was real hell, but we didn't chicken out, and attacked again, driving the bastards into marsh and ditches. In their despair, they were trying to swim, but there was no escape from death' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 181, 2).

Quite often, the nature is in striking beautiful contrast with the ugliness of the battlefield, warming up the souls of the peasant-soldiers who appreciate 'a beautiful summer night' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 225, 5). During their long marches, the Transylvanian soldiers discover and admire the beauty of the landscape, reminding them of the dear places left behind at home: 'the proud timber raising its heads toward the skies. Anywhere we looked, we saw different pictures: steep gorges, tall mountains, dark woods, aromatic orchards, cool valleys, with clear water wondering through empty fields. Nature is beautiful...' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 215, 2-3).

In spite of the optimistic press releases of the Hungarian authorities, who claimed that their army was well fed and upbeat, some information escaped censorship and showed exactly the opposite. Due to the harsh weather, the troops were supposed to be properly fed in order to be able to fight, but the real situation was a disaster. In his war journal, Octavian C. Tăslăuanu confirms this information. Even more than that, he discloses that hunger and despair push people to do things that in the past were unimaginable. 'Soldiers haven't had bread in two days. They begged the villagers for a piece they would pay a crown for. But the villagers had very little for themselves and even that was gluey and chucky. Hunger breeds special rights and morals. An empty stomach pushes you to steal and rob everything in your way'. Or: 'I didn't eat anything today. The soldiers either for five days' (Tăslăuanu 1915, 77-115). Another testimony of the hard life on the frontlines is carried by the newspaper *Românul* [*The Romanian*] that says soldiers had to march 50 km a day on bad roads and under enemy fire, having just water and crackers as nourishment (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 181, 2). Other testimony is carried by *Românul* [*The Romanian*] about poor food in the army, as soldiers received half-frozen potatoes to eat (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 272, 2-3).

Due to the hard life as a soldier, the time spent on the battlefield seems to expand by new rules. 'Ten months of terrible suffering have passed as ten years, through bitter cold winter, through sleet and mud, without food, exhausted by marches' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 215, 2-3). Fear was a major contributor to this state of mind, that could both paralyze or boost energy in critical situations: 'The death threat turns me wild, making my blood boil [...] I was able to take on all the Russians [...] My eyes were red with a rush of blood, I became rabid, I

was all shivering ...' (Tăslăuanu 1915, 282). Facing the enemy who can inflict either wounds or death on you, in these critical moments, everything comes down to primary instincts. 'I don't know if you ever tried to reach deep down inside you and feel the stir in there during such moments. Did you realize that man is reduced to a pack of instincts and how low he can stop? With each explosion, he check himself out with his hands, trembling in despair, he feels like spec, a fistful of clay in a bombshell crater' (Tăslăuanu 1916, 141). Those primary instincts were making some lose control and scramble for their lives, running back in the battle. In a letter, a soldier from Timoc acknowledged that 'When I saw death coming at us from all directions, I didn't raise my rifle in defence, but run for salvation instead. Ahead and on sides it was you, and behind was the river Sava with its muddy waters. But our officers didn't allow us to scatter because your hussars would have soaked us in blood. Our retreat was like the one of a snake. Glued to the ground, we were looking for every mound and hole to cheat death. To prevent desertion, officers were shooting those who refuse to continue fighting' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 190, 2-3).

War gives no breaks to anyone, 'not even a lull, for your soul to recover, no thought of mercy in their souls, as day and night, minute by minute, the war goes on with its life-or-death battles'. Not even a heavy death toll slows down the carnage. 'Our ranks are dwindling, some others make up for the losses, the long bursts of machine gun fire which kill tirelessly and indiscriminately cannot slow down the battle. In the end, no soldier who started out today will survive, but tomorrow some others will take their place and the terrible war looks as if it will never end' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 250, 1). At Verdun, 'wave after wave of soldiers were rushing towards the ramparts of the plateau as if they were possessed by some deadly madness, by an evil frenzy to commit collective suicide' (*Libertatea din Ardeal* [*The Liberty from Ardeal*] 1916, no. 11 a, 5). In front of this implacable killing machine only one question remains: 'What is the man? It's nothing.' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*], 1915 no. 221 b, 1-2). This is what Aage Madelung, from the general headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian army wrote: 'When they throw themselves forward, towards our fortifications with courage that only despair can breed, the bullets of our rifles do their job. They fall row after row, and finally, a decimated row manages to get over into our trenches, rifles in hand, like savages. Here only brute force can win the fists of the peasant and ironsmith, hardened by work back home. Death is a grand lady in the trenches. Death and blood [...] Corpses and Wounded'. (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1916, no. 22 a, 6).

The scenes of the battlefield seem from the doomsday: 'grenades were flying uprooting the trees lining the road, [...] columns of smoke rising all over the deserted fields, shrapnel was flying around filling the skies, the roofs were burning, cellars were full of mothers with children crying, the wounded tended by the medics' – are just a few strokes on the picture of a gruesome spectacle going on the Western front (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1915, no. 221, 1-2.) The articles about the battlefield and the fighting are extremely expressive. They all describe the chaos, the paralyzing fear, the deafening noise, the tension. Some of these impressions shared with the readers come from the front reporters, others from the soldiers, but all are extremely suggestive, revealing a true narrative talent. Some of them say: 'You just found yourself amidst a rain of flying bullets coming from all sides, and you didn't know where to turn for cover'. Or, 'The bullets were flying around us as flies in the summertime] (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 193, 1-2); 'First, the shells were flying, uprooting the trees [...] It was crackling all over. Columns of smoke were rising on all battlefields.' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1915, no. 221 a, 1-2); 'The Russian shrapnel was blowing up in the trees dreadfully. Only those who lived through this can imagine the terrible noise they were making.' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 195, a, 1-2); 'there was artillery booming and then a rain of shrapnel as if the sky had broken open and all the burning suns fall on the earth torching it in a flood of fire'. Or, 'the waves of German soldiers broke their heads against the granite wall of the French army and their hope for victory on the French front burst like a soap balloon' (*Libertatea din Ardeal* [*The Liberty from Ardeal*] 1916, no. 9, 3). The reader is surprised by the end of the article about the heavy fighting in the battle of Verdun. The clash of the forces left strong memories to the civilian population there, who 'in the floodlights of the Russian searchlights could see the battlefield at night like in the daylight. The landscape looked like in fairytales' (*Libertatea din Ardeal* [*The Liberty from Ardeal*] 1916, no. 11, 5).

Even when they were on the move, soldiers could not escape the reality of the war, preparing them for what was in store for them next. The battlefront noises, familiar to some,

new to others, were giving the clues about the tumult of the fighting that was going on in the distance: 'cannon fire in the distance was considerable' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 225, 5). The battles drained them of any strength, and the horrors of death exhausted them psychologically: 'The fighting had left us exhausted, our bodies were slumped under the burden of sufferance, our dirty faces were drawn due to fear and tiredness, our legs kept moving by themselves, like a machinery marching at a drumbeat. I was leading the march sleeping, and the soldiers behind me were doing the same' (Tăslăuanu 1916, 33). Life on the front had taught them that the enemy may attack any moment, so the tension was permanent: 'we were moving ahead in silence, but full of anger, through the tiring meadows. From time to time, the peace was shattered by gun fire. The boys, clamping on their rifles in anger, keep running forward with sweaty faces'. All the events of the day, all the scenes witnessed during battles get engraved into the soldiers memories: 'Late at night, unable to sleep because of haunting memories [...] I hear heavy sighs [...] I strike a match and in its light I see the boys wide awake, their eyes gazing at the ceiling, and once in a while, an «ah … ah…» hurting the silence' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 249 a, 1-2-3).

The pages of the newspapers abound in the description of brave actions of the Romanian soldiers. Their bravery on the Italian front is honored in most press: 'it is official that the Romanians from Ardeal have distinguished themselves through exceptional bravery' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 43 a, 4). The Detachment 45 is praised again and again: 'Reports show that the Romanian troops from Ardeal distinguished themselves again as heroes' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 44, 3). The Romanian Detachments in the Austro-Hungarian army were always assigned to spearhead the attacks. The reporter thinks the reason was that the Romanians were brave and strongly motivated. Even when the temperature dropped to -25-33 C the soldiers were sent into battle: 'despite all the natural hurdles, they engaged into action and they were successful'. But the real reason for assigning the Romanians to lead into battle was different. Hungary thought that the Great War was a godsend opportunity to eliminate the leaders of opinion among the minorities of the Empire, by sending them straight to death on the battlefield. This way, the entire Regiment 50 (Alba-Iulia) and half of Regiments 43 (Caransebeş) and 61 (Timişoara) were killed in action (Kirițescu 1989, 396). In our opinion, this was more than a proof for the disrespect for the Romanian soldiers who were simply used as cannon fodder. The Romanian peasant had never had military skills, but through praise, they might have gained some confidence in themselves. The same thing happened on the Serbian front: 'on the battlefield against the Serbs, half of a Romanian battalion was able to capture an entire Serbian battalion.' (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 53, 3). But the number of the Romanian losses is never given, just the heroics of the fact. The devotion of the Romanian soldier is praised and encouraged: 'The Romanian soldier, no matter where he was sent, honored his country and his people and made it clear that the interests of his kin in Hungary are the same as our own country's' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 74, 1). The articles with a manipulative spin always carry the syntagma 'our homeland' followed by the word 'Hungary' to drive the Transylvanians into believing that Hungary was their real country, not Romania. Probably this type of campaign would have been more convincing if it had been done in peacetime, accompanied by a package of more rights for the minorities living there. Now, this was too little, too late.

A false piece of news, fabricated to sow dismay in the public opinion, was carried by *Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*]. According to this, the Transylvanian detachments engaged in battle the Romania's proper army. 'Today, the sons of our country the Empire are fighting against their brothers of blood and language from Romania on the front of Bukovina and Ardeal, but with the same courage and bravery as at the beginning of the war. Even more than that, they fight with more energy because they know that only by defeating the Romanian army is the only way to save to poor people of Romania from the slaughter of Russians occupiers who forced them to fight against their own will' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 46 a, 1). The information is totally false, as the high command of the Hungarian army had issued an order to prevent exactly this type of situation in which Romanians from Transylvania would have to fight and kill Romanians from the Old Kingdom of Romania (Kirițescu 1989, 397).

Romanians' bravery is given as an example also by some Hungarian and Austrian newspapers which praise them for their sacrifice and dedication. Praises are well deserved 'as they paid with blood a high price' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 199 b, 4).

It is really impressive the testimony of a priest who, in a letter, talks about the bravery of the contribution to the war made by Regiment 64 'that fights with the most courage' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1915, no. 19, 1). In a letter to the soldiers of Regiment 33 (Arad), Col. Franz Wallner, acknowledges the bravery and devotion of the Romanian soldiers: 'Through your heroic acts you have won the admiration of your superiors and forced the enemy to respect your bravery' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1915, no. 59, 1).

Mail is another rich source of information that reveals the hardships of war. Life on the front lines or in prison camps, the hardships and trauma that soldiers had to put up with are hard to describe. One way to find relief from frustration is to talk about it. The best news of the time was to learn that the soldiers in the trenches were to be replaced by another regiment: 'great news among soldiers that flew from mouth to mouth along the trenches was that in a short time they will be replaced by another regiment' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1916, no. 22 b, 1).

A born-poet, the Transylvanian peasant told his bitter life story also in poems. Many folk poems were published 'to show the world even clearer the way the people see the current situation and the hopes related to this war'. He fights for a better life, including the right to speak his native language: 'It doesn't matter if I fall, If we only had rights, Because those we don't have, [...] And for those we keep fighting, Romanian for us to learn, Just like my heart desires …' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 184 a, 4).

The French victory at Marne was acclaimed by the entire Romanian nation who fully understood the significance of such a turn of events: 'Romanians knew that a French victory will be a victory of all peoples who hoped for freedom, while a victory of the others will dash all the hopes of all peoples for a long time to come'. These feelings could not be made public, but there were signs that the people felt that in their souls for the French: 'The subjugated Romanians only in our hearts could be with the French, because any public display of such feeling was met with prison or internment' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1918, no. 41, 1).

The Horrors of War

First and foremost, war means suffering and trauma; pain, not only physical for those wounded in battle, but also psychologically hurt. The drama of war and the soldiers' suffering are given ample space in newspapers. These are not means of communication of statistics about the number of casualties, wounded or prisoners. Beyond information that might impress through great numbers of victims, one understands the dramatic experience of the people who went through and lived to tell the story. War changes lives forever. No one who stepped into the killing fields will ever be the same again. Newspapers dedicate generous space to casualty statistics in time of war, including lists of wounded soldiers, sometimes with the names of hospitals where they were taken for treatment. All three newspapers did a good job on this matter (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 195 b, 3). For example, those wounded on the Galician front and from the Przemsyl fortress were sent to different locations, like Dobrițin hospital (200 wounded), Braşov (400 wounded) or Alba Iulia (700 wounded) (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 59, 6). It is also specified that the Transylvanian hospitals admitted only those slightly wounded (*Libertatea din Ardeal* [*The Liberty from Ardeal*] 1914, no. 45, 4-5). News about wounded soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army was made public from the first month of the war when these started arriving to Budapest by train. It is about hundreds of wounded that were treated by the Red Cross on board of these 'hospital trains.' (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 41, 3). The wounded were regularly transported by train in the entire territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and this demonstrates efficiency as only in two days hospitals were able to handle 1091 wounded from the Serbian front (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 43, 4).

The lists of the dead and wounded were published regularly by the Minister of War. Until Nov. 1914, the first 28 lists were made public. Interestingly, people could subscribe for these lists to Leaflet of Romanian People (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 222, 4). It is really sad that the authorities of the time proved to be totally insensitive to such important issues to the people of the country who made serious sacrifices for the war effort, but got nothing in return, not even written information of the wounded or the dead. Moreover, official statistics released to the press was totally boggy. For example, between Aug. 1, 1914 and July, 31, 1915, only 3.69 % of the wounded died in hospitals and 12.87 % in field hospitals. These numbers are extremely small compared to the official tolls made after the war (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 19 a, 4). By making

these lists public, the newspapers were doing a great service to the families of the wounded or killed in action who otherwise were kept in the dark by the lack of common sense on the part of those in power. Still, a humane gesture was a cut in travel expenses by train for the next of kin trying to reach a distant medical facility where their dear ones were held for treatment or for burial (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 23, 3).

Death notices were always received with sadness: 'More and more painful news comes from the front about the loss of our fighters'. For better information of the readers, newspapers carry lists featured in other publications (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 63, 5). 'He died a heroic death for throne and country', followed by the names of those who fell in battle was the norm in the press (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 20, 4). Tribute to those who fell in battle was brought by the newspapers, not the authorities.

In the fierce fighting all over the battlefield every army had dead and wounded: 'A bleeding body of Cosak fell at our feet, with his eyes in tears and still rolling. Some of ours fell behind [...] without noise or calling [...] He was waiting for us propping a tree. Paler than ever he stretched his arm or his leg or he showed us his chest, gushing with red and hot blood [...] Death was felling without mercy [...] Bullets were flying around like in a whirlwind [...] The river's mirror is splashing muddy water...and on it dead bodies are floating down the stream [....]' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 249 b, 1-2-3). They leave behind fields and waters full of blood, the desperate calling of the wounded, destitute landscape where death reigns supreme. There are a lot of articles in the press describing the horrors of war, for those at home to be able to imagine the clash of these giant forces and their terrible consequences for mankind. The majority of the articles are so graphic they make the reader tremble: 'On a 30 km front the dead bodies of the English were laying, all killed by the shells, the grenades and the German machine-gun fire.' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 14, 2); 'their bodies were shredded by bullets' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 163, 1); 'Later on, while advancing, they found piles of dead bodies in that place' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 184 b, 1-2). The images from the Przemysl Fortress are just as overwhelming: 'Forty thousand Russians were laying dead on the battlefield [...] thousands of crows and ravens were flying above the fallen heroes. Over time, these flying hyenas became so nasty that even through a hail of bullets they landed by the hundreds on a corpse or a dead horse and even when a bullet killed one of them, they didn't scare to fly away [...] the air and the earth were shaking under the frightening fire of the artillery. The picture was gory [...] You saw a flash then a big boom the shell hit the ground and 3-4 soldiers were killed, some without legs, some without heads, all ridden with bullets [...] Many moving scenes you can see on the battlefield.' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 233, 1-2). A frightening picture is made in the mind of a reader when going over the article on the battles between the Belgian and German armies at Liege, where 'fierce fighting took place', but, with all the courage of the Belgians who 'defended themselves bravely' they had severe losses: 'so many fell in this bloody and angry attack, that piles of dead bodies around the fortress were lying 1.5 meters high!' (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 38 a, 2). The news reports in the German press on the battle of Liege differ greatly from those in the French newspapers. We notice again the desire of the Romanian paper *The Liberty* to report fairly to its readers by presenting both sides of the same story and drawing a conclusion as realistic as possible (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1914, no. 38 b, 2). In *The Romanian*, the battle is described in these words: 'Right away the hell broke loose against them' and 'a hail of bullets fell upon us. [...] We also opened fire and we start moving quickly towards the enemy [...] At five hundred feet the artillery ceased firing. [...] At fifty feet, order on both sides is given for hand to hand combat.... [...] Calls for help in all languages filled the air and the battle went on fiercely [...] Stabbed by bayonets, the Russian were begging for mercy, and those left alive surrendered.' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 225, 5).

A very serious matter concerns the deliberate sacrifice of some troops on the battlefield. We refer to some Romanian detachments from Transylvania who came under fire by their own army. The news came as a shock. It is true that on the battlefield the soldiers are supposed to obey their superiors' orders, regardless of who those may be, but you cannot help getting horrified when you read that an entire battalion of Romanians was wiped out in Tirol, some shot by Italians and the others shot in the back by Hungarians, who, 'instead of firing at the enemy ahead, unleashed their machine-gun fire against the Romanian battalion and this was wiped out right here, on this slope, shot from behind by their own'. This was not a

one-time event. The same thing happened on the Russian front, where a row of officers walked behind the soldiers in action and used to shoot anybody who, out of fear, was trying to run back, avoiding the enemy. The Russians were doing the same thing to their soldiers (*Libertatea din Ardeal* [*The Liberty from Ardeal*] 1916, no. 22, 3).

The newspaper *Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] pays special attention to the situation of the Romanian army, with its losses closely scrutinized. This way we find out that by Oct.12, 1916, a number of 178.829 soldiers were wounded, killed in action or missing in action, including 6007 officers (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916 no. 46 b, 4) or 'the number of Romanian soldiers captured while fighting along the Transylvanian border is over 10,000' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 55, 3-4).

Statistics of the dead and wounded is incorrect in the newspaper *The Awakening*. According to statistics presented between Aug. 1, 1914, and July 31, 1915, only 3.69 % of the wounded died in hospitals, and 12.87 % in field hospitals (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 19 b, 4). The real numbers after the war showed that 57.6 % of those under arms were either killed in action or wounded ([1]). The losses of the Romanian army during the withdrawal from Transylvania were huge: 'in this case the measurement of losses cannot be applied'. Due to these losses, 'the Army I and the Army II should be considered disbanded'. In the same article they say that 'Romanian total losses are well over 150,000' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 43 b, 3). According to the Red Cross Communiqué the total number of the soldiers killed in action was 149,688 and officers 6849 (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 43 c, 3).

The situation of those who had fought in Bessarabia was no better, and due to heavy losses. The governments of Podolia and Bessarabia appealed to the local population to be generous and open the doors to those seeking food and shelter and also help to bury the dead. 'Along the country roads dead, decomposing bodies are lying [...] we make an appeal to the population not to shut the doors in the faces of these poor who resort to begging, but as much as possible, to be hospitable' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 70, 3).

Sometimes, in order to figure out what the wounded were up to, the journalist visited them in the hospital. This gives us a chance to learn interesting details about what was going on the front. For example, one wounded soldier says that the Russian ammunition was actually ...'humane', as it was 'small in calibre'. From what these soldiers say, the journalist concludes that the war was part of their life by then and 'it was no longer a 'big deal' and it was far from what those at home imagined about it' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 185, 3-4). Aage Madelung, a well-known writer and war correspondent for Tageblatt, describes the same stark scenery, crowded with an impressive number of wounded who keep being admitted into hospitals. He says 'they came to me on their own. I didn't have to look for them'. It is a lot easier to read about facts and people we don't know protecting ourselves from painful direct perception. The situation changes when we experience facts first hand, when we gather impressions and emotions straight from a source. We become close and personal. 'I don't understand, I'm not impressed when history tells us about disasters of big armies with no names, but when it mentions one name, the tragic fate of a single man, I bleed in my heat as if we had a common wound and a common death'. This was said about the sad fate of a soldier from Bukovina wounded in the battle of Lemberg who dies in the hospital of his severe injuries. It was simple coincidence that he was being removed from his deathbed when the writer was there and he shook at the sight of the dead soldier whose face was like 'made of wax' and the implacable course of life with his bed 'empty and waiting for the next one' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 242, 3).

In the cast-iron hospital beds soldiers of different nationalities were finding salvation by helping each other with the hope that this way they would become the people they used to be, to live and care like human beings, not as the killing machines they were in the trenches. Some got used to their infirmity and simply enjoyed being alive: 'They were happy to have gotten out alive from that ordeal'. They had been sent to fight each other's without any reason, without any hatred, and now, far from the front, where they used to 'to cut flesh and break bones' they became again warm-hearted people. The idea is that a human life is worth nothing when they were in the trenches of 'broken hopes, of lost love and happiness, and through the hospital rooms with named and digaline prescribed

([1])www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/FWWstatistics.htm , accessed on March 15, 2014, 8,30 A.M.

during the inspection hours' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1916, no. 9, 6-7).

Once in the hospital, the wounded had a second chance to life. But before they were treated, they had to endure pain, fear and despair alone. These cases were not few or isolated: 'A soldier, wounded in the morning by shrapnel, had to wait in the torn trench all day, with other soldiers, until help arrived' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1915, no. 221 a, 1-2). It is impressive the letter of a soldier to his mother who says, 'the place I fell in was too close to the fire line so that the paramedics could not come to our rescue as bullets were flying by or over me ... [...] So, I had to lie there three days and three nights in the dam' place without any help... [...] Like the furnaces burning I was able to see the cannons firing in the distance, then the boom, then the shell flying over me, and the bullets over my head, over me, over my feet! I was expecting to be hit at any moment; a fatal hit, to save me from that ordeal which was worse than death' (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 31, 6). Some of them were lucky to have their friends close by to comfort them, thus proving that in spite of all dehumanizing situations they had been through, they were still kind people: 'The bullets were raining down on them, and the shrapnel were blowing up above their heads. He and Șandru were sitting together in the ditch, exchanging maybe the last glances'. Șandru was severely wounded, but Constantin did not hesitate long, and crawling through the dust he reached Șandru and 'started kissing him as if they were best brothers', after which he tender to his friend's wounds as best he could (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1915, no. 235, 2-3). Everyone was trying to save their brothers-in-arms, thinking that one day it might be him in needing help. 'You could see how the enemies were carrying their gravely wounded with them' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 167, 4).

The civilians had the opportunity to see the horrors of war by themselves not only in the hospitals when they visited their kin, but also in the train stations 'which were full of stretchers. From underneath the blankets you could see pale faces and bandaged heads. Some wounded were moaning and sighing. The dim light of the dusk over the white linen was turning them into coffins of human misery' (Tăslăuanu 1916, 45).

Humane behavior was very common, people wanting to demonstrate that, in spite of the misery brought about by war, they still felt deeply concerned by the fate of the fellow man, even of different nationality. For example, a Romanian soldier of the 50th Infantry Regiment, wounded in the battle for Ivangorod fortress, was treated like a hero by those around him, even trying to say to him a few words in his language (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1916, no. 8, 7).

The pain of those who saw their dear ones go down in battle is revealed to us in messages full of compassion they wrote to secure to the anonymous heroes a place in history, never to be forgotten. By publishing these messages, the newspapers of the time meant to guarantee that place in history of the heroes who gave their lives for the country. Among those who perished, there was 'teacher Ion' Chertes from Sărățel, who fell in battle in Galicia. He had been a good teacher, dedicated to educating the young, 'to whom he taught the love for God, people, and country' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1916, no. 22 c, 6.) The tombs of the Romanians fallen on different fronts will disappear over time, the grass 'weaving its cover over the red meadows and the wind blowing gently over them, and children will play innocently on these mounds, losing their small flock'. In spite all this, the death of a man with 'a gentle soul, a hard-working man, an idealist, a dreamer' was regretted by an entire army company. 'There are many fresh mounds in Galicia, under which nameless heroes rest, but there is one higher close to the top, where Horațiu Deac is resting' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 257, 2).

The brave were not always lucky enough to sleep their eternal sleep in privacy. In the end of a horrifying battle that took the lives of many, the only way to a decent burial was a common grave. The desolate landscape at the end of a battle was mind-boggling. A letter from a soldier from the field of the Russian Poland drives the message home that the nightmare was just beginning at the end of the battle for those who survived it: 'We were standing in a field torn by grenades and shells, a field covered by the poor dead, limbs like legs, arms, heads, and pieces of burned human flesh. It cannot be described'. But they prove to be good Christians once more and they burry the misfortunate who lost their lives, 8-10 to a grave. After the burial, 'to these heroes, a military gun salute was given by both sides' (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 272, 2-3).

Unfortunately, the social status of a fallen hero made a huge difference in the form of the burial. A burial with military honors and protocol, contrasting with that of a foot soldier, was given to lt. Aurel Carp, son of the politician P. P. Carp. At this ceremony even the

‘commander-general was present, along with the entire officer’s corp’, and the band played the finest tunes for the departed (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1916, no. 46 c, 4).

The victims of war were not only from the military. Among these there were auxiliary personnel who also died, like doctors and priests. For example, dr. Aurel Stana fell in the line of duty while tending the wounded in the field. He had been decorated for bravery once before. Those who knew him gave homage to the brave doctor who helped so many soldiers. The newspapers carried obituaries ‘presenting the most sincere condolences to the father of the deceased. God Lord to comfort him’ (*Deşteptarea* [*The Awakening*] 1917, no. 21, 4).

The hard life on the battlefield and the horrifying images that they witnessed turned the brave soldiers of Transylvania into men: ‘the brave of yesterday now looked like old men. With their faces drawn, bearded and in rags, slumped on their crutches, some with their faces wrapped in bandages, they stepped off the trains, find their way to the hospital.’ When columns of the wounded run into columns of new recruits the contrast is even more striking: ‘It’s a painful view [....] All songs are muted [...]Those who come and those who go pass by each others in silent and shy, eyes on the ground, as if two funerals have crossed paths.’ (*Libertatea* [*The Liberty*] 1915, no. 1, 5). Newspapers managed to pass on to their readers just a glimpse of the entire nightmare that these poor people had lived or were about to live. To make sure that their letters would land at their destination, soldiers were supposed to meet certain standards of secrecy: ‘Censorship does not allow me to write you more and I’m not sure even this will ever reach you’. In spite of censorship, he manages to describe a few snapshots of a cruel reality beyond belief in peace time: ‘Our boys were stabbing the Russians pushing even the barrels of their rifles into their bodies, after which they still had the strength tfo cry out ‘Hooray!’ The soldier doesn’t forget to add that the enemy, the Russians, outnumbered them 6 to 1. He cannot forget ‘the piles of dead bodies after the battle that I still see in front of my eyes. After that, a field hospital where, depending on permission and time, I looked for my wounded brothers-in-arms, bringing them comfort with sweet talking. […] I’ll never forget when, at a field hospital, I wept for a wounded Russian soldier, captured by us. He, the poor guy, was a Romanian from Bessarabia. [...] He was whining in pain because a bullet struck him in the left ear, exited through the nose and stopped into the cheek. He was really sad that he was called to duty to fight brother against brother’ (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 219, 5). Facing critical situations in quick succession, and dazzling speed, people got used to praying for any kind of liberation. ‘Happy Those Wounded!’ (*Românul* [*The Romanian*] 1914, no. 194, 1-2).

Conclusions

In spite of censorship, media manipulation, analysis of private correspondence, permanent scrutiny of the public opinion, the articles in the press of the time manage to drive home the horrifying messages of reality of war, along with the will-power of the soldiers to keep their humanity. On the other hand, we get to understand the acts of violence committed by soldiers who in these horrible circumstances tried to stay alive to get home and go on with their lives. The picture can only be complete if we also look at the hardships those left behind had to go through to survive in a world full of violence and madness that mankind had to face ever since history can remember, but managed to master the crisis every time, maybe getting wiser not to repeat it.

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Paul Eder's Memories from the Bukovinian War (1915-1916)

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Abstract. This work is a front diary kept by a young Transylvanian Saxon intellectual who went to war in 1915 as a volunteer within the Austro-Hungarian army. It remained unfinished because of the author's death, and, due to its large stretch, over 200 pages, our hypothesis is that it was meant to be a great fresco. Indeed, the war is seen in all its aspects, and the discourse is rich in information. The main awkwardness of the author's discourse may be the too great emphasis put on describing the other officers' personalities, lives, and accomplishments, thus being a sample of a genuine elitist viewpoint.

Keywords: unfinished book, war, elitism, officers, descriptions

Paul Eder's (1891-1924) unfinished memories from World War I, published in the form of a book entitled *Kriegserinnerungen* (Memories from the war), are in the possession of the Brukenthal Library, on the shelf mark II 6218 and the inventory number 6347. This book was published posthumously in Sibiu in late 1928 and has got 236 pages, being divided into eleven chapters. A nephew of Bishop Friedrich Teutsch, Eder studied law, beginning from 1912, and received his lawyer diploma in Cluj on December 10, 1920. He worked for a short period as a reporter within the statistic department of the Transylvanian Ruling Council, but turned to the legal profession, working as a novice by a few lawyers. Nevertheless, his trade did not bring him the satisfaction expected and so went on to study history, a vocational pursuit abruptly ended by his untimely death from influenza.

The book is bound in thick grey paper, which may well represent the colour of the Austro-Hungarian uniform, the so-called 'Hechtgrau', 'pike grey'. This uniform was introduced a few years before the war, in 1908, as the authorities thought that this colour was less conspicuous (Jung 2003, 16).

After having been rejected in September 1914 as unfit, at the end of the March of the following year he was eventually accepted as a volunteer. In the afternoon of April 10, 1915, Eder left by train to Graz and from there to Muraszombat (nowadays Murska Sobota, in Slovenia). There he visited the castle of Count Szapary, a massy beautiful square Renaissance building with many restorations; on the west side, a Gothic nave could be found, which was the family chapel.

The road to Radkersburg was a delight for the author, due to the gentle hilly landscape and the rich fruit cultures which were in full blossom at that time of the year. In many gardens stood the image of Christ, before which the uhlans also took off their caps. Radkersburg lay between the mountains and offered a friendly sight, having got a small market place endowed with the emperor Franz Joseph's statue. The houses were built during the Middle Ages by German townspeople. Atop a hill, one could still see the fortress, at whose feet lay the oldest part of the town, namely the seigniorial city. The towns Spielfeld and Bad Radkersburg from southern Steyermark have been for centuries places of customs and border police. In Bad Radkersburg there was no railway station, only barracks of the Austrian army (Staudinger 2010, 101-102).

Eder spent three weeks in Muraszombat, towards the evening being busy with learning the use of the carabine in the room of Ralph Jordan, another fellow officer. As for Muraszombat itself, the pride of this town are the Hungarian documents of the Murska Sobota library are rich in number and valuable, in size nearly as many as those found in Lendava/Alsólendva collection (Göncz and Vörös 2005, 217).

After leaving Muraszombat, the author rode to Pressburg (nowadays the Slovak capital, Bratislava), passing through Steinamanger (Szombathely, nowadays in Hungary), which he describes as 'a clean city, where German is still

spoken'. In Pressburg, which reminded him much Transylvanian towns, Eder paid a visit to the baroness Pach, in order to arrange his quartering in an advantageous unit. It was thus a long journey made on horseback, across what is nowadays land belonging to no less than four countries (Slovenia, Austria, Hungary, and Slovakia). From Bratislava, the author went by train to Holics (nowadays Holic, in Slovakia), a town which he describes as being at that time a Slovak-Jewish village, having around 1,000 inhabitants. It was there that, in time of peace, the great hunts took place. The castle, built in the early 18th century, originated as a frontier fortress and, according to local tradition, was often visited by the empress Maria Theresia. In a square within the castle yard were the stalls, where 2,000 to 3,000 horses could be kept. Eder put at the hotel Winterstern (in English: the winter star), as the houses were poor and expensive at the same time.

The sword brandishing had to take place every day at 11:30 AM, in the castle yard. A lively description is made of the tactical table: 'In the theoretical teaching, which took place in the afternoon, the tactical table played the most important role. It represented a part of the Earth's surface, a fancy landscape made of sand, which could be changed in every moment. Blue threads stood for rivers, red threads for roads, moss stood for forests, and small cardboard houses had been stuck with glue by industrious boys. We had to be able to move within this space and solve the tasks according to war science and to the most recent experiences'. This method is still being used in the 21st century, tactical decision games being rehearsed through the use of sand tables (Holmes-Eber 2014, 294). These chapters are valuable for the interesting information they offer on the military preparations behind the theatre of operations. The mentioning of daily life of the officers is also valuable for the reconstitution of mentalities of the upper classes in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The last day a small formal dinner took place, where uhlans, husars, and dragoons sat, all clad in parade attire, whereas a gypsy band had been called to play the violins. The rider master was presented a horse whip with a gold handle, which he received seeming to have been impressed by this noble gesture.

An interesting observation is that the élite of the fighters was mounted, whereas the 'Schützendivision' (the defender division) was made up of those men whom the major did not like.

In the author's memory had remained the rides with the squadron alongside the Criş river on foggy mornings. The commanders were Erwin Bohosiewicz, who came from a Polonised Armenian family, as was often the case in Galizia, the author, and other two officers. Bohosiewicz was nicknamed 'Kobi', after the major's dachshund. The Polonised Armenian families had been in Galizia since the 15th and 16th centuries and were related to the Polish nobility, also having got social connections with them. Bohosiewicz had been educated by the Jesuits in Kalksburg, who had extra polished his innate gifts. The exclusive Jesuit seminary of Kalksburg, near Vienna, was 'the training ground for the diplomatic and administrative élite' (Tate 1995, 11). He spoke Ruthenian and Polish perfectly; he got along very well with his men, inquired after their needs, spend much time with them, and set the furloughs for them. He was also a devout Catholic and received from the cavalry captain Frauenberg a small holy image, which he wore as an amulet.

Here the author brings his contribution in the genealogic scope and also in the educational and religious ones. We can see once again that he is primarily interested in the background of the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie.

Another interesting personage was Charles Pennigtown, who was the son of the former American ambassador in Vienna and of an Austrian countess. A heavy drinker, he was a very good comrade, always even-tempered, never complained about anything, and was fearless towards the enemy. He was the lieutenant-colonel of the machine gun unit ('Maschinengewehr-Abteilung Oberleutnant').

Yet, the most pleasant memories for Eder were the rides through Count Meran's pheasant preserve, a well-kept wood with wide glades. On this occasion, the author held that in the Hungarian Pusta could be seen the most beautiful moonshine, the most beautiful evening skies, and the most beautiful sunsets.

The first sight of the consequences of the war was a burnt-down house in Körösmezö, where was the Hungarian-Galizian border train station; Eder writes that the house looked mystical in the dim light of the station lamps. After crossing into Galizia, the new sights were those left behind from the previous year, a few lines of barbed wire, and, sadly, wooden crosses of the fallen soldiers. The author's interest in the life and accomplishments of the élite are, as we can see, supplemented by his sentimental literary descriptions.

A quaint piece of witness was that Eder and his camarades used to entertain themselves by listening to the xonophone, which must be another word, or a trademark, for the gramophone. On festive occasions, the champagne was served up in the silver cups which the members of the regiment had to donate, whereas the Theresian riders had donated gold cups ('Bei den Festlichkeiten, die das Regiment veranstaltete, wurde der Champagner aus den silbernen Bechern – die Theresienritter goldene – getrunken') (Eder 1928, 48). The November mornings in Galizia are described as having been spent on some barren plains, with no woods in sight; on the fields were numberless crow rookeries and somewhere in the distance every now and then could be heard one cannon roar at a time.

An interesting piece of information is that somebody had procured a history of a certain regiment, a rarity extant only in few copies, in which it was stated that the point of attraction there was the duke Pedro of Orléans, who was the Brazilian empress's grandson. Another person worthy of mention was Friedrich Tinti, described by the author as a typical Viennese baron. Among his ancestors could also be found one of the doges of Venice. He was large-sized, a little bent, and with big ears, so being nicknamed 'der Propellerfredi'. The Venetian nobility left the city soon after 1797, and the image of the deserted palaces, with their curtains full of dust, appears in the 19th-century travelogues (Galibert 1850, 552).

The crossing of the Dniester river on a bridge is also described. Eder estimated that that bridge was roughly 80 to 100 steps long, it sounded under the horse kicks, and below the waters of the river, loamy and brown, were rolling awfully. Next, the road went on into the uplands, where, on the barren heights, the remnants of the farms could be seen, and a cold easterly wind was blowing. On the plains, the advancement was hindered by the snow, below which lay rifle pits and trenches, so that a unit commanded by the lieutenant Apponyi had the duty to scoop out those trenches with shovels. Yet their task was a heavy one, as the men were poorly dressed and had got no mittens.

The village Zazulince, where the troops were quartered, had suffered much from the war. Sheds and barns had burnt down, only the walls being left, and these ones were only scantily covered. The rooms were moist, the horses were freezing, and the saddles had come apart because of the moisture. But the next day was beautiful: the sun shone over the snow-capped mountains, the sky was wonderfully blue, the air was clear and pure, and because of the snow which had covered everything, the whole landscape seemed to be different from that of the previous day. Opposite the position was the village Szuparka, and the cupola of the Orthodox church ('die Kuppel der griechischen Kirche') of that village could be seen in the clear winter days.

On the first evening, the colonel had named Eder and other three comrades-cadets, which involved some advantages, such as a pay of 300 crowns, cigarettes for officers, and wine. The duty was an officer's one. This promotion was assigned to a young officer called Hans Kuenburg, who formed part of the colonel's entourage. For the squadron commander a new dug-out had been built, whereas the underlings had to live in the dug-outs remained from the times when the infantry had occupied this position. All dug-outs were primitive; anyway, the author had got in his room a good stove made of loam.

We underline here as well the author's juxtaposition in his memories of descriptions of upper-class persons, valuable information about everyday life on the front, and, again, beautiful literary descriptions. Religious aspects of the lands unknown to him are not overlooked as well.

Another personage whom Eder found important to describe was the colonel-lieutenant baron Pereira Arnstein from the hussar regiment 1. This baron was the most elegant man that the author had ever seen: tall, slender, with a handsome and distinguished head, always very well dressed. In want of any military awards, he wore the Marianne Cross, the so-called aristocratic 'Hundsmarke'. In soldiers' jargon, a metal piece bearing the person's number, worn to be recognized if he died. In Germany it was called 'Hundemarke', and in Switzerland, 'Grabstein' (Behrens 2011, 208-209). His grandmother Henriette Pereira was a famous beauty at the time of the Vienna Congress – at that time, in a gallery from the city was extant a portrait of her. Anyway, Pereira would talk only to the superiors, rarely thanked, and as a result was throughout unloved. Nevertheless, this officer was being wrongly judged, as he was soon to prove himself to be a peaceful man, with a keen interest in art; he himself played the piano and would draw and paint in the open, akin to the French Impressionists.

Together with her sister Cecilia, Fanny Arnstein, from the wealthy Jewish Itzig family of Berlin and herself the wife of a Jewish

financial, dominated salon life in Vienna between 1780 and 1818. Their salon was frequented by educated persons, and, according to a young Bavarian traveller, there could be found a pleasant and freer atmosphere than in those of the titled aristocracy, the etiquette of those ones being avoided. In 1818, upon her death, her daughter Henriette, who had married Ludwig Pereira, an adoptive son of the father, attempted to fill her place, this time moved to Baden, but, lacking the brilliance of the mother, Henriette retired from social life by 1830 (Hanson 1985, 114-116 *passim*). As a curiosity, in the 1960s and 1970s there lived a travel writer called Michael Pereira, who liked to wander across Turkey. Among others, he wrote a book about Istanbul, called *Istanbul: Aspects of A City*, published in 1968 (Stoneman 2010, 240). The name Pereira comes from the Spanish word 'pera', which means 'pear'.

Because of the dangerous situation that had arisen in the surrounding areas, the military had to spend Christmas and the New Year on the front. The Russians had attacked the Corda army corps, which was situated in the south-west, thus forming part of the 8th cavalry division. On an evening spent with the inferiors, the colonel was as good-humoured as he had never been seen. After dinners, he smoked from a long chibouk, and, leaned in his armchair, he would tell stories with his cunning smile, which could sometimes be hearty as well. He told that he had initially wished to become a sailor, but was not admitted at the Marineakademie because of his lack of mathematical skills, a fact that he was keeping on regretting. He had begun his career as a cadet-corporal at the Traniuhlanen, having served in Galizia, where he raised to officer in the staff, then he had been a riding professor at the War School (Kriegsschule). Upon this, he had obtained the command of the Archduke Throne Heir's regiment. He was well-read and interested in many branches of knowledge. For example, he had always on him Johannes Scherr's *Tragikomödie in der Weltgeschichte* or a similar thick book.

On the New Year's Day, because of the cold weather, the mass was held in the Orthodox church, a decision that the Greek-Catholic vicar took amiss. The sermon was long, including many kneelings; the officers were in the choir, and the squadron in the nave. The author listened to Ruthenian church songs with delight, remarking especially its long sad sounds. 'The foremost value of psalmodising is that it represents a form of prayer. […] It is also an effective means of counter-weight and of removing the negative elements of inner life, […] having got a keen conscience and a wide seizure of the meanings found in the hymns'. (Cavarnos 2005, 104).

During the following weeks, Eder had the task of having the holes in the road filled up. They were noticed by the colonel during his rides or strolls about the village; that colonel seemed to be much interested in this aspect, even charging a few specialised reporters to always let Eder know what went wrong. He was also compelled to go to the telephone and receive the usual news from Cernăuți. During a duty day on the wet road, he caught a serious cold and had to lie in bed with high fever for a fortnight. As a pleasant surprise, after his recovery, Eder stepped in the new dug-out, which had been built in the meantime and had got four rooms, a pantry, and a few others. In the dining room, the squadron trumpeter was also accommodated.

In February, Eder led a pleasant life in several villages where the squadron was being moved: nice and warm rooms, a little more comfort, and enjoyable rides. He also invented a mixture of cognac, hollands (Dutch juniper brandy), and cumin brandy, which was light yellow and had a very good taste. He visited his acquaintance Fritz Reimer twice, who lived atop a hill at a hour's distance. Reimer had got there a small spinet, whose sound was much alike that of the church organ. His dug-out was lit with wax lights, which had all, according to the Viennese workshop fashion, red and yellow screens. Reimer could speak for hours about food and wanted to compose an operetta, which he believed that would turn him into a rich man. The previous month he had become a flag-bearer, but was moved to a squadron whose commander was a sullen and jealous man, from time to time rude, and who was unable to make any decision. This commander was to be, moreover, soon discharged, also because of his kidney suffering.

The next part of the book has a gloomier character, as the fairly pleasant life from the first months had ended and the hard period before the actual warfare is ushered in. The most difficult task for everyone was the trench digging, especially for the older officers, who had spent their many service years on horseback. The dragoons were the worst in this and also in building activities. Stepping from the trenches built by them, one had to walk bent, so as not to be seen by the enemy. The officers of the Hungarian regiment of dragoons, because their way to be much coarser, had a hard task, having

to check all the time their attitudes and speech in order to avoid being ridiculous. That month the regiment was also weather-bound at one time, and the men were walking up to the waist in snow. Many dug-outs had to be freed from snow in order to enable those remained below to come out.

In early March, Eder was ordered to ride to the colonel established in Szukow. The landscape remained imprinted in his memory: the meter-high snow had been a little melted by the southerly wind, taking a certain blue hue. Alongside the road, in two places, lay corpses of horses, who had died because they had been underfed, not being able to withstand the tribulations of the bad road. The trees which had been touched by artillery fire had been stripped of leaves and branches and the author wrote about them that they 'looked even more ghostly in the evening light as during the day'.

On Easter Eve, an order came for an officer each from the four squadrons, along with four non-coms by squadron to take a position, in order to loosen the pressure exerted on the 42th Croatian division. A square was formed, but the men had to ride through the woods on a moonless night. The Croatian commander had forced away a large oil painting, which now hang in his room.

The move remained unnoticed by the Russians, but, on June 4, the much-feared summer offensive began. The regiment suffered heavy losses, and all over the place could be seen seriously wounded men, impossible to be transported away, and who soon died; this was a sorrowful sight. In Eder's dug-out a grenade exploded, turning upside down and covering everything that was there with the débris resulted: only a small piece of the red and white painted ceiling was left in sight. As a linguistic curiosity, the bombproof dug-out was called 'the heroes' cellar' ('der Heldenkeller'). A certain lieutenant, the count Coresolati, fell in action, together with a capable cadet, always a little tipsy, who spoke with a Polish accent. Coresolati had many acquaintances and relations in Innsbruck. It seemed that the Austrian defence was no match for the fire of the Russian 21-centimetre guns. As a result, on the left side of Eder's regiment, the Russians made a breakthrough. Their advance was also much facilitated because of the fact that the Austrians' machine gun had been blocked with sand because of the wind, thus getting out of work. One of the officers close to Eder was fatally wounded at the head, badly disfigured, and died shortly afterwards, after a massive haemorrhage, and also Pereira was killed. Pischinger was catched unawares by a Russian 'as tall as a tree' and asked to show him to his dug-out. Because of the fear, he felt that he could not refuse, thus preferring a safe and painless captivity to death. Four uhlans stormed the dug-out and shot the Russian in Pischinger's arms, thus a tragicomical situation resulting, setting free a traitor. Seventy Russian guns were found, and, according to the calculations that were made shortly afterwards, the attackers' strength was roughly double as that of the Austrians. On the meadow situated between the headquarters and the wood, as a result of the bombings, tall black earth columns had formed. The men were too numerous in the bombproof dug-outs, and again too many, and also defenceless, in the trenches.

Finally the retreat order came, and the men began their march. The move was compromised at the very beginning by the mistake of mine thrower officer, who blew up his entire ammunition left, the result being that the Russians retorted by firing back and there were many men wounded on the Austrian side. Soon afterwards, an old colonel, wholly exhausted, sat down under a tree; Eder supposed that he was taken prisoner. The Austrians crossed back the river Prut, then setting the bridge on fire. About this time, Cernăuți was taken by the Russians. As Eder and his fellows were marching across the Bukovinian countryside, at one time a Russian air balloon fell down in a clover field, but it represented no danger. The men, of whom only half had survived the disaster, eventually reached the small Jewish town Wischnitz – Eder had been charged with leading a force in a long detour through the woods, in great danger of being taken prisoners. Of the over 400 uhlans, only over 200 had survived.

During the continual retreat, the Austrians also set the bridge over the river Ceremuș on fire; the operation took place after the bridge was covered with pitch. The flames were lighting the water and the mountains. The men were all so tired, that on an evening the veterinary doctor had to be sent on a reconnaissance. Shortly afterwards, because of a new order of retreat, the colonel in his turn ordered the setting on fire a few stately peasant houses, in spite of the attempts to make him change his mind. The colonel thought that this was a necessary measure, since the trenches passed through the yards, and during the retreat the uhlans might become exposed to the Russians' attack. It was a most afflicting sight, as the owners were in despair, seeing their whole

fortune is being wiped out in only a few minutes.

After the Austrians reached the mountains opposite the Ceremuş, in the first night they had to sleep rough and took from the neighbouring farmsteads blankets dyed red, green, and blue. So that it was a comical sight in the next morning, when everyone in the area had under their eyes a many-coloured army, actually moving in those blankets.

In the following days, a whole squadron fell into captivity, including an officer called Scheibler. In the summer of 1917, he set out from Siberia, and, having the Polar Star as his only guide mark, he reached Finland and from there went to Sweden. As soon as he finally arrived home, in January 1918 he returned to the front and was taken prisoner by the Italian army at the end of the war. The author was convinced that Scheibler was one of the best officers in World War I, from both camps.

The Romanian attack on Transylvania found Eder ill in hospital in Sibiu and he had to flee via Copşa (Kopisch) to Vienna, by the last fast train which came from Braşov, whereas his relatives, including the bishop Friedrich Teutsch, also fled Sibiu and reached first Budapest, from where they were moved to Pinczow, in southern Poland, for greater safety. As his health had improved, the author decided to leave for Pinczow in his turn. Reaching Krakow, Eder put at the Hotel de Saxe, an old one, as its name showed, which dated from the times of the Saxon kings of Poland. The pompous style of serving up the customers engrossed his attention. A dram of strong liquor was brought first, then came several tureens with meat or fish in aspic, from which the customer helped himself. If someone asked for a fancy cake, the whole of this was brought on the table (not just a slice). If someone ordered cheese, the whole piece came, as big as a cart wheel. A band was playing Viennese music; this was the meeting place of the good Polish society. Eder went to a restaurant somewhere in the city, which had two levels underground. It was cold and dimly lit, and on the walls hang chromolithographs representing palaces from Moscow and St. Petersburg. Eder had had in mind to write a description of Krakow, but, unfortunately, he could no longer achieve it.

The author describes the town Pinczow in detail. The central point was the market place, which had a roughly rectangle form, amidst which was a park of fir trees, and, beside it, a fountain. The houses in this part of the town were two-storeyed and painted in ugly, weather-beaten colours. The owners of most shops were all Jews. The cloister had two yards ([1]), and on the white wall beneath the framework was an old sundial, a little bleached, which had the year 1721 placed on it. At the edge of the town was the small palace of the Marquess Wielopolski, the high hunting master of the tsar. The main façade was in Empire style, painted in yellow, with a balcony; on the terrace were figures, also weather-beaten. In the barracks yard was a wooden Orthodox church, which the Austrians would use as a storehouse for hay. The Austrian major was a complex personality. Like Bohusiewicz, he came of a Polonised Armenian family with land estates in north-eastern Galizia. He had a keen interest on horses, but also in paintings, antiquities, stretching to things such as rabbit and goose breeding. In Pinczow he had a vegetable garden planted, for which he had ordered seeds in various places; he was also a passionate hunter. His background was that of a good businessman, a usual practice of his being the selling again of horses, for example at one time to a Polish landowner. When he spoke, he was very warm and described everything in a lively way, being glad at the world and its show – so a local variant of the *homo universale.*

As a conclusion, the first regrettable thing is, of course, the fact that the book is unfinished, Paul Eder having had the time of writing, perhaps, only about one-third of the whole text planned. An aspect which is characteristic for this work is the swinging between describing the horrors of the war and the comic happenings inevitably occurring in everyday life. After all, is life not, in any epoch, a mixture of good and evil? The book is very well documented, and rich in detail, also including a few battle maps – it is true, they are sketchy, but clear. The causes of the defeats are, in our opinion, well analyzed, the technical part not being left aside, as for example the case of the machine gun brought out of work by the sand. A favourite concern of Eder was the description of castles and historical centres of towns, thus fulfilling to an extent the task of a painter or a photographer – let us not forget that he eventually became a student of history; he was also fond of doing etymological and genealogic research, which naturally completed his intellectual concerns. Taking heed of all these aspects, *Kriegserinnerungen* may thus well be reckoned as being a genuine chronicle of

([1]) From this point of view, the Brukenthal Palace in Sibiu is no exception as well.

what was happening during the first phase of the war on the south-eastern front.

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‘... And the wind used to keep me company.’ The Notes of Archpriest Cândea during the Refuge in Moldova, 1918 (*)

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Abstract. This study analyses the personal implications of the First World War using as a historical argument the unpublished notes of the Archpriest Ioan Cândea. After he ran, in 1916, from Transylvania, in 1918, the Archpriest is in a refugee camp in Moldova from where he writes with admirable devotion the experiences of each day. His testimony is important in analyzing the strategies of survival, as well as in the way in which the relation with History is configured in times of war. Not least, this study is a plea for interpreting the Great War and the way this major event changed the Romanian society in terms of cultural history.

Keywords: First World War, notes, Transylvanian refugees, Archpriest Ioan Cândea

The newspaper *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*] published the following reminder on the 28th of August, 1938: ‘On Monday, August 22nd the old Archpriest of Avrig, Ioan Cândea, aged 83, passed away, after a rich activity in the service of the church and the nation, ministering as Archpriest for 53 years. [...] In the fall of 1916, when others fled to Hungary, our Archpriest, secretly listening to the voice of conscience and blood, took exile in Moldova and Russia, from where he returned without a passport to Avrig. A kind-hearted man, with a brilliant and restless intelligence, an authentic and lively character, he led a tumultuous life and endured cruel blows of fate in his family life, which he managed to bear with Christian serenity and deep resignation ([1]).

Despite the admiration manifest of the editor, Archpriest Ioan will remain a historiographically discreet figure, without ever gaining posthumous notoriety such as to transform him into an interesting case study for historians.

Nevertheless, our study proposes not so much a rediscovery of the institutional aspect behind this man, or a glimpse of the history of the religious life in Avrig at the turn of the century, but rather a human recovery in times of war. Our stake would not be possible if we had not had as support the journal of Archpriest Ioan Cândea from 1918, unpublished to this day. ([2])

The manuscript, kept in a very small format, begins on May 6th, 1918 with the last entry on July 21st the same year. We know with certainty that the diary started earlier, possibly from the beginning of the Archpriest`s exile, according to its suggestive subtitle ‘continued notes’.

There is a series of factors that makes this unique source a formidable testimony. First of all, there is the form of the document, that of a diary, of a simultaneous report of the history that was taking place and not simply an exercise that inevitably re-established the act of remembering according to the influences that the narrator felt around him in a frame already

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([1]) Apud. *Telegraful român*, the 28th of August 1938, p. 3. ‘Luni, 22 august c[urent] a adormit în Domnul bătrânul protopop al Avrigului, Ioan Cândea în vârstă de 83 ani, după o activitate bogată în slujba bisericii şi a neamului, păstorind ca protopop 53 ani. [...] Este caracteristic faptul că, în toamna anului 1916 când alții se refugiau spre Ungaria, protopopul nostru ascultând glasul tainic al conştiinței şi sângelui a luat calea pribegiei în Moldova şi Rusia, de unde a revenit fără pașaport în Avrigul de acum românesc. Om de inimă, inteligență scăpărătoare şi neastâmpărată, real şi vioiu, a dus o viață zbuciumată şi a îndurat crude lovituri ale soartei în viața familiară, pe care le-a suportat cu seninătate creştină şi resemnare adâncă□.

([2]) We found the diary within the Special Collections at the Central University Library ‘Lucian Blaga’ Cluj-Napoca. After being transcribed, these notes will be soon published in full.

distant from the referred moment. This journal enables the recovery of the experience from World War I not from the point of view of official statistics or monumental history, but from a human perspective, of the man whose personal time overlapped the great time of history. As a historical source, the journal may be evaluated to a higher degree thanks to its extremely striking authenticity, being different from a memorial, subject to the mystifying political, ideological etc. bombardment recorded after the historical fact, inevitably altering its structure ([3]).

If these confessional sources, that have as a subject the topic of World War I experiences, were relatively well represented by the reports of the secular segment, the testimonies of Archpriest Ioan come to complete the investigation field, offering a particularly important direction for researchers interested in how verbalized the religious sentiment really was in the context of World War I. Moreover, the priest`s authorial perspective is important in analyzing the strategies of survival, as well as in the way in which his relation with History is configured.

New historiographical perspectives upon World War I insist on the personal nature of the trauma, on overcoming the statistics and descending within the intimacy of the experiences generated by this conflagration (Macleod, Purseigle 2004, 10). These arguments further value the historical source proposed today.

In late September 1916, once the Romanian army had crossed the Carpathians for a short period, many teachers and priests, compromised in front of the Hungarian authorities for their benevolent attitude towards the 'conqueror', take refuge away from Transylvania. The insistent telegrams that the Minister Apponyi sends to Metropolitan Meţianu and then to his successor, Vasile Mangra, suggest that the south of Transylvania was considered a real danger to the security of the region, as it was the place of an intellectual exodus after 1916. 10 out of 13 teachers from the Romanian high school in Braşov and their headmaster left together with the Romanian army (Triteanu 1919). The 'Cultural Zone' imagined by the Hungarian authorities in this region suggests the defector potential permanently existing there (Galantái 1989, 186).

Among those who choose, in the autumn of 1916, to take refuge with the Romanian army forced to retreat from Transylvania, there is the Archpriest Ioan Cândea of Avrig, who, at the age of 61, goes into an assumed exile in such troubled times. After the war takes him from Transylvania to Russia, in May 1918, the old priest from Ardeal is in a refugee camp in Moldova, at Ruginoasa, where he keeps a consistent journal of every day along the way until the month of July of the same year.

The motivations for writing, in the case of Archpriest Cândea, can be detectable in the explanations of those who questioned the fervour with which the Romanian peasants from Transylvania agreed to leave written notes about the shock of the World War I. At a time perceived as traumatic, the rural world begins to record details of a tragic existence, in order to save itself from the terror of the present time (Bârlea 2004, 6). This attitude, of recording and transmitting the memorable is a 'fundamental historical shift' (Leu, Albert 1995, 5-10). Literary critics talk about these changes as a result of modernity perceiving history as 'own history' and the man as 'the product of ongoing circumstances' (Vianu 2001, 18). In this equation, any intimate entry is in fact a survival strategy by the 'discipline of interiority' that it implies (Ariés, Duby 1997).

When we refer to the manuscript of Ioan Cândea we estimate that the term 'entries' is the most appropriate, thus avoiding its cataloguing as a diary. These notes correspond rather to Eugen Simion`s definitions of the genre known as memorial, widely spread at the beginning of the 19th century, a 'hybrid form between chronicle, travel log and description in a geographical, sociological, ethnographic sense, enriched (in the chemical sense) with memories, moral reflections and lyrical accents' (Simion 2001, 37). However, the manuscript of the Archpriest of Avrig is delimited from a memorial in the fact that it avoids its finality, the authorial intentionality.

The ritual of father Cândea faithfully follows the same every day routine: waking up at 5 a.m. for prayer in the garden, having breakfast, reading newspapers, walking in the garden, lunch, sleep, walking in the garden and conversations with his brothers in suffering, dinner, prayer, sleep.

The refugee stance is felt primarily as a mutation of the social status, from that of Archpriest of Avrig to a refugee in a camp at

([3]) Elena Lamberti, *Vita Fortunati* 2009, 32. 'Remembering always takes place in the present and is merely a representation of the past, never the past itself'.

Ruginoasa, fighting for survival in an overpopulated, hungry, sick, and resigned Moldova. The conditions in which he is forced to live are extreme: his hut resembles 'a pigsty', the sleeping place is called 'the martyr bed' (under the mat he had bulrush and wormwood against the flees), with a hospital wool pillow wrapped in a bag of nettles, and the duvet was his own coat, which he had since leaving Avrig. Mealtime is always an occasion for painful comparisons: 'I remember the food and my quiet bed and poor Maria who used to cook quite well, as she could, but now, one must eat poorly and sleep poorly' ([4]).

Even though he was painfully aware of his new status 'it weakens me day by day to see what I became in my old age' ([5]), he always had the decency to publicly display another image of himself: after collecting rainwater to be able to do the laundry, because he noticed many refugees in the garden, of shame, he chose to shed his clothes in his own hut 'so that people didn't know what I had become ([6]).

The exceptional time of such records obviously predisposes to a series of lamentations of Archpriest Cândea who recorded the drawbacks of his new condition on every page: 'I could not sleep thinking about my house, for I hated living in idleness and laziness, completely unemployed and isolated from the people I knew, away from my own kind – of all the necessary things, at the mercy and grace of the Romanian government, broken, without clothes and without shoes, with a doubtful heart' ([7]). His refugee condition is augmented by the feeling of useless time 'I die of boredom without any kind of employment'; 'I'm endlessly wandering in abandonment, without a point and without any order' ([8]). Each look over the mountains is a longing, a search for his home: 'I've been looking towards our mountains and our country, thinking about my family and everything I left behind, missing them all' ([9]).

Survival is made possible mainly by the lack of an emotional environment that can resonate with his dramatic existence. He often realizes that the experiences he lived are exceptional and he ardently wishes to get home, so that he can tell about them: 'I asked good God to help me see my family and my village and my beloved home as soon as possible, to see them and tell them all the things that happened to me while I was away in exile' ([10]). Survival seems possible only because of his affective memory, which he constantly exercises and which acts as a perfect refuge in his case: 'I am continuously thinking about my home and I am still in my village and my circle.'([11]) This emotional memory actually represents a kind of censorship against the world perceived as foreign and unfit. The plunging into the past provides an alternative to the alienating present. When he does not have insomnia, his night life is always populated by the people of Avrig, by the well known universe of his home, offering him some psychological comfort.

However, there is a permanently restrained affection, a shame that stops him from opening up concerning areas related to his own family intimacy. Moving from one register to another suggests the serious nature of the man who made these notes, who set some emotional limits beyond which he cannot pass.

As time passed by and the longing deepened, proofs of repudiated affection begin to appear: when he receives a postcard from his brother announcing that his daughter, Ana, and her husband are in Avrig, the latter being employed in the vacant priest position after the death of father Maxim, he feels really happy and does not hesitate to describe this state: 'I felt so light with happiness that I thought I could easily fly back home after receiving the good news' ([12]).

Although he is part of the ecclesiastical elite of Sibiu, Archpriest Cândea has some obvious rural reflexes: 'it is a good time for

([4]) 'îmi aduc aminte de mâncarea şi de patul meu liniştit şi de biata Maria care mi le gătea destul de bine, după cum se pricepea ea – acum însă, mănânci slab, dormi slab'.

([5]) 'mă slăbesc din zi în zi văzându-mă ce am ajuns eu la bătrânețe'.

([6]) 'ca să nu mai ştie toată lumea ce am ajuns'.

([7]) 'nu am putut dormi din cauza gândurilor către casă şi la ai mei, căci m-am urât a trăi tot în trândăvie şi lene fără ocupațiune şi izolat de lumea cunoscută, izolat de ai mei – de toate cele trebuincioase, trăind din mila şi grația gubernului român, rupt, fără haine şi fără încălțăminte şi cu inima îndoită'.

([8]) 'aici pribegesc fără căpătâi şi fără niciun rost, fără nicio rânduială'.

([9]) 'm-am tot uitat către munții noştri şi către țara noastră, cugetându-mă la ai mei şi la toate ce am lăsat şi oftez după ele'.

([10]) 'am rugat pe bunul D[umne]zeu a mă învrednici ca cât mai curând să mă pot întâlni cu ai mei în satul şi la căminul meu mult dorit şi iubit să-i mai văd şi să le spun cele pățite în pribegire şi streini'.

([11]) 'sunt cu gândul tot pe acasă, sunt tot în satul şi cercul meu'.

([12]) 'eram aşa de uşor de cugetam că aş putea zbura până acasă după vestea cea bună ce am primit'.

grass mowing, and we're just sitting here without doing anything', 'if it does not rain everything will dry up and all the beasts will die, there will be a famine all over Romania, because in winter there was no snow, so now the land is dry, you could light the fire right on it', 'I do not know what will happen with the harvest if God does not have pity to send rain, as some people are now planting the corn and the one which has already grown is dry and poor, and the oats and wheat are poor and small as well, no promise there either' ([13]). The description of nature occupies an ample space in this diary that accurately records every change of the weather, with a true forecast precision. Actually resonating with his inner state, even winter is harsher in the camp of Ruginoasa, and summer is harder to bear in a space considered as temporary in any case.

Trying to tame the time he still had to spend waiting for the war to end and for the return home, he imposes a certain discipline to his own schedule, introducing various activities to create rhythm in order to be able to reduce the monotony of each day and make him feel useful. He is aware that he lives troubled times that can profoundly confuse the weak in faith. Therefore, he goes to church every Sunday, trying to comfort both himself and the people in despair. Every day he records conscientiously detailed notes of the spending balance, taking notes of each detailed price and each quantity of everything he purchased ([14]). Practising this instinct is guaranteed against weaknesses, hesitations and disruption triggered by fear, feelings that 'find favourable conditions not in those who directly face the enemy, but in those who stay back and even in those who stay away from the front' (Caracostea 1922, 124).

Throughout the writing of these notes there are no discrepancies between the condition of the refugee and that of the priest. Ioan Cândea remains first of all a priest, even as a refugee. In an emotionally tense space, with petty passions stemming mainly from the battle for survival, fighting against hunger, cold, disease, the Archpriest`s attitude is in accordance with the Christian morality which, he believes, can save him. Even though he can deeply feel the injustice of others, his reaction appears rather like a prayer: 'Write them down, my Lord and, dear God, do not let us suffer for the sins of others ...' ([15])

The atmosphere in the camp seems disconcerting to him also because it cancels hierarchy, the very axis that used to adjust the community relations of the Archpriest's old world: 'Lord, oh Lord, take me away from this colony where everyone is big and strong and equal, peasant, archpriest, advocate, priest, etc.. This is a disgrace.'([16]) In these circumstances, the entire experience announces a failure to adapt, the refugee camp being constantly harshly described as a 'nest of evils and irregularities' ([17]). However, he does not hesitate to assume the position of *pastor*, the ordering element within the community whenever the situation demands it: he is the one who drafted the memoir to the government of the country through which the refugees demand clothes from the ministry, and also the one who reconciles the refugees fighting for food supplies.

Even when he tries to escape from this damned place by participating in the church service, he feels unfamiliar, an alien 'at 8:00 a.m., I went to the Holy church with father Giurca, arriving just in time for the Apostle – the Sunday of the blind man, but father Georgițan read two gospels, but no one could understand anything – after the gospel he said the litany for the dead and made the cantor sing the cherubic hymn, leaving the litanies unfinished; the same thing happened at the offering, with mistakes and omissions. It is a shame to see how the divine service is truncated here' ([18]). His

([13]) 'e un timp admirabil de fân şi noi stăm aici fără niciun lucru', 'dacă nu va mai ploua se usucă tot şi pier vitele toate, va fi foamete în toată România, căci în iarnă n-a fost nici zăpadă, aşa încât acum pământul aşa e de uscat încât poţi scăpăra cu el, stă să se aprindă de la sol...', 'nu ştiu ce va fi cu recolta dacă nu se va îndura Dumnezeu ca să trimită ploaie, căci păpuşoiul unii abia acum îl pun, iar cel răsărit e gălbenuţ şi pipernicit ca vai de el, iar ovăzul, grâul sunt de tot mizere, mici şi gălbui şi nu promit cine ştie ce recoltă'.

([14]) Every day he conscientiously took notes of the spending balance, recording in detail each price and the quantity of each purchase. (Ziemann 2007, 42): 'The regular repetition of the various procedures and actions provides a sense of behavioural certainty.'

([15]) 'Scrie-I, Doamne, cum îi vezi şi Doamne, pentru pecatele altora să nu suferim noi...'

([16]) 'Doamne, Doamne, du-mă din această colonie unde toţi sunt mari şi tari şi egali, ţăran, protopop, advocat, preot etc. E o ruşine.'

([17]) 'cuib de răutăţi şi nereguli'.

([18]) 'la 8 ore am plecat la Sfânta biserică cu preotul Giurca, ajungând tocmai la Apostol – dumineca orbului, însă preotul Georgiţan a citit două evanghelii, dară nu pricepea nimeni nimica – după evenghelie a zis ectenia pentru morţi şi a făcut semn cantorului să cânte cherovicul, rămânând cele ectenii în balon, asemenea la daruri, pomenirile cu greşeli şi

conclusions: 'A country with unique customs and unique people in their own way!'([19]) The disorientation that made its mark on the lives of human beings, apparently did not spare the liturgical space either, which was deconstructing under the pressure of war. When participating for the first time to the holiday of May 10th at church, the Archpriest is baffled: 'When I arrived at 9, 3\4, the children from school were coming out of the church with their teachers holding flags, 2 cantors, 2 officers, 3 soldiers and 5 refugees, as well as the local priest – all the procession inside the church, a poor feast' ([20]). In a heavy atmosphere, when the whole camp is full of books about the end of the world, the faith in time of war also suffers mutations which the Archpriest amends harshly in his pages: so are the dances of the youth during fasting or, even worse, the refugee priests accused of posing as prophets.

Ioan Candea`s relationship with God never consumes tensely, the old priest never questions the divinity because of his destiny. After saying a special prayer together with other priests, which was meant protect them from drought and God listens to them, sending them rain, the Archpriest lives a time of divine contentment which gives him the occasion for a series of meditations: 'God is good and patient, only we, His work, have departed too far from our maker and our benefactor. Lord, oh Lord, have mercy on us and remember us and do not punish us for our sins and forgive us and scold us with kindness' ([21]). This is the register in which takes place the dialogue between the Archpriest and God, Ioan Cândea finding the power to raise psalms even in isolation: '[...] I praised God for all the things bestowed upon me and worshipped Him in prayer and humbleness.'([22]) Almost every daily entry ends with a prayer or a reference to the divinity. It is obvious that the strongest pillar of his survival is his anchor in the power of God, the religious feeling finding in his case, as well as the case of others in the time of war, a biological reaction (Caracostea 1922, 280). These religious beliefs are very well articulated throughout the entries, and represent the result of both the family in which Ioan Cândea was raised, his father also being a priest, and of a personal vocation which marked his professional becoming.

When he finds out that the priest Maxim from Avrig died, he is troubled, thinking about the fate of the remaining community without shepherds: 'it is quite sad that the other two priests are in exile, and God knows what there will be left of that unfortunate people' ([23]), but he refrains from trying to discover the purpose of all these challenges because 'one cannot grumble against the good God' ([24]). Sometimes he has the impression that the drama he lives is not a personal one, but one of the entire Romanian people condemned to stand up in this 'land of sorrow'.

In the refugee camp the war news are provided by the press that arrives by train from Iaşi, but also by the camp newcomers. There are many occasions when Ioan Cândea meets people he knew from southern Transylvania, fellow priests, teachers or soldiers who volunteered in the Romanian army. Although far from home, in Moldova, a familiar world is frequently recomposed, of those coming from the Avrig region, among which solidarity is easily created, thus diminishing the drama of exile.

Even though there are mentions about him almost daily reading the press, we have little reference as to the information that arouses his interest. His reaction as a reader is unveiled only on one occasion, when he confesses after finishing a book on the life of Alexandru-Ioan Cuza: 'I've been crying and weeping perhaps also for my own alienation and I can honestly say that I felt such longing and sorrow that I could not even eat.'([25])

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omiteri. E păcat de D[umne]zeu cum se ciungăreşte aici serviciul divin'.

([19]) 'O țară cu rânduieli unice în felul lor şi oameni asemenea unici în felul lor!'

([20])'când am ajuns la 9, 3\4 ieşeau din biserică copii de şcoală cu dascălii cu drapelul, 2 cantori, 2 ofițeri, 3 soldați şi 5 refugiați şi preotul local – toată suita ce a fost la biserică, săracă sărbătoare'.

([21]) 'D[umne]zeu e bun şi îndelung răbdătoriu, numai noi, zidirea Lui ne-am depărtat prea tare de ziditoriul şi binefăcătorul nostru, căci ne-am sfătoşit, ne-am abătut, toți netrebnici ne-am făcut. Doamne, Doamne, îndură-Te şi ne miluieşte şi ne pomeneşte şi nu ne pierde pre noi pentru păcatele noastre şi ne iartă şi ne mustră cu îndurare şi milă'.

([22]) '[...] am lăudat pe D[umne]zeu pentru toate lucrurile revărsate asupra mea şi cu rugăciune şi smerenie m-am închinat'.

([23]) 'e destul de trist că noi ceilalți doi preoți suntem în pribegire, ştie Dumnezeu ce o fi de acel popor nenorocos'.

([24]) 'contra bunului Dumnezeu nu putem cârti'.

([25]) 'am tot plâns, poate că şi din jalea ce o am pentru înstrăinarea mea şi spun drept că m-a cuprins aşa un dor şi o jale încât nici mânca nu am putut'.

From June 1st, 1918 the camp begins to be abandoned by more and more refugees without waiting for the ratification and the publication of the peace amnesty. Although deeply moved by his colleagues who returned to Transylvania 'we said goodbye with tears in our eyes and we all stayed until the train left to Transylvania via Mărăşeşti. It was a pathetic parting full of sighs, we were coming back from the train as if we had come from a funeral ([26]), Archpriest Cândea does not venture and chooses to return home only when it is legally safe. Although he calls himself 'the prodigal son of the Gospel' he promises to endure 'with resignation for the mercy of good God' ([27]).

After all, the writing of this journal appears as a testimony of a strong sense of loneliness felt by the priest who is left only with himself in this unknown place. The form in which his text has been preserved is relevant for the continuous interior flow without any concern for form, the ideas flowing freely, rarely being divided into sentences separated by a full stop, this monologue resembling a cavalcade of ideas and feelings, describing the inner restlessness of the author. Based on these considerations, we believe that the authorial intention of Ioan Cândea does not actually exist when he writes his thoughts, as he does not seem to operate any kind of selection of events succeeding throughout the day. Rich descriptions of the ways in which they wash their clothes or remove a tooth, the food that the refugees receive, all these details accumulating excessively suggest that the Archpriest records everything without applying any scale. His obsessive desire to write unveil the irrepressible need to fill an interval within his existence perceived as completely void and pointless.

Along with the living conditions, boredom is frequently denounced in his notes as one of the main cause of despair, 'I feel bored without any occupation and any work. I slept with concern and the wind used to keep me company' ([28]). Exiting *order*, deviating from an established pattern, which worked until the beginning of war, and his being condemned to 'useless time' makes him describe the refugee camp as a prison. His suffering is exacerbated by the impossibility of communicating with the loved ones from home, all the letters sent to his family remaining unanswered; the only news he has come from his brother in Iaşi.

A frequent terror showed by father Cândea, in fact a common motif during the World War I, is the fear of dying and being buried in a foreign land: 'I pray to God to have mercy upon us and lead us to our home not to die of hunger, as it might appear to happen', 'tearfully asking the good Lord to have mercy, so that I can go back home, not to have my bones rest here ...' ([29])

In many pages of his notes, Ioan Cândea translates his own drama biblically, in terms of a divine test, like the one of Jove or the exile of Moses. In this register, the road to Transylvania is seen as a path to redemption 'the good Lord will be gracious, and the way to Transylvania will be opened to us' ([30]).

However, we should hardly find any trace of vanity or attempts at any gratuitous heroic self-image in this war testimony. His experience can be considered heroic only by the readers of today, who know the end of the story, the fact that eventually, the Archpriest safely reaches his home in Transylvania. While searching for the unveiled heroic perspective in Ioan Cândea's notes, we seem to neglect the fact that in his case, survival also has profound heroic meanings.

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([26]) 'ne-am luat rămas bun cu lacrimi în ochi şi am stat toți până ce a plecat trenul cu ei către Ardeal, prin Mărăşeşti. A fost o despărțire jalnică şi toți oftam, reîntorcându-ne la de la tren ca cum am fi venit de la un mort'.

([27]) 'cu resignațiune toate până ce bunul D[umne]zeu se va îndura'.

([28]) 'te mănâncă urâtul fără ocupație şi fără niciun lucru. Am dormit tot cu grijă şi vântul îmi ținea de urât'.

([29]) 'rog pre D[umne]zeu ca să se îndure a ne duce la căminul nostru să nu perim aici de foame, căci semnele se arată deja de pe acum., rugând cu lacrimi în ochi pe bunul Dumnezeu pentru să se îndura şi a mă reîntoarce la căminul meu, să nu-mi rămână oasele pe aici...'

([30]) 'doară va da bunul Dumnezeu să se îndure şi ni se va deschide calea spre Ardeal'.

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World War I narratives in Ion Agârbiceanu's literary writings

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***Motto:* '... oh, what distances does war put between people!'**

(Agârbiceanu 1988, 321)

Abstract: This paper tries to offer a brief descriptive and hopefully different perspective on World War I, the one constructed in and by Romanian literature, more exactly by the literary writings of an author who was considered by many of his time, including by the historian Nicolae Iorga, as 'a great sculptor' of Romanian identity and Romanian feeling. The author´s writings, although literary and fictional, are useful for the cultural historian as historical documents, containing cultural products of their time, such as mentalities, stereotypes, language, and so on. His writings concerning World War I are constructed in two directions, both sharing a common feature: the drama. On the one hand, the author´s focus turns to collective drama and on the other hand to individual drama.

Keywords: World War I, Ion Agârbiceanu, community, individual, destabilization, drama

Introduction

There are two main events that can shake an archaic or even a traditional community: the arrival of a stranger and the outbreak of war. The first disrupts the community through a complex set of different behavioural habits, beginning with the fact that he does not know the local rules or customs, and ending with unacceptable things in the eyes of the host community, such as drawing the local girls (Agârbiceanu 1968, 100). But if *the stranger* is capable of bringing some disorder to individuals inside the host community, war annihilates almost all existing rules and often dislocates the entire community. By far the most representative literary work of Ion Agârbiceanu concerning the war is the novel *Vremuri şi oameni* (*Times and people*), written in Sibiu in 1942. Although written during World War II, the novel is not about this war, but about the previous, the Great War. Other works that share this main theme are: *Darul lui Moş Viron* / *The gift of the old Viron* (1919), *Pentru pace / For peace* (1922), *Dura lex* (1921), *Părinți / Parents* (1922), *Singurătate* / *Loneliness* (1922) and others. All of them written, as one can see, in the years that followed.

'Everyone sensed that big doings are on the way' ([1])

'The commune was a large one – a beautiful village of stone houses covered with tiles – near the south-eastern border of Transylvania, with streets paved with river stones, with oil lamps on the streets, with nearly three hundred children attending the local school. It was a border village, militarized in the 18th century, and it remained as such until the disbandment of the regiments in the second half of the following century. At the north end of the street was the school, a massive square building with four large classrooms, the principal´s house, an official quarter made up of three rooms and annexes. It was built in the same period as the military barracks (…) Better paid and more regularly too than those teaching in confessional schools, only the best teachers had the chance to work here (…) The head of the train station, a blue-eyed small, fat man, with shaved hair, and a blonde moustache was sitting in his office (…) The locals said that he was Hungarian, but he seemed to be German, the kind living in the province Banat, who have adopted the Hungarian language since three decades (…). The first sergeant – *strajameşterul* - as they called him - was Svoboda, who was a Catholic Slovak, and who did not hide that. But he was now a pure Hungarian. He said that he ate Hungarian bread and breathed Hungarian air, and that all the inhabitants of the country would someday have to become Hungarian as well. (…) Weber, the postman, was a hoary-haired woman, tall, bony, and slender, with a wrinkled

([1]) Agârbiceanu, 1988, 13

face, and with yellowish cat eyes (…). A widow, she praised herself as being of noble descent, that is why she had kept her family's name (…). Onodi, a Szekler of average height, with his mouth always cursing. He was a storekeeper and a servant, and was always cursing in his language, shouting at people, and keeping the children off the lines with whatever methods' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 3, 48-49).

This is how the village in which the main characters of the novel *Times and people* presented itself just before the big news arrived. A most representative Transylvanian settlement with at least three cultures co-habiting it. But unlike most rural settlements in Transylvania, this village being a little more developed it had got a more diversified élite, also on the Romanian part; these were the school principal, Ion Giurca, who embodied anti-Hungarian nationalism, a teacher, Mr. Stoica, a doctor, Mr. Preda, and a priest, Vasile Scurtu, actually the main character of the novel. Among them, as the author tells us, were a relatively large number of literate people who regularly read the newspapers: 'All the intellectuals in the commune had a subscription to the newspaper *Românul* (*The Romanian*, a.t.). The physician had, besides this, a subscription to the newspaper *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (*Transylvanian Gazette*, a.t.). But there were also other weekly newspapers. The priest, the doctor, and the school principal had subscriptions to *Luceafărul* (*The morning star*, a.t.), another newspaper' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 15-17, 23, 26, 54, 57-59).

The people living there were fully abreast of politics in the Empire, aspect that will bring some of them into jail. Mr. Giurca, the school principal, argued that Aurel C. Popovici´s federalization project was: 'a form in which every nation remained reduced to its own force and numbers, as components of the state. But this kind of project, if it were to succeed, will mean the destruction of the national ideal of Romanians, Slovaks, Croats and Serbs, who knows for how long (Agârbiceanu 1988, 57-58). International relations, however, were taking somewhat dubious turns. Among others, the Russian Tsar´s visit to Romania gave birth to rumors about 'The Country' (Romania, a.n.) signing a treaty with the Entente, 'otherwise, why would the Tsar visit Romania and what meant the recent fortification of the border with Romania ?', were questions on everybody´s lips (Agârbiceanu 1988, 13).

'And then came Princip´s revolver…' ([2])

'It happened on Sunday, June 28, at 10:30, in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The big manoeuvres organized that year in the presence of the Imperial Heir, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, had just ended. (…) It was an official program, planned to the smallest of details. When the convoy was passing through a crowded street, a young man, an apprentice in a printing house, as it was established after, threw a bomb towards the car in which the Archduke and his wife were travelling. His name was Nedelco Cabrinovici. The bomb fell behind the target, but it damaged another car, badly injuring those inside. The Heir´s car followed its way to the town hall, where a reception was due to be held. The mayor, a certain Ciucici, as white as a ghost, began to welcome the guests. *Wait, Mr. Mayor*, the Archduke interrupted him irritated – *I come here and you welcome me with bombs. That is it! One cannot feel safe in this city! Now you can proceed!* The entire procession ended in five minutes. The suite insisted there will be no more of the visiting program. That they would better head directly to the villa. But the Archduke would not hear of that. When the car was passing through a street full of people, from the pavement a young man drew his revolver and shot several times. The first bullets hit the Heir, the next wounded his wife, who was trying to protect him with her body. Both badly wounded, they were carried to their villa. They died quickly. The assassin was Gavriil Princip, 19 years of age, expelled from several schools. He and Cabrinovici came from Serbia, where they actually lived. In their pockets was found a newspaper from Belgrade, the last issue. A special issue: the Serbs were commemorating the 1389 battle of Kossovopolje. (…) When the Emperor heard the news, he said in sorrow: *My faith does not spare me at all!* (…) And he was right. Rudolf, the first heir to the throne of Francis Joseph, was found shot, in mysterious circumstances, to this day not known. His wife, the Empress, was assassinated in Switzerland by an anarchist. And now, the second Heir, Francis Ferdinand, together with his wife. Too much for a human heart' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 54-56).

This was the event that started the dramatic shift in the community´s daily life. As soon as the local authorities were informed about the assassination, they took an emergency stance and from the actual declaration of war onward, things will never be the same in the village. The gendarmes were mobilized in the

([2]) Agârbiceanu 1988, 58.

event of an uprising (Agârbiceanu 1988, 49). It was the first sign of change, that they (the gendarmes) were brought closer to the locals and especially to the intellectuals. The border with Romania was closed, and international train routes were cancelled. 'Censorship of the press was issued and only some news was allowed. (…) At the town hall was an announcement where it was stated that anyone who spread disinformation would be severely punished' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 63, 68, 84, 104, 121, 183, 215-218). This is how the imperial authorities, the embodiment of the profane time, made their way in a quite isolated, timeless rural multicultural community.

'The village took a different look'

'The village took a different look. After the initial calm came a nervous agitation in most houses and on the streets. Some were in a hurry finishing their tasks. Relatives were visiting those who were about to leave. Wives were walking chaotically from here to there (...)' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 78).

People began to realize that things will never be the same and that the social fabric of the community is falling apart under the weight of the extraordinary situation. A general fear in the community was that many young girls will remain unmarried because many boys and men will end up dead, fighting in the war. And in traditional mentality an unmarried woman is not favoured by God and is bound to be somewhat excluded from the rest of the community.

The new reality imposed by war destabilized the community, not just by dislocations, but also by the lack of a minimal authority, because of the fact that people did not know 'whom the village belonged to' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 307). War came with a new, unknown order, 'the order of chaos', described latter on in the war by Preda, in a letter to the priest Scurtu: 'Sometimes it seems that in the world there are such formidable forces unleashed, so uncontrollable, that humankind is nothing more than a snowflake that floats, blown in every direction. (…), even Romania is no more that a snowflake (Agârbiceanu 1988, 460).

But, as father Scurtu observed, cities also suffered from the new order and social hierarchies began to disappear: ' (…) the most delicate ladies were eating happily beans, talking and laughing with their neighbours. One would never have believed that ladies would ever eat that kind of food and with no complaints. *Look*, he said to himself, *the war has just begun and already social differences are disappearing*' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 536).

The same idea of social hierarchies been changed and, in some ways, cancelled, is shown in the next lines. The state of war made the imperial authorities introduce a sort of 'black lists' with all intellectuals in certain communities. Because of this, the school principal, Mr. Giurcă, will be arrested. On the other hand, the priest became an unknown person. From his position as leader of the community to a nobody, obliged to remain in the village while other were either arrested, or taken to the battle front: 'Cold and fear began to take over his soul. (…) And suddenly he felt alone' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 85-88).

'…a vague yet strong fear began to grip his heart' ([3])

Every community is made up of individuals. Let us focus on the individual that had to deal with the shock of the new order imposed by war. Ionică, Laura´s future husband, felt a chill down his spine when he was reading the ´Emperor´s manifest towards the nations of the Monarchy; in the night between July 30 and 31, the war against Serbia had begun, and on August 1 the general mobilization has been announced.

Laura and Ionică had wedding plans, but the outbreak of the war turned their world upside down. The author grasps very well the individual drama, the intense living of Ionică between the announcement of general mobilization and his actual departure. Ionică began to search through his high school belongings ([4]); a kind of ritual re-enactment of his live just before his potential death sentence: 'Then, returning to reality, he felt a heavy desolation around him, and then a vague yet strong fear began to grip his heart. Where was he going, he said to himself? What will await him in the future? And the only thing he could foresee was desolation, a heavy solitude, in which he fell like in a deep well. (…) They will all remain here: the parents, Laura, the doctor and his wife, the village, his native home. He, on the other hand, will leave all of this behind. But where will he end up?' (Agârbiceanu 1988, 62, 66-74)

([3]) Agârbiceanu 1988, 71.

([4]) In this scene, the author gives an almost eschatological dimension to priesthood, because he mentiones the fact that Ionică was supposed to become a priest. And if he were to become one, he would not have been obliged to go to war.

But the drama of war was not reserved only for those who actually fought in the trenches, but also for those left behind; families, mothers, fathers, grandparents would go crazy over their loss or thought of losing their child.

A mother from a Transylvanian village: 'sold her calf and her two piglets, her hay that she still had; she threw away her grain reserves, sending them, five bags in total, to the mill. The next day she went to the city, she bought some dishes, some pair of shoes. (…) She started to give away everything she had: clothing, dishes; each object had a precise destination, so after the funeral everybody could come and take everything'. One might ask why. The author tells us, because: 'She wanted to join her Dumitru, to look after him in the afterlife, as she did in this life. (…) She closed her eyes and dozed off. Strange images appeared, in a chaotic whirlpool. She woke up again. (…) She was getting dizzier and dizzier, although she was sited. (…) She thought: *Maybe I am dying and I am heading towards the afterlife* (…)'. (Agârbiceanu 1968, 367-369). She was not dying, she woke up ravaged by a powerful hunger (she had not eaten for three days, a.n.), and started looking for food. She found a bag of rye and went walking with it to the mill. But on the way, as if possessed by spirits, she stopped and said to herself: '*But do I really want to live any longer?* And every few steps she: 'stopped again and again, determined to throw away the bag and go back home'. (Agârbiceanu 1968, 369).

A tormented mother, like many others all because of war, was an old woman from the short story *For peace*. Written in 1922, this short story briefly recounts the last days of the life of a sick mother. She had her boy on the war front (or dead, she did not know a thing about her child) and was in a consuming inheritance related quarrel with her relatives. Broken and full of disbelief, she surrendered to negative thoughts and ultimately to death: '*If there would have been peace in the world, my beloved Dumitru wouldn´t be rotting in the grave*' (Agârbiceanu 1968, 370-376).

A schoolteacher, Marin Murăşan, has also fought in World War I, in Italy. After the end of the war, he comes back to his home village and restarts his life doing the same thing, teaching at the local school. But not quite as before the Great War. The villagers were talking about his odd behaviour, as they saw him regularly going to the wood. 'The peasants from Valea-Rea (The Bad Valley, a.t.) cared much about their schoolteacher, for five years, before the outbreak of the war, he taught their children, and established a choir like no other around', but 'now, they felt sorry for him because after the war he went slightly mad.' (Agârbiceanu 1968, 383-386).

Tears were a daily reality in the small village. On the one hand, there were the people mourning their teacher, their spiritual leader ([5]) and on the other hand the teacher himself, who was still working in the local school, who was also crying, but for a different reason. Every time he held a lesson he would begin to cry. Rumours were afloat, but the pupils did not tell anybody about the reason for which their teacher was crying. This riddle was solved when a group of local authorities searched his house. They found many letters, where there were written the following lines: 'People shake their heads, when they see me always following you. But how could I become bored of your beauties? I can see that you are different, happy, I can feel your happiness and your new life! I would hold you in my arms like I would hold a child, for ages. Your plains, your forests, your waters, all are telling me about your boundless joy, my country! You are not dead soil, nor just wind, or water; you are a soul that trembles in the happiness of freedom' (Agârbiceanu 1968, 383-391). Indeed, the main character was in love with the 'national ideal' that has finally come to be.

And for war to be even worse, the author brings out an image of *the stranger*, the Jew who lived in Romanian cities and who would not properly welcome a Romanian priest, a war refugee, in this case, Mr. Scurtu, who had just arrived in the city of Roman. He settled in a house belonging to: 'a Jewish family, where the masters of the house, two fat Jewish women, wearing dresses, welcomed them in an aggressive manner, and at the beginning they would not even allow them in the house (Agârbiceanu 1988, 431-432). The author´s suggestions concerning Jews were clear, and so would have been his message towards the Romanian reader of those days: the Jew is a bad person, who almost did not welcome at all a Romanian priest (not just any person!), and in his own country. In Oişteanu's famous book about Jews in Romanian mentalities and culture one can find situations following the exact negative stereotypes described by Agârbiceanu (Oişteanu 2001).

([5]) After the priest, the techer was second in rank in rural traditional Romanian communities.

Always moralising

Finally, the long exile of the priest´s family has ended just two days before Christmas. Romania has won the war, at least from a territorial point of view. But gains of Romania had a terrible price, people who had to go through awful things, departures from the beloved ones, and the social illness of madness, that took over millions of people, including Mr. Giurcă who was like a 'shipwreck', as his wife, Nastasia, once said (Agârbiceanu 1988, 601, 662, 694, 715, 721). Could Mr. Giurcă´s condition be a metaphor for Romania, judging by the fact that the author is constantly comparing 19th century and early 20th century Romania with interwar Romania? It is hard to say. The novel *Times and people*, and not only, represent, however, a foray into the privacy of the individual, of that of the family, and of Romanian rural communities, all of them witnesses of the Great War.

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The Germans, the Whites, the Reds and Other Enemies in M. Bulgakov's *The White Guard*

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Abstract. The essay explores the representation of the First World War, the Civil War, the Russian Revolution and the Nationalist Ukrainian movement under Petlyura on Ukrainian soil in Bulgakov's controversial novel. The enemy is represented under various masks, in all shapes and colours, being given the complicated historical turning point in the Ukrainian, as well as in the Russian history. The novel depicts what the author named 'the beginning of the end times' for many represented social and political categories. The hypostases of the enemy, the different types of hatred, the stability of some moral values and principles and the religious imaginary are aspects to be analyzed in this paper. Among the oppositions of the novel we explore intelligentsia/peasantry, tsarist Russia/revolutionary Russia, Russia/Ukraine, the city/the steppe, as well as several moral oppositions, such as treason/loyalty, honour/dishonor. Other facts to be briefly presented are the play *The Days of the Turbins* (1926) inspired by the novel and the film adaptation of the play (1976) and of the novel (2012).

Keywords: the White Guard, Petlyura, the Turbins, World War I, Ukraine, Russian Revolution

Introductory Notes

The present work ([1]) will attempt to unveil the complex literary representation of the political, military and identity turmoil on the Ukrainian soil during World War I, as it appears in Bulgakov's novel *The White Guard*. Beyond the labels of the involved party in this anti-German, anti-Bolshevik and civil war there are people with social, religious and political ideas, people with different perspectives on the destiny of the Ukrainian land and people who hate, love and resist under difficult unexpected and unstable circumstances of 'the great and terrible year of our Lord 1918'. M. A. Bulgakov's novel depicts and literaturise the events of the Ukrainian and Russian inhabitants of the recently proclaimed independent Ukrainian land, focusing on the destiny of the Turbins in a city, which is not difficult to guess – Kiev. The members of Bulgakov's family served as inspiration for the representation of the Turbin family, as critics were able to detect many similarities up to the description of the house where Bulgakov's family had lived (Chudakova 1988, 436).

The novel was initially written as part of a trilogy, but the subject of the civil Russian-Ukrainian war was controversial, so that only part of the novel was published in 1925 in journal *Rossija* and entirely only in France in 1927-1929 and in Russia in 1966. However, it was criticized by the Soviet critics as heroizing the class enemies, while the Western critics blamed the author for his loyalty toward the Soviet power. Hence, its controversial character (Hosking 2006, 83, 183-185), especially because narrator's position is sometimes difficult to guess or ambivalent and contradictory – a style, which was not exactly supported in times of the blossom of the socialist realism.

The White Guard may be regarded as a novel of contradictory perspectives on the historical turmoil and social crisis, a novel of oppositions, allowing the reader to enter a complicate socio-political labyrinth with elaborate, dangerous and sometimes fatal details. The narrative tone lacks the didactical character of the socialist realism novels and it is certainly not a part of what Katherina Clark calls 'master plot' of the Soviet novels (Clark

([1]) This essay is part of the doctoral dissertation entitled *The Representation of World War II in the Soviet Literature and Cinematography*.

2000). The reader looking for a clear ideological answer may be lost in the complicated pages of the novel, left with no pedagogical remarks and conclusions. That position was a dangerous one, opposing Bulgakov to the main writers of the revolutionary Russia: Gorky and Fadeyev and thus to the new Soviet official method of writing – socialist realism – a combination of the style of both mentioned writers (Clark 2000, 27-45). Disregarding peasantry and proletariat in a novel that concerned the Russian Revolution even on Ukrainian soil was not a simple choice for any Soviet writer, but M. Bulgakov assumed the risk to stay true to his heart and personal convictions so that the novel is built on a scandalous opposition between intelligentsia and peasantry with some variations of the theme: the city and the village, civilization and barbarianism. Bulgakov remained true to his position, writing about Russian/Soviet intelligentsia all his life, as he considered it the 'most important class within society'. He continued to believe in the special (even sacred) status of the 'true' literature as the centre of writer's existence (*Ibidem*, 282).

In his autobiography Bulgakov was writing in 1924: 'I've been writing *The White Guard* for a year. I love this novel more than my other things' (Sokolov 2003). Probably the status of a 'beloved' novel is due to the fact that even the name of Turbin is his grandmother's maiden name after his mother and his relatives and friends served as prototypes for the characters of the novel. The author's idea to write a trilogy, starting from this first novel was considered uncontestable by other Soviet writers who mentioned the textual evidence found in the characters' development (Simonov 1973, 5). Due to political reasons, the trilogy couldn't be written and the ending of the novel was re-written many times, leaving those unfinished touches concerning the fate of some characters. Bulgakov himself recognized the fact that he could only write about the Russian intelligentsia in Soviet times, although sometimes the writings had a satirical note (Sokolov 2003), which brought him enough troubles with the authorities. That preoccupation with intelligentsia also brought along comments about his neo-bourgeois character and anti-revolutionary works. Nevertheless, *The White Guard* wasn't among the forbidden novels (at least not after 1966), but it wasn't included in the socialist realism canon either. Moreover, this novel represents an important link between the heroism represented by L. N. Tolstoy and the heroism of World War II literature; its controversial character questions the very foundations of the socialist realism and of the propagandistic type of heroism depicted in Soviet literature on the Russian Revolution.

The Old New Enemy

M. Bulgakov depicted tumultuous times and troubled people at the crossroads of huge historical importance with echo in the new millennium. It was said (and Bulgakov himself wrote about these events in his diary and essays – see Dobrenko 2008, XVI) that the inhabitants of Kiev and surroundings had experienced 14-16 coups with different degrees of violence and bloodshed, ten of which the writer himself experienced. The same Ukrainian territory was torn apart by internal and external enemies, by different hopes and different plans for the future, by arrivals and departures of newly installed authority with different time periods for their so-called ruling (from days to months). Choosing a side or not choosing it was almost equivalent to the same death sentence and in that dreadful turmoil the right option would have been not to exist. Either way, you were facing one of the many enemies and you were, without exception, one of the enemies, the other and not the neighbour.

The armies that meet on the disputed Ukrainian soil are of different origins and natures – Imperial German Army, Poles, Whites (including parties like anti-communists, monarchist, Russian patriots), Reds, Ukrainian nationalist Army - but they all pursue to take over the power and to establish their authority in the capital of the region. The October Revolution spread its influence on the Ukrainian region, while the nationalist socialist movement and its army conducted by Semyon Petlyura took over the capital, which had been the area of other recent fights between Germans and locals. The peaceful life of a family from the Russian intelligentsia crushed under the waves of the newly arrived enemies to establish their temporary power by another wave of abuses, murders and pogroms. The social cataclysm had changed the lives of the Turbins and their friends, modifying their

perspectives on life and challenging their system of beliefs. As the result of the fact that the city wasn't under the Bolshevik control after the Brest treaty, there were also waves of Russian militaries and intelligentsia running away from the Bolshevik Russia.

The Russian enemies – Germans – seemed to become the Ukrainians' allies in a context of great social, political and military disaster. Hetman Skoropadsky organized troops of officers to defend the city from the nationalist army of Petlyura, but after the German retreat only these volunteers were able to protect the city. Among these volunteers we find the Turbin brothers – Alexei and Nikolka – while their home was protected by their sister Elena and became a meeting place for former Russian soldiers (the Whites). Realizing the impossibility to defend the city, Skoropadsky and the administration left with the German army (Skoropadsky being dressed as a wounded German officer), while Colonel Nai-Turs remained to die as a hero fighting against Petlyura's army and the unfortunate 'ukrainization' so eagerly imposed by this socialist leader. Some leaders of volunteers' army forsook the city, while others died heroically near their comrades, defending the city, once again, from another enemy. After Petlyura's victory, a great parade was organized, but Semyon Petlyura's efforts failed to maintain an independent socialist Ukraine despite his treaty with Poland. Therefore he had to abandon the city several months later. The Bolsheviks (the Reds) enter the city.

The main heroes – Alexei and Nikolka Turbin – searched for his troop to fulfill his duty of defending the city, not knowing about Skoropadsky, the leader who was abandoning the city. Nikolka witnessed the fight and death of the great Colonel Nai-Turs, while Alexei was wounded and saved by a woman who became his wife. Left to their fate, the troops of volunteers were actually neither White in the strict political sense, nor German, neither Bolshevik, nor nationalist, defending the city for no actual reasons from new waves of dilemmatic enemies. These defenders who ended up as prisoners were no men of arms – considered class enemies by the Reds, and dangerous suspects by the nationalist army.

As if the absurd defense of a city from all kinds of enemies in politically questionable times weren't enough, the narrator introduces us to another enemy of all the involved parties – the cold and the threat of frostbite. This impersonal enemy is described as luring the soldiers into deadly sleep. The volunteers involved in the co-called heroic defense of the city were afraid of freezing to death more than of the actual enemy, regardless of its political colour or physical strength. The severe cold seemed to favour the echo of all types of sounds that mirror the madness of those times – the crowd scenes are artfully represented by what may be called an auditory chaos. The hybrid of Russian and Ukrainian and its colourful sound on the streets is nothing but the mixture of social and political fears and expectations. On the other hand, language became a mask under which characters hid their sympathies and/or fears, while the situations of the usage of a certain language may provide key information on the character and intentions of a person ([2]). As the two Slavic languages don't represent a real linguistic barrier for the characters of the novel and each may easily pass as the other, the narrator exposes the heroes in various situations so that the otherness would reveal itself. It's not the language that is really relevant, but rather what is spoken and how (attitude, posture, body language). Some of the dialogues have a satirical and hilarious touch:

'This may be the last service in this cathedral…'

'In what language were they holding the service, I didn't understand?'

'In God's language, dear.'

'It's been strictly forbidden to use Russian in church any more.'

'What's that? Aren't we allowed to use own Orthodox language any more?'

[...] 'Hey, Cossacks, stop that man! He's a spy! A Bolshevik spy!'

'This isn't Russia any longer, mister. This is the Ukraine now' (Bulgakov 1971, Chapter 16).

For the Kievans and for the Turbins, Petlyura's men or the Bolsheviks were the

([2]) A thorough explanation on the difficulty of translating the novel is offered by Marian Schwartz in the English edition 2008, mentioning the importance of Bulgakov's inclination toward creating new onomatopoeia, as well as rendering the linguistic differences between the characters' speeches – Russian, Ukrainian or a mixture of the two.

same – the enemy – the first ones pursuing a socialist 'ukrainization', while the latters desired to install their Russian socialist variant on the rebelled Ukrainian territory. Both Ukrainian and Russian national variants of socialism are depicted in Bulgakov's novel as destructive forces with no civilizational prospects or valuable ideas to submit to. The difficult circumstances of the First World War were favourable for the proliferation of chaotic social movements and dreadful coups. Hetman Skoropadsky administration was opposed to both political projects, managing to take control over the capital under the German occupation. As for the Whites, they were almost harmless (although cynical) for the Kievans, slightly disorganized if compared to the Reds and composed of various troops in retreat with different ideas and ideals united by the same aim – to oppose the new Russian revolutionary rulers. It is no wonder that the Turbins – representatives of Russian intelligentsia – are inclined toward other representatives of the same class and both Alexei and young Nikolka consider as their honourable duty to protect the city from the Ukrainian (and Russian) socialist plague.

In Turbin's discussions with their friends, the questionable status of Petlyura's project is highlighted as 'forced ukrainization' and the expression of 'elemental peasant fury' occurred, as the peasantry was manipulated by the frustration of not being yet a nation and being already (and again) a Russian province. The representation of the Ukrainians may seem pejorative, especially coming from Russian inhabitants of the Ukrainian territory. On the other hand, the questionable proclamation of Ukrainian independence, liberated from Russian tsarist state dissolution is a subject with many subsidiary aspects concerning the difficulty to establish the Ukrainian borders (many Southern and Eastern cities were entirely Russian) and to establish unity among Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and Lithuanians living there. The Ukrainians were merely reduced to rustic *bandura* players, peasants easily manipulated as military cattle and several bourgeois representatives from the city who had recently discovered their 'Ukrainian-ness', starting to mumble broken Ukrainian words conveniently before and during Petlyura's territorial conquest. The Ukrainian language and people are considered almost laughable concepts by the majoritarian inhabitants of Kiev, namely the representatives of Russian bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, especially in the light of the idea of the historical Kievan Rus (Kiev was seen as the cradle of Russian civilization).

Bulgakov's Ukraine began where the city ended; out of the civilization and literacy of the city, chaotic, elementary forces unleashed their awoken so-called national frustrations. 'The steppe' is depicted as a culturally barren space, only capable of giving birth to destruction. Dobrenko mentioned in the Introduction of the novel that 'the attempt to create a Ukrainian 'state' was depicted by Bulgakov as a bloody operetta' (Dobrenko 2008, XXVI). The parade of Petlyura men entering the city is described as a pitiful pastiche of a royal parade 'reminding people of poverty, deception, despair and the futile wildness of the steppes' (Dobrenko 2008, XXVI).

The heroes of the novel are constantly concerned with the subject of honour, loyalty, its principles as core values in times when values seemed to be abandoned or reversed. Lust for power, treason or price for life are other variations of the same theme, setting the antagonist couple – Hetman Skoropadsky and Colonel Nai-Turs, Turbins and Talberg – and their choices facing death and defeat. Ironically, the Russian Turbins are not preoccupied by the idea of fleeing from the city, being the ones to remain under various fleeing waves of people driven by their constant self-preservation instincts opposed to those of lust for power. The Turbins are almost the constant 'enemies' for most of the unstable self-proclaimed authorities, except for those considered 'Whites' (in their turn conjuncture enemies of all the other enemies and main foes of the Reds). Unaware of the potential danger of the steppes, the Turbins are preoccupied with their mother's death and mourning, followed by fast-paced unfortunate events for the entire city. The flight from the brutal Revolution is described in two waves: the flight from the Ukrainian variant of socialist revolution conducted by Petlyura in his attempt to revive and to unite a nation and the flight from the Russian Revolution accomplished by Bolsheviks (Reds) and their tyrannical effects.

During Petlyura's months of ruling the so-called independent Ukrainian state, another enemy appeared – the Jews – who were killed

in ferocious pogroms by primitive savagery of the men of the steppes. The last of Petlyura's Cossacks withdrew and left a Jew's corpse behind them:

'And the corpse was the only evidence that Petlyura was not a myth but had really existed. But why had he existed? Nobody can say. Will anybody redeem the blood that he shed? No. No one. The snow would just melt, the green Ukrainian grass would grow again and weave its carpet over the earth. The gorgeous sunrises would come again. The air would shimmer with heat above the fields and no more traces of blood would remain. Blood is cheap on those red fields and no one would redeem it. No one' (Bulgakov 1971, chapter 20).

The parade of Semyon Petlyura's entrance into the city is another relevant fragment, unveiling the depths of the human irrational hatred. During that parade two officers in the crowd are identified as White officers and shot, an orator is identified as a Bolshevik and chased by the crowd: 'Kill the Bolshevik! He's a traitor!' (Bulgakov 1971, chapter 16) Both Whites and Reds are 'traitors' and that status is enough to grant the right of taking their lives but whose traitors and what were the reasons for that label remains untold. The simple fact of being different, of not being one of them is enough to being killed as terrible enemies.

Hatred and fear are the defining feelings of the novel: hatred for the present enemies and for those that were to come, fear of all types of enemies. Hatred had various faces: the nationalist (Ukrainian) manifested against anyone not being Ukrainian; the political/ideological (of the Bolsheviks); the national (of the German occupiers). In most cases hatred is feeling accumulated over years, waiting for a face to unleash the destructive fury. The hatred of the Bolsheviks was similar to that of Petlyura's men – both of them were representatives of 'the other' category, imposing a new state and a new social order along with chaos, tyranny, endless murders and lack of civilization. Even among the Russian officers hatred is different – the type that would drive a man to start a fight or the one that would make you think about rest and simple human life (the latter is the type of attitude we find in Alexei Turbin's case). As for the peasants' hatred, it is directed to their masters of centuries and against the German occupiers – both terrible and deep feelings. Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky is the embodiment of both these hateful elements, being part of bourgeoisie and a German ally; even his name suggests his rapid fall ('the one who falls quickly').

The Hetman's treacherous flight from Petlyura's advancement is represented as the most dishonourable thing and the most hated event from all the series of Kievan troubled events. Headquarters staff is transformed from comrade to enemy after the treason at the cost of so many abandoned people facing imminent death. Skoropadsky and his officers, Talberg among them, were preoccupied with successful flight from the city they pretended to protect. Thus, there are so many hateful and blaming expressions and sentences concerning the headquarters staff throughout the novel: 'headquarters scoundrels'; 'the swine at headquarters'; 'headquarters no-goods'; 'headquarters betrayed us'; 'those wretches at headquarters'; 'the criminal generals and headquarters scoundrels deserved death'. From the vast typology of enemies, the ones that proved to be the most dangerous ones were wearing the masks of comrades and protectors, ending up in sending honourable and trustful people with values and principles to death.

The day of the military confrontation between the inhabitants of the city and Petlyura's army should have been the main victorious test before the confrontation with the much more organized Red Army. In turn, it was the day of a disaster and the beginning of the end for many people, as well as social and cultural realities. The description of that catastrophic event may be considered the centre of the novel – the definite fall of the tsarist Russia and its values.

The religious imagery is used to render the hatred for enemies and former friends who became enemies during the complicated course of events. In a dialogue between Alexei Turbin and patient Rusakov, the religious language dresses events and people, offering a surprising approach: Rusakov's disease (syphilis) is God's will, a punishment for his evil ways; one of his former evil companions, Shpolansky is the 'precursor of Antichrist' fleeing to the 'kingdom of the Antichrist' (Moscow); the Red Army is represented as the 'legions of evil, led by the countenance of Satan himself' (Trotsky).

The same confusing religious and socialist images are combined during the mass and procession organized for Petlyura's entrance into the capital. The comments of the people are suggestively rendered: 'But Petlyura's supposed to be a socialist, isn't he? So why are all the priests praying for him?' 'Give the fathers twenty-five roubles, and they'll say a mass for the devil himself' (Bulgakov 1971, Chapter 16).

The negative characters that turned out to be enemies/traitors (Shervinsky, Talberg) are endowed with malefic and infernal traits. For example, Talberg resembles a rat with 'yellow sparkles in his eyes', 'big white teeth' and 'black short moustache'; in the play *The Days of the Turbins* he is even directly compared to a rat. Trotsky is represented as Satan, the head of the evil army of Bolsheviks, while Shpolansky is compared to Lermontov's demon.

The main values of the Whites – duty and honour – are opposed to what other characters of various social-political colours display – treason, cowardice, bestiality and unconcern for culture. All opposing contextual enemies of the Whites are unaware of their resemblance to elementary forces and certainly of a severe moral crisis with no spiritual guiding compass in life. On the other hand, the organization of these contextual military forces is the key to their political and administrative stability: Skoropadsky fled incapable of moral dedication to a position he procured with a moral compromise with the German occupants; the Whites lack the sense of unity; Petlyura's men are a dangerous and dreadful crowd driven by the desire of revenge and united by a national chimera, while the Reds are supported by the masses (or people, as Alexei Turbin points out in the play *Dni Turbinykh*) and excel in their military organization.

Opposed to the civilization represented by the city and the Whites (as Russian intelligentsia), the people appears as a huge destructive force conducted by the wrong leader(s) – 'black sea', 'black river'. Alexei Turbin perceives the truth that the national revolution is not a fight for high ideals for the people's happiness, but a meaningless bloodshed, ideas shared by other (White) characters of the novel: Karas mentioned that 'Revolution has transformed into *pugachevschina* ([3]), while Turbin's landlord Vasilisa warned about the 'breakdown and dissolution that nest in human souls'. From this perspective, the moral conflicts lie at the ideational foundations of this novel, not the fast-paced events of political and social nature or the perpetual change of power. Reducing the number of political characters, we may dare to propose a reading of the 'spiritual principles' opposed to its lack, absence, abandonment, rejection or indifference. Thus the only enemy is the lack of core values or, in Bulgakov's language, 'the steppe'. The historical events are only the canvas on which characters blossom, unveiling their true nature and identity; turmoil reveals the true face of the person when there's no chance to stand aside, indifferent or not involved.

The novel has a cyclic structure – the image of the night sky borders the barbaric events of the City: the Hetman's treason and Petlyura's entrance in the beginning on one hand, Petlyura's retreat and the Bolsheviks' arrival at the end on the other hand. The stars continuing to glow in the sky as silent witnesses of the crude historical events on Ukrainian land is the author's way of focusing the attention on spiritual matters and eternal values.

The Play *The Days of the Turbins* and Film Adaptations

Due to the continuous battleship with the censors, Bulgakov had to write several versions of a play, inspired by the novel; only the final third version was accepted to be produced at the theatre. The play had a huge success, being compared to Chekhov's Seagull; it was staged 987 times from 1926 to 1941 (Rudnitsky 1962 in Bulgakov, 467). Even Stalin saw the play about twenty times, as it seemed to be his favourite. *The Days of the Turbins* became the masterpiece of the Soviet dramaturgy, while the novel, almost unknown to the public until 1966, remained in the shadow of the play, considered either a prologue, or a necessary test for the writer's pen (Rudnitsky 1974, 230). The unfinished then novel was regarded differently by various

([3]) One of the mottos of the novel is a quotation from Pushkin's historical novel *The Captain's Daughter*, which depicts the events of Pugachev's Rebellion (also known as the 'Cossack Rebellion' in 1773-1775).

Soviet critics: some despised its controversial and polemic character, sensing its non-socialist realism character, while others considered it a great debut comparable with the debut of Dostoevsky or Tolstoy (Ermolinsky 1990, 25). Nevertheless, the play had Stalin's aura of favour, which was both a dreadful and a lucky thing in those times. One may wonder about the relationship between the Ukrainian Holodomor ([4]) (the Great Famine or the Terror Famine of 1932-1933) and the fact that the play *The Days of the Turbins* (an apologia of the unfinished, unpublished and rejected then novel) was Stalin's favourite.

While the novel doesn't reveal the author's political position or predilection, offering us only glimpses of autobiographical inspiration, the play had to state (under censors' pressure) at least Alexei Turbin's reflections on the Bolshevik's army of peasants. The power of the people is considered the definitive aspect in winning or losing the battle and the people wasn't on Turbin's side. That recognized power of the Bolsheviks residing in the people on their side represented the significant detail of the play that was partly responsible for its huge success in Soviet times.

Several negative heroes of the novel became better in the play – Myshlaevsky and Shervinsky are constructed with deeper psychological profiles and lack the evil traits from the first edition of the novel. The play explores other aspects of the vivid language of those times, being characterized by a certain sense of Russian-Ukrainian rhythm of the speech as a mirror of the hectic social and political events.

The film *Beg* (*Flight*) (1970) was inspired by novel *The White Guard* and other two Bulgakov's writings – *Flight* ([5]) and *Black Sea* – directed by Alexandra Alova and Vladimir Naumov. The film *Dni Turbinykh* (*The Days of the Turbins*) appeared in 1976 as the film-adaptation of the play, which is quite different from the novel, although inspired from it. Directed by Vladimir Basov, the film didn't follow the success of the play, as it was produced in post-Stalinist times and in a different cultural climate.

The Russian TV-series *Belaya Gvardia* appeared in 2012 and was directed by Sergei Snezhkin, but was not well received by critics or spectators, being broadly considered a rakish interpretation of the original text and a sort of postmodern comedy (see Bondarenko 2012; Zaitsev 2012 in the online editions of the Russian newspapers).

Conclusion

Although the author mentioned the continuation of Tolstoy's novel *War and Peace*, his writings are different in narrator's tone, style and construction. A reader expecting a resembling Tolstoy's narrative voice in Bulgakov's novel would be certainly disappointed, as narrator's voice seems sometimes to be lost in some dialogues that take control over the of the novel and sometimes is cryptic regarding his position on the turbulent events. However, the balance between the war and peace is achieved, inspired by Tolstoy's great novel – the life of warriors and of members of a family of Russian intelligentsia. The focus of the novel is the representation of the home, life values and principles during war times, offering nostalgic glimpses on a social class once in blossom.

The distinct voice and style of Bulgakov's prose and theatre had influenced, along with Andrei Platonov, Vladimir Nabokov, the postwar Soviet literature, generating new titles for the socialist realism, such as: 'renewed socialist realism', 'socialist realism as an opened artistic system', 'socialism with a human face' (Abrudan 2003, 119-123). Bulgakov's destiny and difficult relationship with authorities and censorship drew him to Molière's personality under similar circumstances during the state of the Sun King of the 17th century France (Hosking 1980, 7). His play *Molière* was prohibited in 1936 and Molière's biography written for the series 'Lives of Remarkable People' was refused in 1933 due to the analogy with Stalinist times (Brandenberger, Platt (eds.) 2006, 144-145). The refusal of adhering to the socialist realism method and the consistent independent literary thinking with both Orthodox and occult imaginary (Glatzer Rosenthal (ed.) 1997, 25) came with a price not only for Bulgakov, but also for Pasternak,

([4]) See more on the matter of Holodomor as genocide in Bilinsky 1999, 147-156; Ellman 2007.

([5]) The critics discussed the historical inspiration of the story *Flight* and the similarities between it and/or the mentioned novel/play (*** 1991, 104).

Akhmatova, Zamyatin, Mandelstam, Olesha, Babel and others. However, the infamous success of the play *Dni Turbinykh* has sweetened Bulgakov's life although with a bitter taste of Western accusal of fraternizing with the Soviet power. Still, the author's skepticism regarding the transformation of the human nature and the grand project *Homo Sovieticus* is to be traced in his entire works, starting with *The Heart of a Dog* and *The Fatal Eggs* and ending with his masterpiece *Master and Margarita* (Livers 2009, 219-223).

Offering our conclusive remarks, we may explore another aspect of the negative critical reception of the novel by resuming it to the incapacity of seeing beyond the political opposed colours – White/Red. In the broad sense the White movement was made of anti-Bolsheviks: socialists, democrats, liberals, conservatives and even reactionaries, but in the strict sense they were the defenders of the initial basic values of monarchy and nationalism. In M. A. Bulgakov's novel, white is part of a specific symbolism, beyond the broad or the narrow social and political preference. In this sense, the spiritual and religious imagery, language and values are relevant, suspending the contextual emergencies of politically correct details (see the quoted scene from the mass for Semyon Petlyura's entrance in the City). Moreover, the depicted representatives of the so-called 'White Guard' are beyond their membership to a narrow group and opposed to the cynical White officers who fled from the city, abandoning their troops. The white hands of the priest talking with Alexei in Chapter 2, Elena's blessed hands in taking care of Alexei, Julia's providential hands saving Alexei's life are common elements that offer so many hints on the symbolical value of the title. The Whites as the Turbins, in the way they are depicted in the novel, are not the Red's enemies or if they are, then merely on matters of principles and spiritual values. The Whites are the protectors of a neglected and suddenly not important social class – Russian intelligentsia – and its core values like honour and duty. The fact that protecting themselves and the state as they knew it (Imperial/tsarist Russia) they set themselves in opposition to Ukrainian nationalists and Bolsheviks is a matter of social and historical conjuncture. Another relevant fact is that defending themselves or the City they are incapable of crude unjust behaviour – their hands are able to kill only in defense, not as a retaliation or as a sign of anarchist power.

The Turbins may have feared each and every potential enemy in those troubled times, but they failed to see the main enemy – Russia – a state with ambivalent traits and contradictory mentality and values based on European striving and Eastern tyranny. Russia's geographical position – between Europe and Asia – may have been responsible for this mixture (Degtiarjov 2003, 97-105), which proved to be fatal for so many people and territories in its vicinity. Such an identity crisis imposing on the Ukrainian territory with so many other identity issues has had lethal effects on the Ukrainian people regardless of their ethnicity. One may wonder if all these troubled events represented in the novel of auto-biographical nature would have exploded without the background of the First World War. Was it a necessary stage in the course of events or a secondary event for the Russian world propitious for the revolutionary path? However, the voices of the enemies within (class, ethnic or political enemies) and of the external ones unite in an original novel like in a complicated dissonant modern opera.

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The Great War Seen through the Eyes of Romanian Peasants

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Abstract. This article is trying to analyze how the First World War was understood and remembered by the Romanian peasants who participated in it. The article is questioning how widespread the emotional outburst from the beginning of the war really was among the Romanian peasants, when young men rushed to volunteer. An overview is provided then of the trench landscape from the perspective of ordinary soldiers. The deep religiosity of the peasants affected the way they understood the causes of the war, and the way they explained their defeats or victories. In the end, the efficiency of the nationalistic propaganda among Romanian peasants is examined.

Keywords: First World War, trench warfare, 'total war', peasant writings, popular culture

The First World War came as a dreadful surprise to those who experienced it, due to its magnitude, unprecedented violence, and shattering impact on Western civilization. This article explores the continuous series of brutal surprises and shocks that the first example of a 'total' war brought, a conflict not limited to armies, but pitting entire societies against each other in mortal struggle. We consider not the political elites and generals but ordinary soldiers and civilians. Among the estimated 70 million men mobilized, of whom approximately 9 million died, there were also Romanian peasants. Integrating cultural history, this article is trying to analyze the way they experienced the war, their fears, hopes and motives for fighting.

Historians who are studying the way that Romanian peasants experienced the First World War have several sources at their disposal. Folk anecdotes and jokes are one of them. Other sources are represented by the collections of folks songs from the war, published during the years of war or afterwards. Published in Romania after the Great Unification in 1918, they contained songs from peasants from both Austria-Hungary and the Old Kingdom. For historians, a problem arises when they are trying to use these collections, because of the literary interventions of the collectors and publishers. A unique view of the peasants' *Weltanschauung* is offered by the peasant manuscripts, such as those found in the archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore 'Constantin Brăiloiu', which were, in part, published by Laura Jiga Iliescu (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005), or those published by different researchers like Const. Brăiloiu and Claude Karnoouh (Karnoouh 2014). These are the sources on which our analysis in based. We will compare the manuscripts with the texts published in the collections, trying to find out the literary interventions and to present the peasants' experience of the war and not the one imposed by the intellectuals.

In her catalog of Romanian folk anecdotes and jokes, the folklorist Sabina Cornelia Stroescu classifies 134 types concerning the army (Stroescu 1969). 15 of them comment on events that took place during the Great War. Most of them have a Gypsy or a Jew as a hero and mock his bravery, simple-mindedness and foolishness. A Gypsy boasts about cutting off a German officer's legs with one sword stroke. Another tells how he twice slapped in the face a German who was hiding into the bushes and took his military cap; asked why he did not killed him, the Gypsy answered that the German was already dead ([1]). In another anecdote, collected from Moldavia,Ițig was one of the soldiers who were guarding the frontier during the First World War. When the battle began, scared by the first bullets,Ițig ran off and took cover in a forest. Exhausted, hungry and thirsty, he stops at a spring to fill his canteen. In the water, he saw the reflection of some Hungarian soldiers with their hands up: taking his canteen for a French hand grenade, they

([1]) Type 5896 *Țiganul viteaz*, collected from Wallachia.

were surrendering to avoid a certain death. When he understood what was happening, he took his prisoners to the headquarters, where he was promoted a sergeant and decorated for his bravery ([2]). The Romanian soldiers who, although lacked courage, boast about their bravery, and they were also mocked in folk anecdotes and jokes. In one of them, a platoon leader reports to the captain that there were no casualties in his squad. The captain was surprised, since every other team had only 3 or 4 soldiers left. The platoon leader explained that his squad hid in a hole and thus no one was killed and no cartridge was used.

In other jokes and anecdotes, the Gypsy sentinel was having a hard time remembering the password ([3]), or, trying to execute the orders, doing the things upside down ([4]). In a more gruesome joke, a shell explodes in the trenches, throwing the head of a corporal near the feet of a Gypsy sentinel. He said to one of his companions: 'How will the corporal curse tomorrow morning, when he will discover that his head is not in its usual place.' ([5]) Another type, of which 26 variants were collected from Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, speaks about the hardships of life on the front: a Gypsy soldier asked a corporal to write for him a letter to his parents containing only the word *alas*, three times; to the corporal astonishment, the Gypsy said he didn't need to write more words, because his parents would understand ([6]).

But the historian will have problems using these folk jokes and anecdotes as a source for finding the impressions of the Romanian peasants who fought in the Great War. Almost every type has variants collected long before 1914. Even those variants, which speak specifically about experiences from the First World War, are told according to a structure specific to folk jokes that mock stupidity, simplicity or foolishness. So, we turn our attention to another category of sources: war folk songs and letters that the peasants sent home from the front.

In the *Preface* to a collection of folk songs from the war, published in 1915, Dimitrie Cioloca, a Romanian professor from Caransebeş, affirmed that the war gave the Romanian peasant, 'a natural born poet', a new impulse to express his soul. For those who are fighting on the battlefield or for those who remained home, poetry is the best way to express their feelings (Cioloca 1915, 3). Let us examine then what were the feelings regarding the war that the peasants express in their songs.

In August 1914, a hysterical celebration of the outbreak of the war took place in major European cities. Crowds paraded in the streets and squares with songs and flags, while young men rushed to volunteer. Those vast cheering crowds are described by an infantry soldier, a peasant from a village in Banat: every villager left his household and went to Timişoara, where they were given military uniforms and equipment in the blink of an eye; then they went to the railway station, accompanied by the sound of music and that of cheering crowds of women, who wished them good luck ([7]) (Cioloca 1915, 70-71). In a versified retelling of his participation in the Great War, Paul Alexa, a Romanian peasant from Maramureş, who fought in the Austro-Hungarian army, mentioned that in Eger the Hungarian women gave them flowers as they went to war ([8]). In other villages, the conscription was announced by the village

([2]) Type 5924 *Vitejia lui Iţig*, collected from Moldavia.

([3]) Type 5904 *Ţiganul de santinelă*, collected from Wallachia.

([4]) Type 5905, collected from Wallachia; type 5906 *Pe câmpul de luptă*, collected from Transylvania; type 5907 *Ţiganul sentinelă*, collected from Wallachia; type 5916 *Din război* (the hero is a Jew), collected from Moldavia.

([5]) Type 5932 *Grija ţiganului*, collected from Transylvania.

([6]) Type 5936 *Vai! Vai! Vai!*

([7]) 'Porunca împăratului,/ La chinezul satului,/ Ne cheamă cu grabă mare,/ Să mergem la îmbrăcare./ Tot satu-'şi lăsă căşcioara/ Şi plecă la Timişoara./ Ţugu 'ntreg din ţvaite-erzaţ (zweite Ersatz-Comp. = compania II. de completaşi),/ Ainţ-ţvai (eins-zwei = unu-doi) furăm îmbrăcaţi./ Goarna sună, toba bate,/ Noi mergem cale departe,/ Iar muzica ne zicea,/ Lumea mare ne privea,/ Fete mândre lăcrimau/ Şi noroc mult ne doreau./ Laintu (Leutnant = sublocotenent) nostru, domn' Loichiţă,/ Mândru ca o coconiţă,/ Fecior drept ca un stejar,/ Comanda ca-un ghinărar.', *De la Dukla*, told by Efta Boboş, from Jebel, in Cioloca, 1915, 70-73, v. 5-22.

'*Măi Muscane ţine-'ţi calu'...*, v. 1-6 (Cioloca 1915, 11)

([8]) 'Muierile ce feceră?/ Cu flori pe toţi ne-nstruţară/ Cu flori mândre de jelane/ Ne-nstruţară pe cătane./ Ne-ncărcau cu flori frumoase/ Că mergem din ţara noastră/ La piept cu flori de coliea/ Că mergem în Galiţia/ Să batem pe Rusia.' (Karnoouh 2014, 44, 13a, v. 7-15)

herald ([9]), in the sound of drums ([10]) and trumpets ([11]), bells and alpenhorns ([12]).

Yet there were also quiet leave-takings and individuals foreboding. In most rural areas there were worried reactions to the outbreak of the war. The compulsory enrollment for military service made most of the Romanian peasants (no matter whether they were fighting for Austria-Hungary or for Romania) to have a strong inner feeling of a future misfortune, evil, or even death ([13]). They were not leaving for the front in the sound of cheering crowds, but in that of the cries and laments of their wives and children, neighbours and all the girls in the village ([14]). A shepherd from Banat noted that, when he heard about the order to go to war, wept for the first time in his life ([15]). Many other peasants shed tears on their way to the front, thinking about the families they left home, whom they would probably never see again ([16]). 'Punish him, Oh Lord,/ He who wrote with a pen on the paper,/ My name on the enrollment list,/ Because he wrote it with black ink,/ When I enjoyed life most' ([17]), are verses of a folk song well known to Romanian soldiers who fought in the First World War. After two years of fighting, a Romanian peasant from Bucovina was complaining that now they are enlisting even teenagers of 17 years old, and then, men of 43 ([18]).

World War I is considered to be the first example of 'Total War', a term coined during the war itself to sum up the all-encompassing nature of this modern industrial conflict. It demanded total mobilization of mass armies, economies, societies and hearts and minds of people in the countries at war. In this sense, it was a people's war, not one determined by government cabinets and elites. And the Romanian peasants who fought in it understood that war as being very different from those before it. A Moldavian peasant from Neamț county remembered that his father told him his experiences from the war of 1878-78, but thought that there has never before been a war like that, a real World War ([19]). Even the term *world war* was unique. Although earlier wars had had global dimensions, the term *world war* was used to signify the extraordinary reach of this unprecedented conflict. Paul Alexa, from Maramureş, compared that war to those fought in the ancient times by Alexander the Great ([20]), whose history was widely known by the peasants from popular chapbooks.

A tremendously important and dynamic element of the industrial Great War was the role of technology and its expanding destructive potential. The character of World War I was symbolized by the mass-produced machine gun, an instrument of mass death.

Trench lines represented a crucial feature of this war. Soldiers in the front lines were exposed to the weather, as the trenches were often wet and sometimes flooded. Mud made it difficult to move across the landscape. Even worse was the cold, especially on the

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([9]) *Versul de la mobilizare*, v. 19 (Brăiloiu 1944, 71).

([10]) *Din Şeitin*, v. 3-7 (Cioloca, 1915, 68).
Într'o Sâmbătă noaptea (Dobrotă,1917, 8-9).

([11]) *Mobilizarea 1916* (Cerbulescu,1924, 7).

([12]) *Alt vers*, v. 563-570 (Brăiloiu, 1944, 75-76).

([13]) *La Halici (Galiția)*, v. 1-12 (Cioloca,1915, 32).

([14]) 'Foaie verde salbă moale/ Plâng nevestele cu jale/ Copilaşii mititei/ Strigă pe părinți şi ei/ Căci îi lasă singurei/ (…) Foaie verde de-un maşcat/ Plâng amar fetele 'n sat/ Că soarta le-a rânduit/ Să le ia pe-al lor iubit/ Plâng într-una şi oftează/ Ochişorii lăcrimează/ Că de-acum cine ştie/ De-o fi scris ca să mai vie', *Mobilizarea 1916* (Cerbulescu 1924, 7-8).

([15]) 'Însă într-o zi de vară,/ Şi pe mine mă chemară,/ Mă chemară de la oi/ Şi mă duseră 'n războiu.../ Câtă jale am simțit,/ Când pe munte-am coborât,/ Eu care 'n viața toată/ Nu am plâns mai nici odată!...', *Dorul ciobanului dus în războiu*, v. 23-30 (Cioloca,1916, 53).

([16]) *Trâmbița când a sunat*, collected on August 8, 1917 from corporal Luncă Vasile, a peasant from the village Bodeşti-Precista, Neamț county. (Cerbulescu 1924, 11-12)
De pe coastele Muntenegrului, v. 30-51, collected from Ioan Daia, from Ohaba-Mutnic, Caraş-Severin county (Cioloca 1915, 15).

([17]) 'Bate-l doamne cu mânie/ Pă-l ce-o pus pana-n hârtie/ Şi m-au scris la cătunie/ C-au scris cu cerneală neagră/ Când mi-a fost lumea mai dragă.' (Karnoouh 2014, 44, 7b, v. 1-5).

([18]) *Lui Luțu Liochiță*, v. 39-40, 56-59 (Cioloca 1916, 14-15).

([19]) 'Frunzuță de la pârău/ Mult îmi spunea tatăl meu/ Că'n răsboi e foarte greu/ Îmi spunea dar nu credeam/ În samă nu le băgam:/ Din şeaptezeci şi şeapte-mi spunea/ C'a fost în Bulgaria/ O iarnă 'ntreag' a trecut/ Multe rele au văzut./ Foae verde de secară/ Rău a fost şi-atunci în țară/ Dar ca-acuma niciodată/ Să se bată lumea toată.', *Trâmbița când a sunat*, (Cerbulescu 1924, 11-12).

([20]) 'O vai ce bătaie crudă/ Cum n-au fost de vreme multă/ De la Alexandru cel Mare/ N-au mai fost aşa bătaie/ Alexandru cel vestit/ S-au bătut aşa cumplit/ Rezbel crâncen fioros/ Pe Europa s-a-ntors.' (Karnoouh 2014, 62, 26b, v. 1-8). The same verses in *Cântec pe timpul războiului – În anul 1914 –*, by Dumitru Lăscoiu (*Dor şi jele* 1915, 34).

Russian front. Corporal Aurel Găină recorded how they were freezing on the Russian front, in their summer uniform, which was no match for the Russian cold ([21]). The same corporal complained that they have no beds to sleep in; instead, they were sleeping on the ground; they didn't have where to wash their clothes or take a bath; they didn't have woods to make a fire, or anything to cook their food with ([22]). Hunger and starvation were common on the front ([23]). Often, the soldiers ate horse meat ([24]). On his marches with the Austro-Hungarian army in Galicia, Paul Alexa remembered that he almost starve to death. He even learned how to ask for bread in Polish and tried to buy it from the Polish peasants, but they were also lacking bread ([25]). Some peasants thought that the situation was similar among the Russian soldiers, who were thinking to surrender to the Austro-Hungarian army because they thought that in Hungary they can eat white bread ([26]). On the other hand, a corporal in the Romanian army, fighting in Transylvania, addressed the enemy soldiers: 'My dear brothers from Transylvania/ From Cicsereda and Odorhei/ Why won't all surrender/ 'Cause you have nothing left to eat/ And if you will surrender/ We will take you to Romania/ And there you'll eat white bread/ Aren't you tired of marching/ And eating oat bread?' ([27])

Existence in the trenches was marked by acute terror and horror. Gunfire traversed the landscape. The perfect symbol of the deadlines of the industrialized battlefield was the machine gun. With a range of more than 900 meters it fired 600 rounds per minute. One machine gun could hold off masses of enemies. No wonder that in their songs and letters, the peasants speak of a 'rain of bullets' ([28]), or of 'bullets which came as the cold wind blows in the winter' ([29]).

The war presented many novelties that, unfortunately, later became increasingly ordinary. These novelties included trench warfare and new weapons. Of those, none had a bigger impact on the Romanian peasants than the machine gun and the recoilless artillery. New recoilless artillery was an important advance, which also left a mark in the peasants' imagination: some speak about the projectiles of the trench mortar as being 'birds with an iron beak' ([30]).

A disturbing feature of trench warfare was the omnipresence of death. Soldiers were often in close proximity to the remains of bodies, decay, and infestations of rats. Bodies resurfaced as shell churned up the soil ([31]). Sometimes, the battlefield takes a cosmic dimension: even the sun, the moon and the stars cry when they see how much blood was shed (Karnoouh 2014, 62, 26d, v. 1-4). Some peasants see these dreadful events as signs of the coming Apocalypse ([32]). Others think that Hell was already here ([33]). Neculae Clonțea, a peasant from Făgăraş county, noted that the month of May, an earthly paradise during the time of

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([21]) *Viers românesc de pe pământ rusesc*, II, v. 11-36 (Găină 1917, 5-6). Others remembered the freezing cold: *Dragi copii ş'a mea soție* (Cernea 1940, 8-9).

([22]) *Viers românesc de pe pământ rusesc*, III, v. 1-38 (Găină 1917, 6-8).

([23]) *În Carpați*, v. 19-27 (Cioloca 1915, 8).

Una sută şease sprezece (Cerbulescu 1924, 18).

Alt vers din război, v. 185, 194-195 (Brăiloiu 1944, 72-74); *Alt vers frumos*, v. 393 (*Ibidem*, 74).

([24]) *Alt vers din război*, v. 203-209 (Brăiloiu, 1944, 72-74); *Alt vers*, v. 620-633 (*Ibidem*, 76); *Versul Bucovinei*, v. 708 (*Ibidem*, 76-77); *Alt vers*, v. 763 (*Ibidem*, 76).

([25]) 'Prin cele păduri de brazi/ Nebăuți şi nemâncați/ La picioare degerați./ Multe zile n-am mâncat/ Nici pe bani n-am căpătat./ Prin sate dacă treceam/ Ne băgam pită ceream/ Ceream pită de parale/ Ei răspundeau că nu are/ Ei ne vorbea polecește/ Noi nu puteam a[-]i percepe/ Şi dacă am învățat/ Pă pită cum au chemat/ Pe la case ne-am băgat/ Ceream la ei: 'dăm cleba!'/ Ei răspunde: 'cleb nema' (Karnoouh 2014, 44, 15, v. 7-22; see also 17b, v. 10-13; 28a, v. 6-7).

([26]) 'Ziceau: 'Haideți, ne predăm,/ Căci n'avem ce să mâncăm./ Şi dacă noi ne-om preda,/ Ne-om duce 'n Ungaria/ Şi-albă pită om mânca,/ Căci ne-am săturat de mers/ Şi de pită de ovăs', *'Picau ruşii cu grămada'...*, v. 28-34 (Cioloca 1915, 23-24).

([27]) *Cântec*, collected from Blaga Pavel, a peasant with primary education (Cerbulescu 1924, 16).

([28]) *Una sută şease sprezece* (Cerbulescu 1924, 17);

Dincolo de Stanislau, v. 29-33 (Cioloca 1915, 20).

([29]) *Din Orşova*, v. 24-27 (Cioloca, 1915, 17).

([30]) *Versuri din cătănie şi de pe câmpul de luptă 1915*, scrise de Neculae Clonțea, din Viştea superioară, Făgăraş county (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 62-63).

([31]) 1915, 21-22). See also Cerbulescu 1924, 21-22, 23, 25.

([32]) *'Spre oraşul Stanislau'...*, v. 32-37 (Cioloca 1915, 91).

([33]) *Din Galiția*, v. 62-68 (Cioloca 1915, 59).

peace, is now Hell on Earth ([34]). No wonder so many wished they had never been born ([35])! And with almost no exception, from the first years of the war, the peasants and their families from home were hoping that the war will end soon ([36]).

Another implication of the 'total war' was that, because civilians were mobilized to work for their country on the 'home front', they were increasingly targets of violence as well. Neculae Clonțea noted that, on his way through Galicia, by train and on foot, in May 1915, he saw only burnt villages, bridges destroyed and telegraph poles cut down by the Russians (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 59-62). The same desolated landscape, with burnt and abandoned villages is described in a folk song by a Romanian peasant from Caraş-Severin, who was a prisoner of war in Serbia ([37]). In many of their songs, diaries and letters written from the front, Romanian peasants were worried that back home nobody ploughs the fields ([38]).

The home fronts in all the warring countries met privation, shortages, rationing, and surveillance. It was part of the logic of 'total war' that civilians would be targets. Life for civilians underwent profound changes and privations. The drafting of farmers, the requisitioning of horses and cattles ([39]), and other factors led to a dislocation of agriculture in Romania and Romanian provinces from Austria-Hungary, producing food shortages.

Inflation became a universal phenomenon. In Romania and Austria-Hungary, like in many other European countries, prices roughly doubled during the war. Vasile Tomuț from Botoşana, Suceava county, tells us how people buried their money and jewelry ([40]) and how money were made of steel, iron or paper, which had no real value, unlike the Austrian money ([41]).

The common figure of the profiteer is much hated in the peasants' writings. The same peasant from the North of Moldavia curses those who overcharged orphans and widows for bred ([42]). Rumors circulated on the front, tells us Coman Grapă from Poiana Mărului, a Romanian village in the Făgăraş county that back home charlatans were trying to steal from the households where there were no men left ([43]).

Some curse those who, without fearing God, were leaving their wives and seduce other women, with more land and cattle, whose men were on the front ([44]). Others fear that their wives were cheating them with soldiers ([45]) or even with Russians ([46]). A prisoner of war in Siberia, Paul Alexa asked the cuckoo to go and see if his wife dined alone or with another man (Karnoouh 2014, 80, 31c, v. 20-27). The behaviour of women left alone at home was of great concern for two peasants from a village from Turda-Arieş county. And for good reasons, since the women spent all the money they receive from the state, because their men were fighting on the front on drink: 'Green leaf of

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([34]) *Versuri din cătănie şi de pe câmpul de luptă 1915*. Neculae Clonțea. Vişţea superioară Comitatul Făgăraşului county (Jiga Iliescu *et al.*, 2005, 63).

([35]) *'Şi o trece, Doamne, anul...'*, v. 50-53 (Cioloca 1916, 92).

([36]) 'Eu măicuță-atât doresc/ În ast' lume să trăesc/ Să mă văd odată iară/ Sănătos în a me țară/ Să fie pace în lume/ Şi să fie toate bune!', *Viers românesc de pe pământ rusesc*, v. 30-35 (Găină 1917, 12).

Dincolo de Stanislau, v. 69-72 (Cioloca 1915, 22).

([37]) 'Că pe unde am trecut,/ Numai pagubă-am văzut,/ Şi pe unde am umblat,/ Numai pagubă-am lăsat./ Satele toate au ars/ Şi nimica n'a rămas./ De-acolo toți au fugit/ Şi marva (vitele) s'a năspustit,/ Căşile le-au părăsit.', *Din prinsoare de la Sârb*, v. 28-36. Written by Crâsta Ion, from Folea, Caraş-Severin county (Cioloca 1916, 45-46).

([38]) Letter sent home by Istocescu, from Costeşti, Vâlcea, in September 1916 (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 30-34). See also Karnoouh 2014, 34, 7g, v. 19-25.

([39]) *Alt vers*, v. 635-640; 980-981 (Brăiloiu 1944, 76, 79)

([40]) *Ibidem*, v. 982-985.

([41]) 'Şau făcut bani de oțăl/ De hârtie şi de fier/ Şi pe drum die oai afla/ Zic zău că noai ridica/ Că nare nici o valoare/ Casăi cunoscă ori care/ Mărcuț mici de trei copici/ Cieli albastre câte cinci/ Dară banii austrieci/ Ținei domne pînăn veci/ Căş frumoşi şi lăcomoş/ Şi din trînşii ai folos', *ibidem*, v. 986-997.

([42]) *Alt vers*, v. 816-819 (Brăiloiu 1944, 77-78).

([43]) *În luptele din Galiția*, v. 123-129 (Cioloca 1916, 81). See also these verses written by Vasile Tomuț: 'Numai ne bunu şi prostu/ Uită rău cum au fostu/ Că mulț cariau fost tâlhar/ Şi prădau pe gospodari/ curvari şi curvile/ Când auziau tunurle/ Să rugau la Du-zeu/ Şau uitat de gândul rău/ Tâlhari de tâlhărie/ Curvari de curvărie/ Că şau cunoscut păcatu/ Şi zic că nor face altu' (Brăiloiu 1944, 79, v. 1032-1043).

([44]) *În luptele din Galiția*, v. 130-157 (Cioloca 1916, 81-83).

([45]) *Şi-am zis verde trei granate*, by Huluță Năstase, a peasant from Neamț county (Cerbulescu 1924, 29).

([46]) *Versul Bucovinei*, v. 706 (Brăiloiu, 1944, 77). About the sane situation are also complaining the peasants soldiers from Moldavia (Savel 1925, 20-24).

lemon tree,/ Since I'm on the front,/ Apart from my wife,/ My wife and children,/ Who were left alone,/ – Green leaf of poplar –/ A plague set upon the villages,/ A year and a half ago,/ Since women spend their time,/ Only with local mayors./ Soldiers, brothers and companions,/ What are our women doing,/ Silly as they are?/ They go to the notary for the allowance,/ That the state pays them./ But when they see the dressed up mayors,/ 'Cause women are foolish,/ As soon as they got the money,/ Go to the tavern,/ Pay for beer and brandy,/ And say:/ Let's drink and sing, mayor,/ 'Till we spend all the money.' ([47]) The two peasants continue their tirade against women, who, they promise, will be punished on their return home for spending the money that the state gave for the sustenance of the children of those fighting on the front, on expensive clothes, parties and drink ([48]). In the end, they soften the harsh tone, apologizing to the reader that they wrote these verses during hard times, when they were wounded, in the hospital in Turda ([49]). Other peasants from the front shared this concern for the conduct of the women left home, as well as for the way they spend the money the state gave for the sustenance of the children of those conscripted. The gunner Nicolae Tincu even asked the emperor to stop paying these allowances, because the women spent the money on drink ([50]). Dumitru Pop from Năsăud was even more satirical, comparing the women who were partying and drinking with other men with frogs in a lake ([51]). In his anthology from the Italian front, Ioan Giuglea included several pages with rebukes to the frivolous conduct of girls and women (Giuglea 1918, 11-19).

A disconnection existed between what was experienced at home and what was experienced in the tranches, often driving a wedge between men and women, civilians and soldiers. A peasant from Făgăraş admonished those from home for not thinking of the men on the front and not writing them letters ([52]). The resentment for those who stayed home was expressed in almost all of the peasants' writings: those who were fighting on the front were brave, handsome, righteous, while the men who were not conscripted were cowards, ugly, stupid and evil ([53]). From a hospital in Bohemia, a Romanian from Câmpulung (Bucovina) wrote that those who remained home have no right to complain about the harshness of their lives ([54]).

Social structures buckled under the pressure of war. Traditional morality was under strain. In a letter sent back home to his wife, a peasant from Caraş-Severin, remarked very

([47]) *'Boală rea este pe sate'*, v. 1-25, written by Vasile Trănca and Ioan Popa from Ocolişul de jos, Turda-Arieş county (Cioloca 1916, 93-96).

([48]) 'Las' să bee vin şi bere,/ Până noi acas' vom mere,/ Şi le-om lua la judecată,/ Ce-au făcut cu-a noastră plată,/ Cu plata de la copii,/ Ce-au rămas de noi pustii./ Când am plecat noi din sat,/ Domnii noşti poruncă-au dat,/ Ca copiii cei orfani/ Au să capete şi bani,/ Şi ca din bani să trăiască,/ Pân' ce vine al lor tată./ Dar mama lor făr' de gând,/ N'o mai ia nime la rând,/ căci ele n'au gând de traiu,/ Că acasă n'au mălaiu,/ C'acolo-i domnul birău,/ Înschimbat şi pieptînat/ Şi în cizme încălţat./ Frunză verde de pe rât,/ Şi asta are sfârşit;/ Frunză verde de tulei,/ Ascultaţi şi voi femei:/ Copiii noşti rabdă de foame,/ Voi umblaţi ca nişte doamne;/ Copiii sunt desbrăcaţi,/ Că banii-i daţi pe vinars!/ Beţi, femei, şi vă 'mbetaţi,/ Şi nu gândiţi la bărbaţi;/ Trupul lor e 'ngăurit,/ Voi umblaţi după mărit./ Frunză verde şi una,/ Când bătaia s'a găta,/ Va veni şi pedeapsa./ Vor vedea femeile,/ Cari umblă ca doamnele,/ Pe la toate crâşmele,/ Ce-a mai fi, Doamne, pe sate,/ Tot pâri mari şi judecate,/ Şi femei multe ţipate (alungate, de la: a ţipa = a alunga, n.n.).', *Ibidem*, v. 28-67.

([49]) *Ibidem*, v. 68-71.

([50]) 'Împărate, împărate,/ Pune pace, nu te bate,/ Că-ţi dai toţi banii pe sate,/ La muieri cu flori pe poale,/ Să nu lase birturi goale./ Dacă s-au dus cei voinici,/ Beau muierile cât cinci./ Vine badea, nu mai vie,/ Numai plată să se ştie;/ Vine badea c-un picior,/ Dar să fie în ulcior.' (Stanciu, p. 8) (Brăiloiu 1944, 20).

([51]) 'Voi spune despre muieri,/ Care capătă ajut/ De la Statul cel avut./ Când banii ele primesc,/ Drăguţi îşi agonisesc,/ Se pun şi se sfătuiesc/ Că care cum mai trăiesc./ Zice una dintre ele:/ 'Haideţi ici, dragilor mele,/ Haideţi ici în făgădău,. C-a fi ce-a da Dumnezeu'./ Atunci zice una-ndată:/ 'Bine zici tu, zău, surată,/ Haideţi la-un pic de vinars,/ Că răbdăm destul năcaz'./ Şi cum zic, atunci îndată,/ Intră-n făgădău grămadă,/ Se pun roată p-ingă masă/ Şi de mine nu le pasă,/ Beau, horesc, se veselesc,/ Fiecare-n glasul său,/ Gândeşti că-s broaştele-n tău.' These verse are cited by Brăiloiu, (1944, 20) from a manuscript from the archive of the Society of Romanian Composers: *Rumänische Soldaten-Volksliteratur*, an anthology made in 1917 by Emil Precup, at the order of the Austrian Ministry of War.

([52]) *În luptele din Galiţia*, v. 108-122 (Cioloca 1916, 80-81).

([53]) *Cucule nu mai cânta*, told by Ghenea Ion, Dâmboviţa county (Cerbulescu, 1924 13-14).

Săraca inima noastră, told by sergeant Tache Tudor, a peasant with primary education (Cerbulescu 1924, 23).

'A noastră-i armă vestită...', v. 25-32 (Cioloca 1915, 87-88). *La Rawa-Ruska*, v. 1-10, 30-34 (Cioloca 1916, 16-18).

([54]) *Dorul bucovineanului înstrăinat*, v. 6-8 (Cioloca 1916, 50).

surprised that the gender roles were changing: women were now in the fields, growing crops and tilling the soil with the plough ([55]). Another peasant, from the North of Moldavia, criticized severely those from his village who did not follow the traditions and customs and did not wear the traditional clothes anymore; scolded the women who were dressing up and neglected taking care of the household, and those who were lazy. In the end, he realized that the traditional world of the village would never be the same after the war ([56]).

Capture and imprisonment, with their uncertainties, fears, and shame, were experiences shared by many soldiers in the Great War. An estimated 8.5 million men became prisoners of war (about 10 percent of all mobilized soldiers). Among them, there was a Romanian peasant from Maramureş, Paul Alexa. He has captured in November 1914 in Galicia by the Russian army. Being taken prisoner was not an easy or safe experience. Killing prisoners at the moment of capture or immediately after was not uncommon. Ordinary prisoners of war, such as the peasant Paul Alexa, were used as laborers. Hunger and disease rather than deliberate extermination, exacted a toll. On the road to Siberia, tells us Paul Alexa, he hardly received any food ([57]). There he worked and was paid by the Russian state 15 rubles a month, money which he gave to the Russian peasant in whose house he was staying. For an archaic peasant from Maramureş, this was a strange culture, very different than his own, which he barely understood. He thought the Russians' life was very easy: they did not have to work and had no worry in the world ([58]). A good example of the incapacity of the Romanian peasant to comprehend a culture different than his own was his reaction when he saw a samovar: he could describe it other than using the familiar image of a cow giving milk: 'Little leaf of silk/ May God save you/ From their Russian cow/ She eats only embers/ And gives bitter milk/ She has no hair, only skin/ And gives milk as much as you want/ If you give her embers to eat/ You can milk her all day long/ The milk is colored/ And is very hot./ She has an udder with only one teat/ But gives constantly milk./ She sits all day in the house/ Almost never goes out./ Her color is yellow/ And her horns are black/ You also have to rub her/ Once in there days./ Of this cow I am fed up/ Enough of her milk I drank/ Milk at breakfast/ Milk at lunch/ Milk at dinner/ And in the evening again./ Farewell, oh , cow/ You gave me bone disease/ Wrinkled my skin/ And turned my face yellow./ May God help me/ Of your milk to get rid!' ([59])

After that experience in the peasant's ('mujic') house, Paul Alexa worked at a railway station and then for a nobleman ('baron'). He worked on his land until the outbreak of the revolution, in February 1917. His briefly description of the events that followed was very useful for the historians, as a source to understand how a Romanian peasant, a prisoner of war in Russia, experienced and understood the Russian revolutions: 'Things went very bad, because the Bolsheviks (named by Alexa 'bolşovici') were killing the gentlemen (a term used by the peasants in Maramureş to designate people that were living in towns; Karnoouh, 10-12, n. 11), the Jews, the noblemen and peasants who did not gave them money and everything they wanted to take. (…) I was terrified by the things the Bolsheviks did! (…) As long as I stayed in Russia, for three years, I was not allowed to drink alcohol. If they had heard that someone had drunk alcohol, that person would have been hanged. But after Russia made peace, the soldiers returned home; they robbed all the factories and stores, and gave alcohol to every person more than 15 years old. Then we drank enough alcohol. On December 22, 1917, the Russians returned from the front, and most of them turned into Bolsheviks. They were all on horseback, horses which they took from the peasants. The gentlemen, seeing that things are getting worse, asked the Germans and Austrians for help. May the Lord be praised that the Germans and Austro-Hungarians came to the rescue of gentlemen and peasants.' ([60]) When the Germans were near, Paul Alexa left for their camp, but on his way he met the Bolsheviks. They didn't do him anything, but only asked him to tell the Russians that he would meet to return home and help them to defeat the bourgeoisie.

The Central Powers occupied an important part of Romania during the winter of 1916, and it became a German economic colony, yielding food and oil. But some Romanian peasants did not feel that their lives under the

([55]) *Scrisoarea lui Trăilă Lungu*, from Măidan, Caraş-Severin, to his wife, Eva, v. 13-17, 21-29 (Cioloca 1916, 19-20).
([56]) *Alt vers*, v. 840-963 (Brăiloiu 1944, 78-79).
([57]) 'Ziua noaptea tot pe cale/ Şi nu căpătam mâncare/ Aş fi mâncat şi pe dracu/ Numai să-l fi prins Săracu!' (Karnoouh 2014, 72, 29c, v. 7-14).
([58]) *Ibidem*, 94, 40b, v. 1-5.
([59]) *Ibidem*, 96, 40b, v. 6-36.
([60]) *Ibidem*, 106-108.

German occupation were worse than before. Dumitru Petcu, in his autobiography, remembered that in the winter of 1916, the people from his village were ordered to leave. But he stayed and his family also returned after two or three weeks. He did not describe in grim tones life under the German occupation, remembering that, when he was ordered to bring milk to the German soldiers, he drank most of it, added water and the Germans did not realized it ([61]).

In the collections of folk songs from the Great War published in Romania after 1918, there is a great emphasis on the bravery of the Romanian soldiers, their patriotism and their desire to fight and give their life for the benefit of their nation and country. But were these the real feelings of the peasants, or were they later added by collectors and publishers?

Censorship was the rule of the day in the warring powers. Opposition to the war was harshly suppressed. Nonetheless, desires for peace were strong enough to find expression at many levels and in many different ways. It echoes from almost all of the peasants' writings. In a letter sent home from the front by a peasant from Vâlcea, God is asked to come down to Earth and stop this carnage, in which parents and brothers are killing each other ([62]).

Almost most of them told that they hated that war and were forced to go to the front. 'I was brought here by force' ([63]), said Vasile Tomuț, and he did all those terrible things because he was forced to. The same thoughts had many others ([64]). Tomuț cursed the Emperor, who did not want 'to make up' and all those who were not fed up with war: they shall be drowned, the frog shall sing at their head (Brăiloiu, 1944, 21). After the Turkish and Bulgarian dogs had started the Balkan wars, an even greater one had started, said a Romanian peasant from Broşteni, Suceava county, and the main responsible were the Germans, whom he addressed directly and asked if they were not fed up seeing all this bloodshed ([65]).

We do not find many proofs of bravery in the writings of the peasants from the Romanian army, nor in those of the Romanian peasants who fought for Austria-Hungary. One of them told how the Russians fled, and then added innocently: 'Other times we fled/ 'Cause that's the war.'(Brăiloiu, 1944, 21). Another one confessed that when the attack started, they all got frightened and run off, leaving all their equipment behind (Nicoară & Netea, 1936, 325). Paul Alexa, from Maramureş, told that, as he was approaching the front, hearing the sound of shells and machine guns, he got so frighten that he started to shake (Karnoouh, 2014, 46, 13d, v. 1-7). A month later, when he was taken prisoner by the Russians, he begged them not to kill him, because he had a wife and children (Karnoouh, 2014, 68, 28d, v. 7-15). So it seems like folk jokes and anecdotes that mock the soldiers bravery during the war are expressing a reality lived by those who told them.

The examples given above and many others seem to make the case of Nicolae Iorga, who thought that there is not a single folk song that does not speak about the peasants' innate hate for the army and war. Only those folk songs influenced by the patriotic speeches of the officers and those written in the newspapers during World War I present a positive image of fighting (Iorga 1925, I). Brăiloiu thinks that it is an exaggeration; even if the positive image of the war is a literary influence, the fact that the peasants adopted it in their song means that the soul of the peasant these songs reflect is different than the one before the War. There are several examples of songs collected before World War I, in which peasants admit they like the army and prefer to enroll than work for a

([61]) C*aiet cuprinzând viața şi aventurile până în prezent Dtr Gr. Petcu* (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 116-121).

([62]) 'Cobor', Doamne, pe pământ/ De vezi cât de 'nvrăjbiți sânt,/ Varsă, Doamne, milă'n ei/ Şi 'mblânzeşte-i ca pe miei!/ Nu vezi Doamne, cum se bate/ Părinți şi frate cu frate?' (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 33). At home, his wife also wishes the war to stop as soon as possible: 'De s-ar potoli odată/ Focul, care s'a întins/ Şi-atâtea țări a cuprins,/ de nu se mai înțălege/ Nici creştinii de o lege.', *Ibidem*, 31.

([63]) *Alt vers*, v. 764-768 *(*Brăiloiu 1944, 77).

([64]) 'Nu s-a dus de voia lui,/ Ci din voia craiului', *Jalea prizonierului*, p. 42, cit. in Brăiloiu 1944, 21.

'Şi eu trist şi necăjit/ De porunca ce-am primit./ N-am ce-i face, sunt silit.' (*Dor şi jele* 1915, 15).

'Am mers că tot n-am ce face,/ Că jandarmii nu-mi dau pace.' (Brăiloiu 1944, 21).

([65]) 'Şi-am zis verde ş'un dudău/ Neamțule nu-ți vine rău/ Când vezi sângele pârău/ Isvorând din capul meu?/ Şi-am zis verde trei smidele/ Neamțule nu-ți vine jele/ Când vezi sânge izvorând/ Din spatele meu curgând?/ Bată-te crucea de neamț/ De tânăr m'ai pus în şanț/ Tinerel fără mustață/ Să lupt cu ranița 'n spate/ Şi curele încurcate/ Peste brațe, peste spate/ Tragi în mine nu gândeşti/ Că m'omori, ori mă răneşti/ Tragi în mine nu te uiți/ C'am acasă doi părinți.', *Cât e pământul de mare* (Cerbulescu 1924, 19-20).

master. For some peasants, serving in the army was something to be proud of ([66]). Others thought that their condition will improve if they join the army ([67]). One even declares that it is not true what people say, that serving in the army is hard: you don't have to dig the earth, cut the grass, harvest, plough, pay taxes or buy food; the army gives you everything and even buys you clothes ([68]). Vasile Stan, sergeant in the Romanian army, a peasant with primary education, wrote home to his wife not to worry, because he felt on the front almost like home, except he lacked tobacco and missed her and the children ([69]).

The enemy was increasingly dehumanized in propaganda. Images of the enemy were sharpened into overwhelmingly negative stereotypes (with racial overtones). In almost all the songs collected from the peasants who were fighting in the Romanian army the Hungarians are considered heathens ([70]). One peasant wished that all Hungarian would die of plague ([71]). The Germans were also cursed by the Romanian soldiers, who wished they would be damned and consumed by the fire of Hell ([72]). The Romanian peasants who served in the Austro-Hungarian army had similar injurious adjectives for their enemies. A peasant from Caraş-Severin considered that the Serbian was a tyrant, a poisonous snake ([73]). The Russians were filthy beasts, worse than the heathens, may the dog eat their heart, said a song published in a journal in 1914 ([74]). In a song collected by a member of the clergy, the Russians seem to be devils: they drank as much vodka, rum, brandy and wine as the amount of water in a lake ([75]).

But these negative stereotypes are not so wide spread in the writings of the peasants who have little literary influence and were modified in a lesser degree by collector and publishers. In the versified memories of Paul Alexa of Maramureş, we can still find an archaic vision, in which the physical and moral qualities of the enemy are emphasized, so that the one who defeats him will have even greater glory: 'We've heard the Russian is strong/ And of noble lineage.' (Karnoouh, 2014, 40, 9a, 13-14). And again, later, he said that all the Russians were good men, you could truly say they were Christians (Karnoouh, 2014, 94, 40a, 5-8).

In most of the cases, the acts of bravery and patriotic speeches are added to peasants' writings by different kind of intellectuals, who were trying to prove that bravery and patriotism are innate qualities of Romanian peasants. From the beginning, that was the purpose for which most of the collection of folk songs from the war was published after 1918. In his collection, the captain N. Cerbulescu added to many folk songs an example of heroic deed made by those peasants on the battlefield. Many of them had a heroic death after destroying, during the assault, an enemy machine gun (Cerbulescu 1924, 26,

([66]) 'Drag mi-a fost să fiu soldat,/ Să fac armata-n Bârlad...,/ Sabia-ncins' şi puşca-n spete,/ Să scot dragostea din fete...,/ S-aud calul sforăind/ Şi pintenii ciripind.' ('Ion Creangă' VI, no. 11)

([67]) 'Decât slugă şi argat (la un sat)/ Mai bine la împărat./ Şi mă chem că sunt soldat,/ Cu chivără (cocardă) împărătească/ Şi cu sabie domnească' (Nemirovschi 1936, 90).

'Decât slugă la popa,/ Mai bine să bat doba,/ Că doba-i împărătească/ Şi popa-i capră drăcească' (Teculescu 1929, 164).

([68]) 'Toată lumea-mi spune mie/ Că e greu în cătănie./ Spună lumea ce o vrea,/ Cătănia tot nu-i grea./ Că nu săpi, nici nu coseşti,/ Numai puşca o grijeşti;/ Nici nu mergi la secerat,/ Nici cu plugul la arat;/ Nu tai pari, nuiele, spini,/ Să faci garduri la grădini;/ Nu strângi bani, să plăteşti dare,/ Nici să cumperi de mâncare;/ Nici ai grije nici un pic,/ Nu ai lipsă de nimic./ Că şi hainele din spate/ Ți-s de alți cumpărate.' (Nicolae Țucu, *Ciripituri de drag*, Braşov, 1903, p. 98-99, cit. in Brăiloiu 1944, 22.

([69]) *Răvaşul Sergentului Vasile Stan* (Cerbulescu 1924, 9).

([70]) *Una sută şease sprezece*, told by sergeant major Tălpău, Neamț county, a peasant with primary education. The collector notes that, although he was sick and was not obliged to fight on the battlefield, this peasant preferred to die with his company in the battle of Cireşoaia, near Târgu-Ocna, Bacău county, on July 27, 1917 (Cerbulescu 1924, 17).

([71]) *Cântec*, told by corporal Blaga Pavel, a peasant with primary education (Cerbulescu 1924, 17).

([72]) *Mureş, Mureş, apă lină*, told by the soldier Calistru Vasile, Comuna Hanganu, Neamț county. The collector notes that he was killed just when he was reporting to his commander that the enemy had taken the left side of the Romanian defensive lines. (Cerbulescu 1924, 31).

([73]) *'Să trăiască țara mea!'*, v. 11-15, 21-26 (Cioloca 1915, 41-42).

([74]) *Măi țarule Nicolae..*, v. 34-41, told by Stefan Miciuru, published in 'Pop.' No. 52, 1914, republished in Cioloca 1915, 31.

The Russians are compared to dogs, in *Drumul spre Galiția (Dor şi jele* 1915, 22).

([75]) *În Carpați*, v. 1-18, told by Avram Popa from Broşteni, Caraş-Severin county, sent by Mitrofan Ciorei (Cioloca 1915, 7-8).

29) ([76]). On the last page of the volume, near a song written in the literary style by sub lieutenant Cerbulescu himself, there was an etching representing a bayonet charge, with soldiers dressed in Romanian uniform and in peasant clothes. King Ferdinand and a national hero from the Romanian history, Mihai Viteazul, are watching the scene ([77]).

In the first volume of his collection of *Songs from the war*, collected from the Romanian peasants who fought for Austria-Hungary, published in 1915 and suggestively entitled 'Song of bravery', we find several examples of heroic deeds. Some may be an echo of the initial enthusiasm and victories ([78]). In other words, the intervention of the collectors, a member of the clergy, or a professor, is obvious: the peasants battle cry is so loud that the Czar himself could hear it and understand that he would better retreat his troops ([79]); they were fighting like devils and defeated the Serbian, took their provisions and occupied some of their villages ([80]); they quickly defeated the Serbians, and then the Russian, and they were decorated for their heroic deeds by a general ([81]).

We, brave Romanians, young and old, says a song published in a journal in 1914, preyed on the enemies like hawks ([82]). That's because, explains another folk song from the war, during an attack, a Romanian soldier does not think about his village or family, but only how to advance, so that he can later sing his acts of bravery; he likes to make his own story, like heroes did it in the glorious past ([83]). A sergeant in the infantry tells us that in Galicia, in the heat of the battle, his wounded companions were crying so that they wouldn't be left to the Russians, because the Romanians preferred to die than to be taken prisoners; they would rather die than let the name of their people be stained, because anyone who was not ready to die for his country was not worthy of calling himself a Romanian ([84]).

To celebrate the inauguration of an ethnographic museum in Sighişoara, a volume of *Songs of bravery about the glorious fights on Tisa (1919)*, gathered from Gh. Cernea's collection of folklore, was published. In one of these songs, a peasant from a village in Târnava Mare praises the Lord for hearing his prayers and helped the Romanians who defeat and drive away the Hungarians from Transylvania and formed the Great Romania ([85]).

Anxious because of the many outrageous songs that circulate among boys and girls from the countryside, as well as the cities, due, for the most part, to the influence of bad Jewish chapbooks, a school teacher from the Bistrița village, Mehedinți county, published in October 1919 a chapbook with truly patriotic and folk songs (Dumitrescu-Bistrița 1919, 1-2). The models offered were, of course, literary, including, among many others, *Deşteaptă-te române* (by Andrei Mureşan), *La arme!* (by St. O. Iosif) and *Hora unirii* (by V. Alecsandri). And many authors, collectors and publishers of folk songs tried to follow those models. The ideas that the Romanians would rather die than surrender (present in the last stanza of the song *Deşteaptă-te române*) and that they are ready to die for their king ([86]) (in *La arme!*, by St. O. Iosif) appear in a song from a collection about the glorious fighting on Tisa in 1919 ([87]). Other examples can be found in almost any collection of folk songs from the war published in Romania after 1919.

([76]) For other heroic deeds and deaths see Cerbulescu 1924, 31.

([77]) *Când trâmbița sună...*, written by sublieutenant N. Cerbulescu in Piatra-Neamț, on August 15, 1916 (Cerbulescu 1924, 32).

([78]) *'Şi fug Muscalii țipând'...*, v. 37-39 (Cioloca,1915, 35)

([79]) *În Carpați*, v. 36-51 sent by the cleric Mitrofan Ciorei (Cioloca 1924, 8-9).

([80]) *În Sârbia*, v. 6-27; the song was already published in a journal in 1914 and copied from there by Cioloca (Cioloca 1915, 12-13).

([81]) *De la Dukla*, v. 23-32 (Cioloca 1915, 71).

([82]) *'Țipau ruşii: Boje moi'...*, v. 10-13 (Cioloca 1915, 74).

([83]) *'Când în Galiția – eram'...*, v. 14-19, 25-28, told by Petru Muntean, collected and sent by the cleric D. Iana (Cioloca 1915, 78)

([84]) 'Dar mai mulți ziceau aşa:/ 'Curi, frate, nu mă lăsa/ Ruşilor ca să mă ia,/ Căci nu mă pot apăra.'/ Că Românu-aşa-i la fire:/ Mai bine vrea în pământ,/ Decât să fie robit;/ Căci moartea 'n câmp e frumoasă,/ Dar robia-i ruşinoasă;/ Ş'apoi noi toți preferim/ Mai bine ca să murim,/ Neamul să nu-'l pângărim./ Cine nu ştie să moară/ Pentru Tron şi pentru Țeară,/ Nu-i vrednic să se făleasca/ Că-i din viță românească./ Ori murim, ori triumfăm,/ De asta să nu uităm!', *De la Chirow (Galiția)*, v. 14-31. Published in ' F. Or.' No. 30, 1914 and republished in Cioloca 1915, 81-82.

([85]) *Cântec de vitejie despre luptele glorioase dela Tisa (1919)*, written by Ion Hâlmu, from Fişăr, Târnava Mare county. The collector notes that there are few Romanian in this village inhabited by Germans, but those few have a big Romanian heart (*Cântece de vitejie* 19--, 2-3).

([86]) See above.

([87]) *Cântec premilitar despre concentrările din Martie 1939*, p. 1-2, in *Cântece de vitejie* 19--.

In one song, corporal Blaga Pavel says that ever since he enrolled, he hadn't slept one night in bed, but stood up with the riffle in his hands, so that he can always be ready to defend his country ([88]). A peasant from Dâmbovița county sang that, as soon as his leg would heal, he was ready to go back and fight so that his country would regain her old frontiers ([89]). In the same collection that contained the previous two songs, the collector, sublieutenant Cerbulescu, published one of his songs, in which he promised to return and clean the waters of the Săbărel river, contaminated by the Germans, Hungarians, Turks and Bulgarians ([90]).

'We know how to fight/ And defend our country' says a peasant from Moldavia, because 'we are Romanians from the mountains/ And we do not give up/ We are nephews of Trajan/ We do not fear the enemy.' ([91]) The Romanian peasants fighting for Austria-Hungary also claimed to be grandnephews of the same Roman emperor, Trajan ([92]). So, the enemy should better take care, because they were as brave as their ancestors ([93]), their iron fists and courage came from Trajan ([94]). Because of that distinguished parentage, some elt they would gain their rights and would have a glorious future: '(The Romanian) fights with justice/ He fights for freedom./ Fights with all his strength,/ To defend his country/ That's why I'm strong,/ 'Cause I know I'm from a noble lineage,/ I'm from a distinguished lineage,/ From all mighty Rome,/ I'm of Roman lineage,/ From the great Trajan./ And this is why/ we will gain our rights;/ And this baptism of fire/ Will bring us good fortune: a glorious future/ Shiny as gold/ After the coming peace.' ([95])

But if we look beyond these literary influences, we see that in the writings of the Romanian peasant from Austria-Hungary one can find a very different idea about patriotism and loyalty than that promoted by the official propaganda and by well-meaning intellectuals after the war. Paul Alexa did not use the word *Romanian* to designate an ethnic group, but rather a social condition: for him, a *Romanian* meant a peasant (Karnoouh, 2014, 10) ([96]). Only if we understand the word *Romanian* as used to designate a social, and not an ethnic group, can we make sense of these verses: '(The Russians) wave the white flag,/ Run to us,/ And said:/ Don't shoot us Romanians,/ 'Cause we're Romanians as you/, We're poor Romanians.' ([97])

A peasant from Caraş-Severin wrote to his wife that, on the fronts he fought, as well as in the north and south, many of the enemies who surrendered were spared, because they were also Romanians ([98]).

All the warring powers, including Austria-Hungary, claimed to be acting in self-defense. So, most of the peasants claimed in their songs that they were going to war in righteous self-defense. A peasant from Făgăraş remembered that, when the war broke out, all the young men from his village were conscripted and sent to fight the Russians to defend their fatherland ([99]). For Paul Alexa, Russia was the

([88]) *De când sunt mobilizat*, told by Blaga Pavel, a peasant with primary education (Cerbulescu 1924, 8).

([89]) *Cucule nu mai cânta*, told by Ghenea Ion, Dâmbovița county (Cerbulescu 1924, 13-14).

([90]) *Săbărel!...*, written by N. Cerbulescu, in the trenches of Cernica Mountain, in November 1916 (Cerbulescu 1924, 27).

([91]) *Trâmbița când a sunat*, told by Luncă Vasile, from Bodeşti-Precista, Neamț county, a peasant with primary education. Collected in August 30, 1917, when he was fighting on the Trotuş front line (Cerbulescu 1924, 11-12).

([92]) *'Să trăiască țara mea!'*, v. 59-64 (Cioloca, 1915, 43). *Din Galiția*, v. 10-15 (*ibidem*, 65). *Din Galiția*, v. 10-15, told by Vasile Pârvu (*ibidem*, 65). *Din Galiția*, v. 3-12, told by Petru Muntean (*Ibidem*, 66).

([93]) *Din Orşova*, v. 28-53 (Cioloca 1915, 17-18).

([94]) *În luptă cu Muscalul*, v. 36-39 (Cioloca 1915, 29. *'Că brațe de fer avem'*, v. 18-25 (*Ibidem*, 52).

([95]) *De la granița Sârbiei*, v. 29-49 (Cioloca 1915, 94-96).

([96]) The French anthropologist Claude Karnoouh confirms that in Maramureş, during the '70s the word *Romanian* was still used with the same meaning, i.e. *peasant*, like in a current expression: *dressed as a Romanian* (= in peasant clothes). At a wedding in Maramureş, in 1973, he heard a woman using the word *Romanian* with the same meaning in these verses: 'A lady I could have been,/ But I preferred to remain a Romanian!'

Constatin Pătrăuceanu also uses in his song the word 'Romanian' with the meaning 'peasant', *Românie, Românie, să nu laşi Ruşii să vie...* (Ivanovici *et* Morariu 1916, 45-46).

([97]) *În luptă cu Muscalul*, v. 19-24 (Cioloca 1915, 28).

98 *Scrisoarea lui Trăilă Lungu*, v. 51-71 (Cioloca 1916, 21).

99 *Versuri din cătănie şi de pe câmpul de luptă 1915*, by Neculae Clonțea, from Viştea superioară, Făgăraş county (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 59).

A girl from Poiana Sibiului says the same thing: *Jele-mi-i şi 'mi oare rău*, by Elena Iancu (Dobrotă 1917, 18).

one who started the war ([100]). On the battlefield, the wounded soldiers old the others to continue fighting and advancing, so that the Russians wouldn't invade their country ([101]). ‘God sent me to foreign countries’, wrote a peasant from Caraş-Severin to his wife, ‘to serve the Empire/ And defend my country,/ From poisonous Russians,/ Who came across the Carpathians,/ To poison,/ And kill us all’ ([102]). Corporal Aurel Găină from Feldrum also claimed that he went to Russia to defend his fatherland and the Emperor, his farmland, his home, his parents, sisters and brothers ([103]). That's why, said the corporal, we had to endure the cold and the hunger, just to make sure that the Russians wouldn't come to our country and destroy it (Găină 1917, 5-6).

From the above examples and many others, it is clear that the fatherland the Romanian peasants were fighting for is Austria-Hungary. When the war began, Romanians, Hungarians and Germans, they all gathered to fight for their country ([104]). A peasant urged his Romanian companions to have courage: although it’s a small country, Hungary would fight fearless and defeat her enemies ([105]). In August 1914, a soldier wrote to his wife in Caransebeş, that he and his companions swore they will fight so that their fatherland, Austria-Hungary, would defend her enemies and obtain new territories ([106]). It was the soldier's will, said Paul Alexa from Maramureş, to ‘fight for the Emperor/ Defend his fatherland/ Leaving his home/ His Wife and children.’ (Karnoouh, 2014, 36, 8b, 1-14). Long live my fatherland, sang a ‘honved’ ([107]) from a village near Caransebeş, along with all the Romanian who swore loyalty to the Emperor ([108]).

But the peasants' loyalty to the fatherland should not be understood in terms of modern nationalism. The fatherland is symbolized by the tutorial figure of the Emperor. Doing your duty to the country meant keeping the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. And the Romanian peasants from Austria-Hungary made very clear in their writings that they were fighting for the Emperor ([109]). Because they were loyal to the Emperor, they had to go and fight in Serbia ([110]). The words ‘God save the Emperor’ are to be found in many of the peasants' songs ([111]). Using the model of the folk funeral poetry (‘verş’), Vasile Tomuț from Bucovina wrote at the death of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, Franz Joseph, in 1916, an account in verses of the biography of his beloved ruler. ‘Little leaf of dried wood/ Our Emperor was too good ([112])/ And today he left this world/ For that we are very sorry/ As one's children are/ When their father dies’ (Brăiloiu 1944, 74). From the details that he gave in his obituary (blood was shed when Franz Joseph took the crown, the war with Hungary,

([100])’Au prins dobele a bate/ Toți feciorii să se gate/ Câți au slujit la cătane/ Toți să iasă de prin sate/ Că s-au sculat Rusia/ Să ne ieie patria.’ (Karnoouh 2014, 12-14, 2d, v. 12-17.

([101])*Din Galiția*, v. 24-34 (Cioloca 1915, 67).

([102])*Scrisoarea lui Trăilă Lungu*, v. 47-56 (Cioloca 1916, 20-21).

([103])’M'a dus trenu' şi pe mine/ Departe în țări străine,/ În mijlocul Rusiei/ Spre-apărarea patriei,/ Cu Rusul să ne luptăm/ Țara să ni-o apărăm,/ Patria şi pre 'mpărat,/ Că aşa noi am jurat:/ Cu Rusul să ne luptăm,/ Moşia să ni-o apărăm/ Moşia cea strămoşiască/ Şi căsuța părintească/ Şi pe ai mei dulci părinți,/ Surori, frățiori iubiți’ (Găină 1917, 4).

([104])’*Voinici tineri şi viteji’*, v. 24-29 (Cioloca 1915, 76).

([105])*Vitejeşti din Galiția*, v. 38-41 (Cioloca 1915, 63).

([106])*De lângă Dunăre*, v. 9-17, 35-36 (Cioloca 1915, 25-26).

([107])The word *Honvéd* designates the Hungarian military units with a certain degree of autonomy in the Austro-Hungarian army.

([108])’*Să trăiască țara mea!’*, v. 65-87, told by Emilian, a ‘honved’ in the service of the German, nicknamed Franz, from Valeadieni, a village near Caransebeş, Caraş-Severin county (Cioloca 1915, 44).

([109])’Că au fost bravi luptători,/ Şi viața şi-o au dat/ Pentru țară şi 'mpărat’, *Nu poți merge de mormânt*, by Elena Mănit, from Poiana Sibiului (Dobrotă 1917, 84).

De la Dukla, v. 50-51 (Cioloca 1915, 72).

‘Curge sânge închegat/ Pentru bătrânu 'mpărat.’, *‘Şi fug Muscalii țipând’...*, v. 63-64 (*Ibidem*, 36).

La Chirow (Galiția), v. 22-24 (*Ibidem*, 49).

Versul tunarilor de cetate, v. 13-16 (*Ibidem*, 53).

De lângă Dunăre, v. 37-54 (*Ibidem*, 26-27).

În foc cu Muscalul, v. 12-15, 47-53 (*Ibidem*, 83, 85).

Doru-mi-i şi jalemi-i..., v. 82-87 (Cioloca 1916, 9).

Versul în păratului, v. 505-510 (Brăiloiu 1944, 75).

([110])’*Voinici tineri şi viteji’*, v. 9-14 (Cioloca 1915, 75).

([111])An example in *Să-l rugăm pe Dumnezeu*, collected by a former pupil from the elementary school from Suceava (Ivanovici & Morariu 1916, 48).

([112])The use of the adjective ‘good’ to describe the Emperor is common in the writings of the peasants from Austria-Hungary. See *De pe coastele Muntenegrului*, v. 22-24 (Cioloca 1915, 14).

occupation of Bosnia, the assassination of the empress, family tragedies etc.) it is likely that Tomuț used as a model a newspaper article. Still, he saw those events from a peasant's perspective, interpreting them according to the criteria of his own culture. For him, the Emperor was a' beloved father', who took care of his children, gave them bread, salt, good clothes and knew what everybody was doing; he admires the Emperor's generosity and love for his subjects: 'You gave everybody rights/ You gave us salt and bread/ You made us all only good/ And keep us in high esteem'. For Tomuț, the Emperor was the one who guaranteed the maintenance of order in the state: he praised the order that the Emperor imposed in the country ('As long as you lived/ You took care of every christian/ You know immediately/ Every time a new baby was born/ And noted his birth in the register/ And he was taken care of/ But now who's going to take care of us/ In time of war?') and deplored the turmoil that his death would lead to ('Only God almighty knows/ What will happen to us now'). When Franz Joseph died, Vasile Tomuț felt he was left without a master, obliged to serve a new Emperor, who was a 'stranger'.

In another 'verş', Tomuț said that the entire Europe heard of the new Emperor's victory, with the help of Christ, against the Russians; he ended wishing long life and happiness to the new Emperor of Austria-Hungary and urged all his subjects to obey him ([113]).

Although he served in a Hungarian national military unit, with relative autonomy in the Austro-Hungarian army (*Honvéd*), Paul Alexa acknowledged the Emperor as his supreme commander (Karnoouh 2014, 20, 5e, v. 1-11). He was convinced that the Emperor was not the one responsible for starting the war: the heathen Serbians broke his heart when they stab his wife ([114]) and when they killed Ferdinand and his wife; the Serbian were, therefore, those who wanted to start the war and the emperor had nothing else to do than fight ([115]). His loyalty to the Emperor was even more obvious if we consider that he wrote his versified memories after the war ended, in a time when Austria-Hungary was no more and Maramureş was a part of Romania.

That personal relation with the Emperor was not a characteristic only to the peasants from Austria-Hungary, but to the subjects from the upper classes as well. In his *Memories*, Sextil Puscariu, a professor of Romanian literature at the University of Cernăuți, remembered that during the summer of 1914 he was on the Black Sea coast to spend his vacation, together with his family. When he heard that the war broke out, he immediately returned to Transylvania to keep his oath of allegiance to the Emperor (Puscariu 1978). Those who opposed the war would have to break that oath of allegiance. That personal relation with the Emperor was mocked in a folk joke attested in Transylvania in the '30s: In the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, a Gypsy was conscripted. When the soldiers made the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, the Gypsy repeated the words together with the others, but when he had to say that he would go through fire and water for his Majesty, he stopped and says: 'Goddammit! In the water I'll go not!' (Stroescu 1969, 1699-1700).

There are few signs in the writings of peasants of patriotism, in the modern sense of this word, that of a national loyalty. The Romanian peasants who were fighting for Austria-Hungary during World War I seemed to have not such moral dilemmas as the Romanian intellectual Apostol Bologa, a character in Liviu Rebreanu's novel *Pădurea spânzuraților* [*Forest of the Hanged*]. Rebreanu thought that every Romanian who fought in the Austro-Hungarian army had this psychological conflict, when the loyalty to Austria-Hungary opposed to his Romanian nation.

The irony of the ordinary Romanian folk from Austria-Hungary speaking of patriotism, a situation you can meet in almost all the collection of folk songs from the war from Transylvania, published in Romania after 1919,

([113])Vasile Tomuț, *Alt vers*, v. 1052-1069 (Brăiloiu 1944, 80).

([114])Alexa is referring to the assassination of the empress Sissi in 1898 by an Italian anarchist, whom he mistakenly takes for a Serbian. This may be the result of the anti-Serbian propaganda after the assassination of archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914.

([115])'Cetină mândră de brad/ Ține-l Doamne pe-mpărat/ Că el n-a fost vinovat./ Trandafir cu floare-n vârf/ Pe al nost Francisc Iosif/ De optzeci de ani trecut/ Şi la bătaie n-au vrut./ Sârbia țară păgână/ Îl împuse la inimă./ Cu cuțit o spintecase/ Şi pe prințul Perdinand/ Cu bombele l-au gătat/ Pe Ferdinand şi soție/ Ca să înceapă bătălie./ Doamne ajută-i să pătrungă/ Pizmaşii să nu-i învingă.' (Karnoouh, 2014, 88-90, 35c, v. 1-17). We find the same idea, that the Emperor's subjects were forced to go to war because they were deeply offended by the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in another song: *De lângă Dunăre*, v. 1-8 (Cioloca 1915, 24-25).

is mocked in a joke that circulated in Transylvania during the '30s. Two friends, Lică and Nicolae were doing their military service in the same company. At the theoretical preparatory training, the sergeant asked Lică what was the fatherland. He answered that it is his mother. Happy with that answer, the sergeant asked Nicolae the same question. He honestly replied: it's Lică's mother! (Stroescu 1969, 1669).

A deep religious feeling echoes from all types of peasants' writings: songs, letters, and diaries. Sayings like 'Thank you God', 'God bless you', 'God help you all' are very often used. Even when he blamed the deceased Emperor for the death of so many men, Vasile Tomuț did not forget to add in the end the Christian saying: 'May God forgive your sins'.

As a true religious peasant, Tomuț thought that God sent this war to punish mankind for its sins ([116]). Many others thought as he did ([117]), inclusive peasants from the Old Kingdom ([118]). Neculae Clonțea from Făgăraş thought that God has punished mankind for the sin of pride (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 64-65). Some asked God what they did wrong, that He punished them so fiercely ([119]).

Many of the verses written by peasants are in fact prayers. When they were leaving, they prayed that God would protect their families back home ([120]). They asked their families back home to pray so that the ones who fought on the front make it alive ([121]). Their beloved ([122]), their parents or the entire family should go to church on Sunday and pray, together with all the priests from the village ([123]), so that they would defeat their enemies ([124]) or that the enemy will flee ([125]). Sometimes they asked those that remained home to pray, together with them, so that the emperors made peace ([126]).

Invariably, all peasants who were leaving for the front were praying not to be shot and return home ([127]); they were praying, of course, before the battle began ([128]). And they were convinced that they won the battle because God was on their side ([129]). When they remembered the perils they been through, they thought that were still alive only because God protected them and thanked him for that ([130]). When they were wounded, they prayed to God so that He would heal their wounds ([131]). When they were taken prisoners, they prayed to survive the captivity and return safe home (Karnoouh 2014, 86, 34f, v. 18-23).

Sometimes, their religiosity reminds us of the Middle Ages: some peasants were amazed

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([116])'Că de mult am auzit/ Cum avem de răsplătit. Greşelile celi făcute/ Din vremile din nainte', *Alt vers*, v. 746-749 (Brăiloiu 1944, 77).

([117])'Dumnezeu ne-a pedepsit/ Cu acest război cumplit' and 'Pentru păcatele noastre/ S-a făcut atâta moartea' (Giuglea 1918, 10).

Din Orşova, v. 7-18 (Cioloca 1915, 16-17).

A peasant from form Bucovina says: ''Şi câte aceste toate/ Sunt pentru a noastre fapte,/ Fapte grele, de ruşine,/ Câte le-am făcut pe lume', by Lazar al lui Vasile Dragoman, from Uideşti (Ivanovici & Morariu 1916, 80).

A girl from Poiana Sibiului: 'După ale noastre fapte,/ Dumnezeu acum ne bate.', *Versul clopotelor* (Dobrotă 1917, 56).

'...O cerescule-mpărate,/ Că pentru a noastre fapte,/ Te-ai mâniat cu dreptate'. This time, there is also a promise not to sin any more: 'Dar te rugăm, Doamne sfinte,/ Să-ți aduci de noi aminte...,/ Să nu pierim toți din lume,/ C-om face şi fapte bune,/ Ba şi toți bine om face,/ Numa fie-n lume pace.' (Nicoară & Netea 1936, 298, 320).

([118])A peasant from Argeş: 'Dumnezeu e mânios,/ Fața de la noi şi-a-ntors./ Că noi suntem păcătoşi:/ Dumnezeu s-a mâniat,/ Mila de la noi şi-a luat.' ('Grai şi suflet' VI, p. 7).

([119])*Jelania recrutului* (Cioloca 1916, 43-44).

Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 148-151.

([120])*Mobilizarea 1916* (Cerbulescu 1924, 7).

([121])Karnoouh, 2014, 59, 22, v. 1-6.

Alt vers, v. 1086-1091 (Brăiloiu 1944, 80).

Cântece de vitejie 19--, no. 1, 2.

'Şi fug Muscalii țipând'..., v. 7-10 (Cioloca 1915, 34).

([122])*Vino puică de mă vezi* (Cerbulescu 1924, 25).

([123])*În luptele din Galiția*, v. 102-105 (Cioloca 1916, 80).

([124])*Versul tunarilor de cetate*, v. 35-38 (Cioloca 1915, 54).

([125])Vasile Tomuț, *Versul de la mobilizare*, v. 76-80 (Brăiloiu 1944, 71).

([126])*Din prinsoare de la Sârb*, v. 59-67 (Cioloca 1916, 47). *În luptele din Galiția*, v. 33-36, 80-88 (*Ibidem*, 79-80).

([127])Karnoouh 2014, 44, 13b, v. 1-5.

De lângă Dunăre, v. 18-21 (Cioloca 1915, 25). *'Să trăiască țara mea!'*, v. 55-58 (*Ibidem*, 43). *Vitejeşti din Galiția*, v. 26-37 (*Ibidem*, 62-63)

([128])*Trâmbița când a sunat* (Cerbulescu 1924, 11-12).

Dincolo de Stanislau, 26-27 (Cioloca 1915, 20).

([129])*Lupta de la Rohatin*, v. 27-30 (Cioloca 1915, 56). *Vitejeşti din Galiția*, v. 52-54 (*ibidem*, 64).

([130])Brăiloiu, 1944, v. 319-324, 349-356, 441-442.

Una sută şease sprezece (Cerbulescu 1924, 17-18).

Dincolo de Stanislau, v. 34-35 (Cioloca 1915, 20). *De la Dukla*, v. 58-66 (*Ibidem*, 73).

([131])*Cucule nu mai cânta* (Cerbulescu 1924, 13-14).

that they have to fight on Sunday or on holy days (Karnoouh 2014, 54, 17c, v. 3-4). After a period spent in captivity, Paul Alexa came to work, together with others peasants from Maramureş, on the domain of a Russian nobleman. He treated them well, gave them food, which they hadn't had in the past days. The next day, he gave them work to do, but they refused to do it, because it was Sunday. He tried to explain them that they have to work because they have no other way: they were prisoners of war in a foreign country. Finally, the Romanian peasants agreed to work, but only for that time, saying that they would never again work on Sundays. And they never did (Karnoouh 2014, 106). If they could not fulfill the religious rituals on Eastern ([132]), Christmas or New Year's Eve ([133]), the Romanian peasants were devastated.

The families from home were asked to give alms for the souls of the soldiers who had died on the battlefield ([134]). The deepest fear of the Romanian peasants was that they would die among strangers, and nobody would fulfill for them the funeral ritual ([135]). The formulas of the dirge used are those we know from *Miorița*, adapted to present circumstances ([136]). They lamented that there was no one to sing them the dirge ([137]). A peasant rote from the Italian front to his mother, asking her that, if for 30 days she would not receive any letter from him, she should fulfill the funeral rite for him in his native village ([138]). The peasants used a reversed version of the traditional funeral ritual in their writings to describe their deaths on the battlefield: every object and character from the traditional ritual was replaced with an element from their daily military life ([139]).

Even when they thought that by doing their duty to the Emperor they could rightly ask for more rights, the peasants invoked the divine justice to guarantee their rights ([140]). Even in the army, an institution of the modern state, it was clear that for the peasants, the supreme moral and legal instance was the religious one. Paul Alexa remembered that after he was conscripted, the first thing the major did was to remind them not to broke their oath of allegiance to the Emperor because, if they would do so, it would be a sin and they would go to hell (Karnoouh 2014, 42, 11, v 7-10).

Religious texts were used ritually by the peasants, sometimes, even if they didn't know to read and write. Associated with the divinity or divine things, those texts were thought to have thaumaturgic powers. And by copying or having with them those texts, the peasants thought they could have access to the divine things and thus would be protected and be kept safe from harm. That was the case of the corporal Romulus Aroneasa from Retiş, Braşov county, who

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([132])Vasile Tomuț, *Alt vers din ziua Învierii*, v. 357-390 (Brăiloiu 1944, 74).

([133])'Dragii mei de cetitori/ Și sfintele sărbători/ Tot așa le-am petrecut/ Nice una n'am ținut/ Tot de lucru am avut./ Când crăciunul a venit/ Mare tină am avut,/ Când slujba era mai mare,/ Nici nu gândiam la rugare,/ Eram cu lopata 'n mână/ Și 'țipam' la astă tină/ Dar mâncare-oțâr mai bună/ Nici de vorbă nu-i de glumă./ Apoi și pe anul nou/ Am lucrat ca și un bou./ Dumnezeu Sfântul a dat/ Acum a nins n'a plouat,/ Vântul mare de-aicea/ 'Laufgramul' ni-l astupa,/ Tot de lucru am avut/ Până seară s'a făcut,/ Apoi sfânta Bobotează,/ Fiind tot aici de față/ Tot lucrăm și punem post/ Hodină nici când n'a fost./ Iac'a așa au fost cinstite/ Serbătorile dorite,/ Fără leac de rugăciune;/ Domnul deie iertăciune;/ Cu drag noi ne-am fi rugat/ Dară nu am apucat,/ Că Rusul nu ne dă pace/ Să petrecem cum ne place.', Aurel Găină, *Viers românesc de pe pământ rusesc*, v. 5-37 (Găină 1917, 8-10).

([134])Vasile Tomuț, *Alt vers*, v. 1092-1095 (Brăiloiu 1944, 80).

([135])*Săraca inima noastră* (Cerbulescu 1924, 23).
Plumbul e blestemat (Savel 1925, 26-28).

([136])*În vârful nucului* (Cerbulescu 1924, 15).

([137])Brăiloiu,1944, v. 63-76, 100-104, 1100-1123.
Karnoouh, 2014, 42, 12, v. 1-21.

([138])*De pe frontul italian* (Cioloca 1916, 32-34).

([139])'La cătană așa i dată/ Să moară moarte-mpușcată/ La cătană așa i scrisă/ Să moară moarte ucisă/ La cătană așa i bună/ Să moară fără lumină/ Fără lumină de său/ Fără un om din satul său/ Dar popa cine i-a fi?/ Gorniștii și tamburii/ Clopotele-s tunurile/ De răsună dealurile/ Și în loc de dascăl sfânt/ Croncăneau doi corbi în vânt/ În loc de diac cu carte/ Dobașul cu doba bate/ Păcatele li-s iertate.' (Karnoouh 2014, 55, 18, v. 20-34).

'În loc să tragă clopotele,/ bubuiesc tunurile,/ De răsună dealurile,/ Și nu plânge nimenea,/ Decât frunza și iarba.', *Foaie verde, foaie ruptă* (Cernea 1940, 7).

([140])'Îndură-te Doamne sfinte/ Adă-ți și de noi aminte/ Și sfârșește acest povoi/ De rău c-a dat între noi/ Și să ne dai Doamne sfânt/ După sângele vărsat/ După jertfele ce-om dat/ Pentru țară pentru tine/ Și neamului nost-un bine.' Here the word 'țară' means Maramureş, and the word 'neam' means the Romanians, i.e. the peasants (Karnoouh 2014, 34, 7h, v. 1-9). See also *Ibidem*, 32, 7f, v. 1-8.

The same idea is presented in these verses: 'Haideți Români doi cu doi,/ Să ne scăpăm de nevoi,/ Și să ne scăpăm țara,/ Că doar' drepturi ne-or da,/ Că noi drepturi nu avem,/ Și pentru ele luptăm./ Luptăm pentru împărat,/ Să ne dea drepturi la sat/ (...) Doamne fă-ne Tu dreptate,/ Pe dușmani pe toți îi bate:/ Fă românilor dreptate!...' (*Dor și jele* 1915).

always had with him on the front the *Letter of Jesus Christ*, a text very popular among peasants, also known as the *Legend of Sunday* (Jiga Iliescu *et al.* 2005, 10, 79-83).

It is crucial to acknowledge that in the experience of contemporaries, there was a multiplicity of wars. For instance, in the Romanian historiography after 1919, the First World War was seen as a purposeful event, producing the Great Unification of the state. By contrast, peasant memory of the Great War focused more on senseless sacrifice. When we find in the peasants' writings deeds of bravery and patriotic discourses, they are the effect of official nationalistic propaganda or they were simply added by collectors and publishers to prove that courage and patriotism were innate qualities of the Romanian peasants. Romanian historiography after 1919 has pointed out that the enthusiasm for war was strong among the middle class and elites, students, and in urban centers, but in rural areas there were more sober reactions and worried anticipation. The peasants were not so eager to plunge into mutual slaughter as the official propaganda presented them to be. With an archaic and deeply religious civilization, the Romanian peasants from Austria-Hungary and Romanian had difficulties in understanding that new kind of technological war, its causes and its future effects. They could hardly find a purpose to fight for and wished that the war would end as soon as possible.

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Death as a Political Instrument
Introducing the 'Bolshevik' and 'Hungarian Death' as Death of Otherness

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Abstract. The purpose of this paper is to examine *Death* from the perspective of *diverse news*, as reflected in the Romanian newspapers of Sibiu during 1918-1923. This period, which spans between the end of World War I, the Union of 1918 and the adoption of the 1923 Constitution, with the works of the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) in-between, is critical, tense and troubled both externally and internally, creating the perfect scene for an aggressive propaganda which transforms Death into a political instrument.

Keywords: death, political instrument, Bolshevism, otherness

The aspects presented in this paper are based on the research of four Romanian newspapers which appeared in Sibiu during 1918-1923 ([1]): *Renaşterea Română*, *Cuvântul Poporului*, *Gazeta Poporului* and *Lumina Satelor*. In most cases, the news articles that were of interest for this research could be found within columns dedicated to *diverse news*, such as *tirile săptămânei* [*News of the week*], *Cronica săptămânii* [*Chronicle of the week*], *Informațiuni* [*Information*] and other. Also, these articles describe homicides, suicides, deaths caused by accidents, epidemics, natural disasters, as well as war and all sorts of conflicts.

The analysed press reflects a strong anti-Bolshevik and anti-Hungarian discourse, which is dominated by the idea of an elaborately portrayed violent, unnatural death. Readers are made to believe that Bolsheviks and Hungarians represent an imminent threat which always results in destruction, suffering, agony and, finally, in a particularly violent death. Therefore, Death becomes an attribute of alterity, of otherness.

Starting with 1917, the newspapers announce the fall of the capital of the Russian Empire, Petrograd (today's Sankt Petersburg), under Bolshevik occupation. Overthrowing the old social order, the Bolsheviks transform the previously glorious Petrograd into a space of decadence, dissipation, hunger and humiliation, therefore into a space of sin and death. Food was inaccessible, the streets were covered with corpses of people starved to death and the city was empty and dark (*Renaşterea Română*, 5/1919, 'Agonia Petrogradului', 4). This is the way newspapers generally presented the consequences of Bolshevism in Russia, giving a warning to the world about the danger it represents.

Bolshevism was considered to be 'the new social gangrene'; it was compared to an epidemic which spreads rapidly, gradually infecting all cities and countries, no matter their level of development, subjecting them to misery and finally destruction (*Renaşterea Română*, 5/1919, 'Noua cangrenă socială. Bolşevism, Spartacism, Catilinarii', 1). The news articles used the example of prosperous, developed countries, such as Germany, which was confronted with a revolution that involved socialist ideas, in order to suggest that Bolshevism was an unstoppable world threat, that can affect even the powerful countries: 'Destruction, regress and external discredit – these are the effects of Bolshevism in the People's Republic of Germany, although the percentage of illiterate people in this country is as low as the percentage of literate people in Russia. There is no hope of curing this disease that affects today's social organism, and we continue to watch the hideous spectacle of famine and misery that they [Bolsheviks] have caused and amplified by their system of persuading people' (*Renaşterea Română*, 5/1919, 'Noua cangrenă socială'…, 1).

([1]) In the future, the research will be completed with the Hungarian and German newspapers that appeared in Sibiu in the same period, as well as with other Romanian newspapers.

Therefore, Bolshevism represented an imminent threat to the existence of a newly created and instable state such as Greater Romania, which is the reason why, according to the press, any mean of defending the country from this 'microbe of destruction'– as they called it - was justified: 'If Bolshevism has caused such a disaster in more mature states, with a more homogenous population, we cannot even imagine its consequences in a newly formed country, without solid foundations, whose existence was ensured by the goodwill of its allies who bled for the true freedom of everyone, (…), a country which had enemies inside before even being born. This is why we fight and will fight with our last energy against the infection of Greater Romania with this dangerous social gangrene, this is why we believe that harsh measures are needed in order to stop the importation of this microbe of destruction' (*Renaşterea Română*, 5/1919, 'Noua cangrenă'...,p. 1).

Moreover, newspapers offered terrifying details concerning Bolshevik horrors and the life of ordinary Russians: 'The famine in Russia haunts with fury. Millions of people are starving or, better said, die of starvation. Initially, it was thought that the news about mothers killing their children were lies, but now even the official Bolshevik newspapers write about places where human meat was eaten. People have long eaten their dogs, cats as well as any living being. There are many places where the dead were not buried, but eaten' (*Lumina Satelor*, 8/1922, p. 2); 'The saddest consequence of famine is the great number of orphans and abandoned children who can be seen on the streets. It is terrible to see their haggard and pale faces. In Marxstadt we visited an asylum with 100 beds for children; 42 children died within 24 hours, being immediately replaced with others… Together with Nansen, we went to the Sahara district, where the situation is worse than in Saravindov. In the surrounding villages we saw people who finished their provisions, and were now laying on the ground, waiting for death to come. (…) In a village, only 325 horses out of 1400 are alive, and they will soon die. In Buzuluc we saw terrible life conditions. Out of 35000 inhabitants, 100 die on a daily basis, therefore the city will soon be empty. Each day we find corpses laying on the ground. We saw a pile of 60-70 corpses thrown at the cemetery entrance. (…) A telegram sent by Nansen from Buzuluc announced that the starving population has eaten the cats and dogs, and started stripping corpses that are stolen during nights from stables, where they are placed before burial. A father took his children to the …. because he could not feed them anymore. He was told that the children cannot be received, because they are not orphans. <<Well, they will be>> the father replied, and then committed suicide' (*Cuvântul Poporului* 13/1922, 'Grozăviile foametei din Rusia', 2).

The previous quotes describe the famine of 1921-1922 ([2]), which was considered to be one of the most devastating consequences of Bolshevism. News articles describe that corpses were omnipresent and, in desperation, after finishing the food supplies, Russians started eating their animals, as well as performing acts of cannibalism and necrophagy. In other cases, people simply gave up and chose to wait for Death which, in this context, becomes a rescuer, liberating people from physical and mental suffering.

Thus, newspapers suggest the fact that Bolshevism leads to the humiliation, perversion, degradation and even demonization of human beings. Human and family relationships, along with Christian beliefs, values and practices lose their significance, being defeated by the physiological needs of people, required for survival. Therefore, the message that the press transmits is that under Bolshevism, humans become animals, savages.

In order to sensitize and impress the public, the news articles very often with include characters that bear a strong emotional load, such as the *mother and child*, the *orphan child*, who are placed in terrifying contexts. The image of a mother killing her children and performing acts of cannibalism on them, as presented in one of the previous quotations, definitely had a strong impact on readers, strengthening their convictions regarding the cruelty of Bolshevism.

Religion represented one of Lenin's favourite targets, because of the place it held in the Russians' conception of state and popular culture. Therefore, the desired new social and political consciousness, based on the party's ideology, could only be formed by suppressing the Church (Carrèred 'Encausse 2013, 212). Discussing about Russia's electrification, Lenin (Curtois *et al*. 1999, 124) stated that 'electricity will replace God. The peasants should pray to it; in any case they will feel its effects long before they feel any effect from on high.' In 1918, the Bolshevik government announced the separation of Church from state and schools, the

([2])For more information, see, for example, Curtois *et al*. 1999, 108-131.

nationalization of Church properties, and proclaimed the freedom of conscience and worship. This also represented the beginning of the clergy's repression and a series of antireligious acts (Curtois *et al*. 1999, 124). The press exploits and emphasizes the Bolsheviks' provocative, antireligious attitude, transforming it into an instrument of propaganda which, of course, was effective among a deeply Orthodox, dogmatic and superstitious Romanian population. Therefore, Bolsheviks are presented as insulting Christian rules, 'carving new idols', erecting a 'statue of Judas, the traitor of God' (see *Cuvântul Poporului*, 7/1919, *Cronica săptămânii*, 4), and even mocking the dead (see *Lumina Satelor*, 24/1922, *tirile săptămânei*, 4).

The threat of alterity becomes more intense when two 'enemies'– an external one, the Bolshevik, and an internal one, the Hungarian – associate for the same purpose. More exactly, the studied press writes about the existence of a Hungarian-Russian conspiracy (on the background of the newly formed Hungarian Soviet Republic led by Béla Kun), which had the purpose of hindering the existence of Greater Romania, as well as destroying the unity and spiritual purity of Romanians: 'Hungary risks everything, because it does not have much to risk and has everything to win. They tolerate bolshevism only to infect us and disturb our efforts to build the solid foundations of the new building [meaning Greater Romania], in order to mischievously push us into the precipice and then ask permission from Europe to temper us and re-establish order. Hungarians tolerate the presence of Russian Bolshevik agents on their territory, facilitating their travel to Romanian lands and supporting every action with their own agents, in order to prove the world that we are not civilized enough to take care of other co-inhabiting people' (*Renaşterea Română*, 6/1919, 'De ce nu suprimă maghiarii bolşevismul', 1). This fragment reveals another important hypostasis of the Other – the *conspirator* ([3]) (Boia 2013, 65). In this context, Hungarians and Russians were suspected for planning and organizing attacks which threaten the safety of Romanians and considered to be guilty of any incident.

Lucian Leuştean (2002, 60; 31) is of the opinion that the conflicts between Romanians and Hungarians became more intense after the Union of 1918, especially in the areas that were not under the control of the Romanian army yet, where the Hungarians' repressions of Romanians seem to have been more frequent. As a result of these conflicts, the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference established a neutral area between the two parts, which included important urban and communication centres, such as Arad, Oradea and Satu Mare. Because of to the insufficient number of allied troops in this area, at the insistence of the French General Headquarters, the Supreme Council made a compromise, through which it forbid the military occupation of the area, but allowed the Romanian army and the population to use the previously mentioned cities, excepting Arad, for economic purposes. Later, this demarcation line proved to be very similar to the Romanian-Hungarian frontier established at Trianon (Leuştean 2002, 61-64).

According to the press, the methods through which Hungarians attempted to prevent the unification of Transylvania with the Romanian Kingdom were diverse, all having the purpose of maintaining a permanent state of anxiety, conflict and uncertainty, in order to intimidate both population and authorities. The studied newspapers, especially *Renaşterea Română*, are rich in news articles that describe the atrocities committed by the Hungarian troops and the so called *Székely bands*. These articles very often outnumber the ones concerning Bolsheviks, which can be explained by the fact that the *Other* inside the *Fortress* – in this case, the Hungarians and Székelys, causes more fears and concerns than the *Other* outside the *Fortress* (Boia 2010, 333), like Russians: 'The Hungarian troops and bands from Arad continue to terrorize the Romanian population. (…) they capture the Romanian priests and peasants, they beat and rob them. Those who were captured did not return home anymore. (…) Wherever they go, these bands spread Bolshevik pamphlets, in order to poison the Romanian peasant's soul. (…) According to the latest news from Bihor, the Hungarian troops have occupied the entire area inhabited by Romanians. The villages of Ceica, Rogos, Beiuş and Vescauare in the hands of the Székely bands and Red Guards. The village of Hălmaj is full of refugees from BihorCounty. The forests are full of miserable Romanians, chased by the Székely bands which organize people and children hunts' (*Renaşterea Română*, 15/1919, 'Ungurii terorizează Aradul

([3]) For more examples, see *Renaşterea Română*, 18/1919, 'Durerile facerii', 1; *Renaşterea Română*, 6/1919, 'Apucături bolşeviste. Un atentat nereuşit', 1; *Renaşterea Română*, 8/1919, 'Românii din America şi unirea cu Ardealul', 2.

şi Bihorul...', 1); 'Armed Székely bands, led by Hungarian officers, morally and financially supported by the Hungarian government, attack the Romanian villages that cannot enjoy the protection of the Romanian army yet. Hungarians are armed with guns, machine guns, cannons, and bomb villages without any reason. They rob the villages, causing damages of thousands of crowns, as well as beat, mutilate and barbarically kill the peaceful and innocent Romanian population. The reason behind these acts is a savage revenge for the Romanians' liberation, as well as the desire to spread terror among the kind and orderly Romanian population. The Romanians, children and men, elder and women – who have known the Hungarians' Asian fury for one thousand years, leave their homes and wealth, and shelter in the woods. (…) In □iria, 10 drunken Hungarians, armed with grenades, have beaten several young men. (…) During night, they entered the house of inspector Nicolae Popescu, with the purpose of murdering him. As he was not at home, they pricked one his brothers-in-law with a bayonet and threatened with death the entire family. The family was saved from death by a French officer. (…) The Hungarians robbed the village of Bologa (Cojocna County). The damages reach 600.000 crowns. In the same village, the Székely bands dastardly killed Dumitru Baciu, the 57 year old Teodor Petra, who was 10 times pricked with the bayonet and 2 times shot in the head, the wife of Ioan Barza, young Gavril Giurgiu and others. Several others were injured and beaten until death' (*Renaşterea Română*, 23/1919, 'Atrocitățile comise de maghiari...', 2).

As in the previous quotes, the news articles describing such cases are rich in details and exact numbers, in order increase the reliability of the presented facts. Also, they emphasize the aggressiveness of the Other. Therefore, Hungarians are described as being violent, barbaric, savage and primitive, as well as alcoholic criminals (alcohol being a mark of moral depravity), who organize people and children hunts and are merciless concerning their victims, who belong to all age and social categories. Just as Bolsheviks, Hungarians are presented as bringing misery, hunger and violent death. They steal, beat, torture and kill. Similarly, the Hungarian threat is imminent and spreads rapidly, with a daily increasing number of attacks.

According to the newspapers, these barbaric acts are committed as vengeance for the Romanians' desire for freedom, emancipation, liberation from Hungarian domination, as well as for the union of Transylvania, previously a Hungarian territory, with the Romanian Kingdom. Another reason invoked for these atrocities is the Hungarians' envy of the Romanians' solidarity and outstanding moral traits, such as integrity, moral and spiritual purity, which were to be destroyed through terror, 'poisoned' with Bolshevik propaganda materials.

One of the previous quotes contains a particularly important syntagma – 'Asian fury', which explains the Hungarians' violent behaviour with their Asian origins. Analysing a similar construction – 'they are still the ones who came from Mongolia' – in the context of the Revolutions of 1848, Sorin Mitu (2006, 235-236) observes that the Hungarians' barbarism was explained by the fact that they are 'outsiders' and not 'Europeans', as Romanians. Back then, a nation was considered to be European based on a certain political behaviour – which involved respect for democratic values, human rights, freedom and equality, as well as based on its origins. Therefore, concludes Sorin Mitu, Hungarians were not considered real Europeans, because of their barbaric political attitude, seen as a result of their Asian origins. On the other hand, Romanians considered themselves Europeans, due to their historical origins and the respect for the values that are specific to the European spirit. The researched news articles reveal the fact that the stereotypes used for explaining Hungarians' behaviour survived.

The murder of second lieutenant George Tomas, presented in the *Renaşterea Română* newspaper (23/1919, 'Ucigaşi şi profanatori de morți...',1), is a very good example of how the news about Hungarian atrocities were generally constructed and distorted, in order to serve the propagandistic purposes and have an effective impact on the public. The first part of the article introduces the reader in the general context of the murder, containing essential information about the identity of the murderers, time and scene of the crime, as well as the way it was produced: 'Second lieutenant George Tomas, from Poeni, was leaving his village when he was captured by the Hungarian bands that took him to the railway station in Kissebes. Here he was hold in the presence of Hungarian officers until nightfall, and then he was subjected to savage torments until he surrendered and asked to be killed. He was shot without being allowed to pray before dying! Then he was robbed of all his possessions: 800 crowns, a gold watch, his boots and leggings' (*Renaşterea Română*, 23/1919,

‘Ucigaşi şi profanatori de morți ...’, 1). The key idea of this introductory fragment is that the victim was tortured until he asked to be killed. However, the most important message is the fact that the victim was not allowed to pray before death, which suggests the cruelty, the anti-Christian attitude of the enemy, of the Other.

The second part of the article contains further details regarding the state in which the corpse was found and the weapons of crime, which allow the reader the mentally reconstruct and even feel the torture that the victim subjected to. Moreover, this information is presented by the victim’s father, in order to increase the verisimilitude and intensify the drama of the situation. The anti-Christian attitude of the Other is emphasized again – the family is not allowed to bewail, nor to bury the young man. Also, the murder is presented as a revenge of the Hungarian authorities for the Union of 1918: ‘Next day, early in the morning, declares the victim’s miserable father, I found my son nest to the railway, 20 m from the station in Poeni. He was buried until his waist; the upper part of his body was bended, reaching the ground with his forehead. He was covered with hay, dry wood and garbage. – After I dug him out, I saw, together with witnesses, that he had 7 shots in his chest, abdomen and at least 20 bayonet stings on his entire body. – It was clearly visible that my son, who died after the first shots, was profaned in the most barbaric way. – We were not allowed to cry and bury him in a Christian way, being constantly threatened with death. We went to complain to the officer who commanded this troop of savages. He didn’t even allow us to speak, threatening us with death and shouting as loud as he could: <<If you still want Greater Romania, all of you will be killed>>. Not even the hardest words could accuse better and prove the need of the Romanian army’s presence in all the Romanian territories (*Renaşterea Română*, 23/1919, ‘Ucigaşi şi profanatori de morți ...’, 1).

The strong anti-Bolshevik and anti-Hungarian discourse of the researched press seems to follow a set pattern (especially of violent acts), which could be well described by concepts such as *Bolshevik Death*, which is preceded by a *Bolshevik danger*, as well as *Hungarian Death*, which is preceded by a *Hungarian danger*, and is strongly connected to the *Bolshevik Death*.

The Bolshevik danger and Death spread over vast geographical areas, representing a world threat, with thousands of victims. On the other hand, the Hungarian danger and Death are rather a local or, more precisely, a regional, Central-European threat, for people such as Romanians, Serbians, Slovaks, and other, who gained territories after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Very often, the newspapers present the joint attack of Hungarian and Bolshevik troops on the Romanian population. Therefore, the Hungarian Death represents a double threat, due to the association of two enemies – an external one, the Bolshevik, and an internal one, the Hungarian – who have the same purpose: to prevent the existence of Greater Romania, as well to destroy the unity of Romanians, by attacking their faith, integrity, moral and spiritual purity.

The Bolshevik and Hungarian Death are violent, unnatural deaths, which cannot be included in the category of homicides, because they are the consequences of political decisions and games (Mims 2006, 25). The Bolshevik Death can be *immediate*, when it is the result of shooting, hanging, mutilation etc., and *slow*, when it is preceded by agony, as in the case of famine. The Hungarian Death is, in most of the cases, *immediate*, being produced through the same means as its Bolshevik equivalent.

The news articles referring to Bolshevik and Hungarian atrocities reveal the ethno-images ([4]) of Hungarians and Russians in the eyes of Romanians. The observation, study of alterity leads to discovering one’s own identity. Very often, the self-image, which is a mark of a nation’s identity, is created through comparisons with the image of the Other, through emphasizing the differences from the Other. The existence of these ‘enemies’ is necessary in the process of building the identity of a nation (Grancea 2002, 31-32).

An ethnic image is correctly understood if placed in the historical context that generated it, in order to observe and analyse its ideological function, as well as its role in the social imaginary of the community that created and shares it (Mitu 2006, 231). After World War I and the Union of 1918, Romanians found themselves in a process of defining their own identity, in a troubled period with high expectations, when, in order to maintain the newly gained territories, along with finalizing the legislative, administrative and economic unification of the provinces, solidarity and unity was needed. Therefore, the anti-Bolshevik and

([4])Mihaela Grancea (2002, 42) defines the ethno-images as a corpus of stereotypes and clichés concerning the Other, with long lasting homogenous and static features.

anti-Hungarian propaganda led in the analysed period by the press from Sibiu and, generally, by the Romanian press, is actually a *warning* about the danger that these 'enemies' represent for the survival and integrity of the *Fortress*, meaning the newly born Greater Romania. Lucian Boia (2010, 305) considers that the external and internal pressure of strangers, real until a certain point, but hyperbolized in the national imaginary, generated the *besieged Fortress* complex, which is a specific to the Romanian mentality in the last two centuries. The history of Romanians is seen as conflictual, as a continuous struggle for ethnic and state survival. Thus, the salvation of the *Fortress* depended on solidarity, on the unity of Romanians against Hungarians and Russians, who wanted to regain their territorial losses.

Religion and superstition play a significant role in the discourse of the analysed press. The Other is presented as acting against Christian values, beliefs and practices. Therefore, the Other does not only threaten the *Fortress*, but also *Religion* or, to be more specific, Orthodoxy, which, for Romanians, was a binding element, as in the case of Russian people (Besançon 2013, 34). This aspect is of particular importance, because Church and Religion played an essential role in preserving and affirming the Romanians' national identity (Soroştineanu 2005, 174).

In this context, Death is used as a political instrument, a tool of propaganda, with a double purpose. Firstly, in order to denigrate the image of the Other, to amplify his negative ethno-image, with the purpose of turning Romanians against Hungarians and Russians. Secondly, in order to maintain the population in a permanent state of anxiety, uncertainty and conflict. Thus, old clichés are perpetuated and new ones are invented in order to create negative ethno-images of Hungarians and Russians, which could legitimate the decisions and actions of the Romanian authorities and political structures.

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Divergent Accounts of War: German Expressionist Painting and British Official Photography

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Abstract. Out of the Great War came a new generation of people who felt completely estranged from the generation of their parents and grandparents. The gap between war propaganda and the reality of living in the trenches was huge. Not even common language could be adequately used to describe the horrors of war. Therefore, photography and painting remain a powerful medium when it comes to communicate feelings and mindsets. This paper focuses on the artistic work of German Expressionist painters Otto Dix and Max Beckmann as well as on the official war photography of Ernest Brooks. Their different experiences on the battlefield show how art and life can be changed by patriotic fabrications meant to hide the complete war folly.

Keywords: The Great War, Otto Dix, Max Beckmann, Ernest Brooks, painting, photography

In the summer of 1914, total war was unimaginable. Reading the diary his mother kept during that year, Christopher Isherwood notes that it has 'the morbid fascination of a document which records, without the dishonesty of hindsight, the day by day approach to a catastrophe by an utterly unsuspecting victim' (Fussell 2013, 45). As unsuspecting as his mother were many other Europeans. Some feared civil unrest in their own countries, as the Irish did, others still believed in political responsibility. And when the war broke out that summer, the British still hoped it would be over by Christmas. It was going to last four more years and take more than eight million lives. By November 1918 when Germany signed the Armistice, World War I had cost the Central Powers three and a half millions lives. The Allies lost more than five million soldiers.

In his book, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, American cultural historian Paul Fussell bluntly describes the situation: 'In the Great War eight million people were destroyed because two persons, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Consort, had been shot' (Fussell 2013, 27). Romanian historian Lucian Boia (Boia 2014) notices the apparent unremarkable nature of the event. The Sarajevo episode was not contrived by the Serbian government. It was a terrorist operation. Compared to other major crisis in Europe – such as the Balkan Wars a couple of years earlier – it did not look so bad. Even the German Emperor favored a diplomatic solution. Yet, for the Austro-Hungarian Empire the assassination was an unparalleled offense. Serbia had been a constant source of trouble for the proud Habsburgs, stirring controversies at the borders. Thus, it had to be taught a lesson. An empire does not give in to small countries. The Habsburgs were willing to start a war with Serbia, but not a total one. At the time there had been no precedent for a total war people could remember, so there was no way of knowing what it meant. Russia felt it should protect the Slavs and the orthodox Serbs in the Balkans and declared general mobilization. Soon afterwards troops were mobilized in Austria. The Habsburg order for general mobilization came only after hearing the news from Moscow. Fearing a possible attack on both eastern and western fronts, Germany declared war to Russia and France. But in order to gain access and control over French territories Germany had to invade Belgium. A domino effect ensued. The invasion of Belgium triggered a response from Great Britain who also entered the war. Then, two of the former German allies, Italy and Romania defected, both contemplating the possibility of gaining Austrian territories (Romania entered the war in 1916 for Bucovina and Transylvania). Germany remained isolated. Blocked overseas by the British fleet, it started a submarine war. Fearing a submarine invasion the United States of America entered the Great War in 1917 and provided essential support for the Allies. In the spring of 1918, having exhausted all its resources and having lost an unparalleled

number of soldiers, Germany loses the battle to France, Britain and the United States (Russia being already defeated at the time). A bigger humiliation would soon follow. The Treaty of Versailles pointed out the culprits. Because Austria-Hungary did no longer exist, Germany took all the blame. Following the Versailles sanctions it lost 13% of its territory and 10% of its inhabitants. 132 billion gold marks were to be paid as war debt, the German army was cut to 100.000 soldiers, its war fleet was to be destroyed, and all colonies were lost (Boia 2014, 90).

The Great War changed the face of the world forever. Empires disintegrated, new states and nations emerged, borders were redesigned, and Communism took over in Russia. Lucian Boia believes that there was one event even more intimately linked with World War I, namely the rise of National-Socialism in Germany: 'Without the Great War, there would have been no place for Nazism in history' (Boia 2014, 112). Having the second most powerful economy in the world before 1914, Germany plunged into a deep crisis in the 20s and 30s. High unemployment rates, the humiliation of defeat and what was perceived as an abusive Treaty made some of the Germans sensitive to Hitler`s delirious demagogy. If this was the only way of restoring the economy and lost pride, then so be it. Tony Judt also points out the cult of violence and death to which the First World War gave rise: 'What communist intellectuals and their fascist counterparts had in common after 1917 was a profound attraction to mortal struggle and its beneficial social or aesthetic outcomes. Fascist intellectuals in particular made death at once the justification and the attraction of war and civil violence: out of such mayhem was to be born a better man and a better world' (Judt 2012, 102). We all know the consequences.

This is the story of the Great War everyone reads about. It speaks of facts and events, causes and effects, battlefields, armies and heroic action. This is what history books recorded, some are more biased than others, some are taught in school, and some elicit controversies, not so much about facts, but about the way facts can be interpreted. A new way of looking at history should always be welcomed because it enables further thinking and dialogue. Yet, nowadays historical writing about the Great War is based on books and accounts. It is not firsthand experience. It cannot be. There are an impressive number of history volumes on this subject. For his own cultural history of the Great War Paul Fussell draws on different books and diaries written by former soldiers.

Australian art critic Robert Hughes also once wrote: 'World War I changed the life of words and images in art, radically and forever. It brought our culture into the age of mass-produced, industrialized death. This, at first, was indescribable' (Hughes 2009, 57). It was indescribable because no one knew what total war meant and everyone hoped it would not last for long. Many people were convinced that technology would be efficient, would spare time, and bring rapid results. It was not the case. Technology only helped prolong the fighting and inflated the number of victims. Early optimism shifted towards despair and frustration. The war gave way to a generation of disillusioned young men, angry at those who initiated it without having to fight in the trenches. A wide gap opened between the young ones who fought and the civilians. They had an understanding of life others could never have, or at least this is what they thought. There was also a huge difference between the way the war was depicted in the press, the official war stories, and the reality soldiers faced every day. And some of them wanted to express this through their art.

At the turn of the century and until the early 1920s a new artistic movement evolved especially in Germany and northern Europe. The cornerstone of Expressionism was the year 1905 when Die Brücke movement started in Dresden, led by the German painter Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. It is agreed that it ended in the Great War aftermath, in 1920. 'The period of 1905-1920 merely defines the years when political events and the social climate found their appropriate artistic expression in this particular style', writes Dietmar Elger in *Expressionism. A Revolution in German Art* (Elger 2002, 8). Initially, the term was applied to a large variety of artists, from Edvard Munch to Cézanne, the Fauvists, Picasso, and Der Blaue Reiter. Used at first to describe every avant-garde movement in Europe it was later ascribed to German art. Expressionist painters were certainly influenced by van Gogh`s visceral, hysterical colors, by the wild compositions of the Fauves (including Matisse), and by the dramatic, whirling lines of Munch. They attempted a 'direct communication by jolts of color and shape, shaking the onlooker, not appealing to his cultural sense' (Hughes 2009, 285). Like Die Brücke artists, Expressionists reacted against traditional norms and political structures. German artists in particular reacted against the stiffness of the late Habsburg dynasty. History was rapidly changing

before their eyes and they were part of this process. It is no wonder some Expressionists wanted to record it in a way or another.

Otto Dix (1891-1969) and Max Beckmann (1884-1950) witnessed the war on the battlefield. Dix enrolled as a machine-gunner and fought four years in the trenches. War had been his main artistic theme for more than a decade. He commented: 'War is something so animal-like: hunger, lice, slime, these crazy sounds … War was something horrible, but nonetheless something powerful … Under no circumstances could I miss it! It is necessary to see people in this unchained condition in order to know something about man' (Heller 2009). A dry point from 1920 named *War Cripples* (*Kriegskrüppel*) shows four war veterans that lost some of their body parts – arms, an eye, and one or both legs – marching down a street. One of them pushing a colleague in a wheelchair wears a Wilhelm-like moustache on a severely disfigured face: he only has one good eye left, the other is a glass eye, and his jaw was replaced by a metal prosthetic. From underneath his uniform Dix reveals, as in an X-Ray, a clockwork. His right hand and left foot work like those of a wind-up toy, fixed with rods, bolts and springs. He is the mechanical product of a mechanical war. The 1924 prints series *War* (*Der Krieg*) remind of Goya`s *Los Desastres de la Guerra*. Both artists refused to paint for propaganda use. Instead of celebrating the bravery of armies and their leaders, they pin down the violence, the inhumanity, the humiliation and the despair. There are no winners, no heroes, only suffering and disillusion. Dix later confessed having nightmares about the war: 'As a young man you don`t notice at all that you were, after all, badly affected. For years afterwards, at least ten years, I kept getting these dreams, in which I had to crawl through ruined houses, along passages I could hardly get through…'([1]) *Stormtroops advancing under gas* (*Sturmtruppe geht unter Gas*, 1924) depicts a haunting scene with five soldiers wearing white leather gas masks marching in a post-apocalyptic setting. Only the masks are identifiable, not their faces, not even the place they are in. One can guess these are German soldiers (for only German troops had leather gas masks) walking through a battlefield. They look like Goya`s *disciplinants* (flagellants) depicted during a religious procession (*A Procession of Flagellants*, 1812-14), bare chested and wearing white caps on their heads and faces. To be a *penitent*, a repentant sinner, allowing you to be punished and fledged to the bone was a tremendous honor during the Holy Week in Spain. It was a promise of personal salvation. The same was thought about going to war by those who stayed at home. Christopher Isherwood fantasized about the war as a teenager. Here is how he put it in a later novel *The Memorial*: 'Eric saw their life together in the training-camp, watched himself and Maurice drilling, being taught how to fight with bayonets, embarking on the troopship, cheering from French trains – Are we downhearted? – arriving in billets, going up along miles of communication trenches to the front line, waiting for the zero hour at dawn, in the rain' (Fussell 2013, 140). As he later admitted it was not about the war itself, but about the idea of War his entire generation shared.

While Otto Dix fought in the trenches, Max Beckmann enrolled in the medical corps and witnessed the war in Flanders. He came out of it in a state of traumatic shock and became the painter of 'an unrecorded, unofficial history' (Hughes 2009, 290). His paintings depict the horrors of war, the violence, and unlike Otto Dix who also found a satirical side to it all – as in *War Cripples* where men who lost their feet are passing by a shoe shop – Beckmann paints the tragedy. *The Guardian* art critic Jonathan Jones writes: 'What makes his paintings after the first world war some of the most devastating visual documents of the 20th century (better than photographs) is that he seems to have seen, as he did in the military hospital, beneath the skin, inside the skull: he paints not the visible daytime history nor the events in the newspaper, but a night-time history, of dreams and collective fantasies'. Probably one of Beckmann's most well-known paintings, *The Night* (*Die Nacht*, 1918-19) depicts an urban, mysterious scene of torture, or so it seems at first sight. A woman is bound to a post, her corset is open, her legs are spread. A man is hanged by the neck with a scarf, his body seated on a table, and his left hand twisted by another man with a pipe. His right leg and arm are elongated and inert, the left part of his body twitches with pain. His is half dead, half alive. There is an unusual, distorted sense of space here. The room looks extremely crowded, there is almost no distinction between background and foreground, just like the 'spatial compression of German Gothic altarpieces' (Hughes 2009, 290). The violence conveyed by this motionless composition makes it even

([1]) Otto Dix quoted by the official website of the National Gallery of Australia (http://www.nga.gov.au/dix/)

scarier. As Jonathan Jones suggested, *The Night* is 'a place where the fragile laws of civility and reason are mocked by our own terrible, arbitrary madness, where there is nothing to be hoped for'. Madness reigns inside the room, a pitch black night sky looms outside. There is a lighted window somewhere across the street but there is no light of hope. Behind that window the same story might replicate itself forever. Is it a torture scene or a sado-masochistic one? No one can tell.

The influence of German Gothic religious painting can be traced in Beckmann`s work. *The Descent from the Cross* (*Die Kreuzabnahme*, 1917), a large oil canvas, is a modern version of so many Crucifixions and Calvary scenes in Western art, including Matthias Grünewald`s *Isenheim Altarpiece*. A pale and bruised Jesus is taken down from the cross, his tortured and emaciated body stiff, arms wide spread in the shape of a cross. The way the light falls suggests that the whole scene takes place on a stage, an artificial environment, not in a real landscape, yet, like *The Night*, the suffering is real, inflicted by humans. The contrast between the artificial setting and the real agony of its inhabitants emphasizes the onlooker's discomfort. Calvary and Crucifixion scenes were common images during the Great War, especially at Belgian and French crossroads (like The Crucifix Corner on the Ancre Valley, near Somme). According to Paul Fussell, for minor offenses on the battlefield, British soldiers were handed 'Field Punishment No.1', that is, they were tied or strapped spread-eagled to some immobile object and left there for some time in heavy rain or burning sun (Fussell 2013, 146).

World War I was all about contrasts. Distinctions like 'us' and 'them', the good ones and the bad ones (usually the Germans), feelings of hope and despair, the war by day and the war by night are to be found in *The Great War and Modern Memory*. This is a fragment taken from the autobiography of British fighter pilot Cecil Lewis, *Sagittarius Rising*: 'By day the roads were deserted; but as soon as dusk fell they were thick with transport, guns, ammunition trains, and troops, all moving up through Albert to take their positions in or behind the lines. … Endlessly, night after night, it went on. … Yet when dawn came, all signs of it were gone. There was the deserted road, the tumble-down farmhouses, the serene and silent summer mornings. Never do I remember a time when night so contradicted day' (Fussell 2013, 107). Destructive activity goes on by night, just like in Beckmann`s painting.

Prolonged trench warfare took its toll. An obsession with what the others are doing seemed to establish itself. Not seeing the enemy caused further distress. 'The German line and the space behind are so remote and mysterious that actually to see any of its occupants is a shock' (Fussell 2013, 102). This haunting presence, but seen from the other side of the line, is depicted by Otto Dix in a 1916 pencil drawing called *A Riddled Wall* (*Zerschossene Mauern*). Cramped, cracked walls with holes in them seem to bulge towards the onlooker. There is no human presence in it, just the result of human war enterprise. It is like hearing the bullets and the shells, seeing the harm they have done but not being able to tell who is firing. Relying only on imagination, the enemy took the form of a monstrous, freakish creature. Many British soldiers were convinced that Germans were totally different from them, that they were not even human but some sort of revolting animals. It could have been also a defense mechanism developed in order to go on fighting. It is probably easier to shoot another person if you do not consider him to be human at all.

The enemy was vilified not only in the trenches, but also at home. Every country praised the heroism of its soldiers without slipping a word about the hell they were going through. The press used every opportunity to hide the truth. George Adam, the official Paris correspondent for the *Times* described British soldiers as 'well-fed, warm, safe, and happy – better off, indeed, than at home' (Fussell 2013, 114). The first day of the battle on the Somme was described in the newspapers as favorable and going well. Not a word about the fact that British shells failed to explode and 20 000 soldiers were killed in the first 24 hours. A huge rift opened between the official account of war and life in or behind the lines. Soldiers grew skeptical about anything official, civilians knew almost nothing else. Soldiers rarely wrote the truth to their beloved ones, and even if they did, letters were censored by superior army officers (Fussell 2013, 114). The magnitude of devastation was so great that no one could have believed it without seeing it with their own eyes.

Not only journalists reported about the war. In 1916 the first official photographer was sent to the Western Front to cover the story of about two million British troops. His name was Ernest Brooks. Soon afterward photographers from Canada and Australia followed. Official photography did not focus on the horrors of war,

but mainly on depicting scenes in between the fighting: soldiers resting, sleeping, eating, having tea, playing chess, moving guns, marching, welcomed by locals or capturing German weaponry. The National Library of Scotland owns a big collection of war photography and by browsing through one can grasp the importance of official photography for propaganda purposes. There are hundreds of photos taken by Brooks in the archive. There is an image depicting some soldiers, with their heads bandaged, leaning out of the windows of a train. The caption says 'Although wounded they are happy' (Fig. 1). Another one shows two soldiers in a hospital having a chat and laughing (Fig. 2). It is called 'Wounded and happy'. It is surprising to see now, a hundred years after the Great War, how many times the word 'happy' occurs in these titles. Several photos are about a favored British past-time, drinking tea: 'Tea time', 'Tea time at a convalescent hospital', 'Tea time on newly taken ground'. Soldiers seem relaxed but even so, photo titles are on the verge of cynicism. They were made to assure British civilians that life on the front goes on just like back home, that their sons and husbands are well fed, well cared for, that they have their moments of chill out, happy to be fighting for England. And even if they are wounded, hospitals are clean, sunny places where they rest under parasols in the fresh air. One particular photo called 'Stacks of food etc.' (Fig. 3) hints at exactly the same idea. Huge stacks of food boxes dwarf the men and the horses carrying them. There seem to be enough provisions for an army to go on fighting endlessly, because on the right side of the photo ziggurats of boxes could, theoretically, go on forever. Only a part of them are seen so that this might provide some comfort for hopeful civilians reading the newspaper and seeing this shot. Actually, there must have been just enough provisions to feed two million soldiers. Scenes of destruction are also carefully chosen. There are enemy villages and cities in ruin, but no corpses. There are guns firing but no one is seen falling. There is mud and rain, and cold but from the distance one cannot spot the wet boots and uniforms. Night shelling looks like firework. It all seems to be hard, but kept under control. If Ernest Brooks saw the horrors of war he never photographed them, which is what a war photographer should do. Although of some artistic quality, his pictures stick to the official narrative of war.

His is a story told to civilians and it is not about real war but about the way it should be perceived at home. It shows no consideration for the men in the fire line. Reading the newspapers, British soldiers found out about the 'victory' on the Somme (Fussell 2012, 362), which was actually the slaughterous defeat they had witnessed. They also found out about their rapid advancement towards the Germans when in reality the Allies advanced only 8 km in four months. After so much propaganda, there was going to be no way for them to describe the truth. Four years did they live in a different world, risking their lives in a war they did not choose and did not start in the first place. Some of those who started it were leading safe lives at home perpetuating the official story about the necessity of heroic fighting to protect big, abstract ideas. Of course, not only British soldiers were traumatized by the war. As seen in a postcard sent by a German soldier from the front (Fig. 4), German propaganda was equally effective. A couple of cheerful soldiers are riding bicycles with rifles on their back, heading towards the enemy. But in Germany alone, from 1914 to 1918, 613,047 soldiers needed psychiatric care. Considered to be a burden and a shame for society, they were mistreated and brutally submitted to electroshocks and hunger. 5,000 of those locked in psychiatric hospitals were later killed by the Nazis during the infamous eugenic program called Aktion T4. ([2])

Although photography seems closer to reality than painting, the later one is sometimes more truthful. The emotional rendering of war trauma as seen in Max Beckmann's work is more authentic than the 'happiness' displayed in Ernest Brooks's photos. Beckmann paints what the camera cannot render, namely what is on these soldiers' mind when they are alone. He depicts the anguish, the suffering, the nightmares, and the despair that followed them back home, even after the war had been over. Brooks focuses on a flickering moment, of joy maybe, but that moment is not enough to tell the story of World War I. One can easily imagine the puzzled look of some parents who, expecting to welcome a victorious, well-fed and happy son returning, find a totally estranged person.

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Fig. 1 – Ernest Brooks, *Although wounded they are happy*

Source: National Library of Scotland, http://digital.nls.uk/first-world-war-official-photographs/pageturner.cfm?id=74546786

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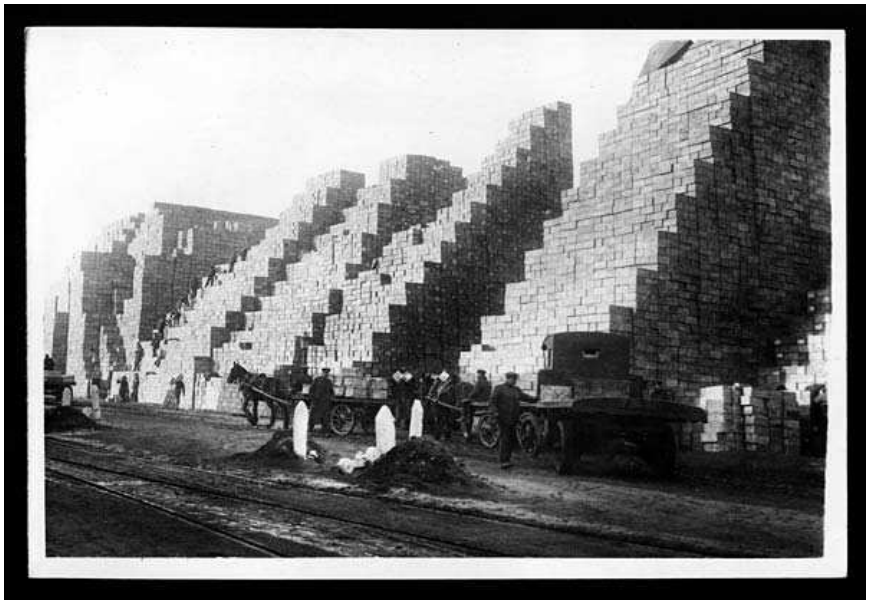

Fig. 3 - Ernest Brooks, *Stacks of food etc.*

Source: National Library of Scotland, http://digital.nls.uk/first-world-war-official-photographs/pageturner.cfm?id=74545992

Fig. 4 – Postcard from the front

Source: Franziska Dunkel, http://www.swr.de/swr2/stolpersteine/themen/veteranen-erster-weltkrieg/-/id=12117604/nid=12117604/did=12497166/le6wd0/

C. REVIEWS

Balchik, between *Lieux d'Histoire* and *Lieux de Mémoire*

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In addition to the series of 'challenging' essays reassessing Romania in relation to the West and to its past and future, the most prolific Romanian historian at this point, Lucian Boia, also publishes in 2014 a monograph ([1]). Thus, from biographies to imaginary, from essays to mythologies, Boia leaves no category of the historical writings unexplored. Writing this time on Balchik and especially on the image of Balchik, Boia sets the landmarks of a site of memory that render in contemporary times the idyllic myth of the glorious interwar period. 'As historiography has entered its epistemological age, with memory ineluctably engulfed by history, the historian has become no longer a memory-individual but, in himself, a lieu de mémoire' (Nora 1989, 18).

The reconstitution of Balchik in the period of its belonging to the Romanian territory (1913-1940) doesn't seem such an easy task. Boia recreates the atmosphere of the place through archives, press and memoires. The reading looks less savory, both due to the inherent stiffness of a monograph and to a not very rich source of information. What strikes is precisely the fact that, by empirically writing on the history of the place, Boia contributes to its disenchantment. Balchik, as we receive it today, is a reflection of the nostalgia for the interwar decades, following the series of the 'lost paradises'. Balchik was a paradise Romanians enjoyed only for a few decades, while today it only feeds the dream of the Greater Romania. However, without promoting the theory of the golden age of the interwar period, we stress that for the intellectuals of those times, Romania may have achieved its climax. To assert that the most prolific period of the Romanian history is the one between the two world wars would be an overstatement if we take into account that interwar Romania was an agrarian state with extremely low development parameters. Nostalgia actually targets those aspects of the daily or cultural life, of the nightlife from literary clubs, of the cultural activities the interwar intellectuals and artists gravitated around. Capşa, Lido, Calea Victoriei, Sinaia or Balchik become sources of nostalgia, while nostalgia becomes sometimes a marketing strategy for tourism today. In such a perspective, 'nostalgia must be oriented around memory', involving the acceptance of a past irrevocably lost (Maier 1999, 273). Theorizing on this concept, Svetlana Boym sees nostalgia as 'a symptom of our age', 'a historical emotion' classified into two types: restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia. If the first version tries to rebuild the 'lost paradises' in a national-identitary spirit claiming to hold the key of the absolute truth, reflective nostalgia indicates an awareness of the human bivalent belonging and of the contradictions of modernity drawn on the social memory wire (Boym 2001, XVIII).

The image of Balchik as a reflective nostalgia appears as the meeting place for the Romanian artistic bohemia, especially through the journals and memoirs of those who attended it. For them, Balchik was an intellectual-artistic 'island', a place for the interaction of talents, a land patronized by the Queen Mary herself. Thus, Boia's book represents also a page of the Queen's biography for the period of 1924-1937, with focus on the history of the royal family relationships, especially on those between the Mother Queen and Carol II.

At that time, Balchik craved the status of a 'pearl of the Romanian littoral'. Interwar Romania was, however, a country of contrasts. This reality was also visible in Balchik, where the Queen's and artists' houses appear near streets with potholes, in a town without street lightning, sewerage or running water. In the first decades of the 20th century, the grain port tended to the status of a tourist resort and only starting with the 30s Balchik crossed the metamorphosis into the urban utopia (p. 103).

Shadows of elegance and brilliance cover a town which still represented the identity of a periphery of the Ottoman Empire, having a

([1]) A review of *Balcic: Micul paradis al României Mari* [*Balcic: the little paradise of the Greater Romania*] (by Lucian Boia), Bucureşti, Humanitas, 2014, 224 p.

vaguely Romanian character. The land flourished especially in the summer, with the opening season for the artistic bohemia. It's not random that Balchik is stored in memory mostly visual, of the paintings of those who were inspired by its sight.

Boia's work captures various aspects of this land, diachronic introduced in 20 chapters, from the annexation of the Quadrilater, in 1913, to the detachment of the territory, in 1940. Without any specific propensity to the shore, Romanians hardly get out of the womb of the mountains or plains (p. 20). It seems only painters see the potential of the land and are attracted by its artistic exploration. The presence of the artists with brushes is to be found along the entirely monographic journey. Exotic and sunny, Balchik failed though to become a muse for writers. Few are those who invoke Balchik in their writings (p. 92).

The book includes also statistical notes revealing the reduced appurtenance of Balchik to the Romanian identity and data on the level of economic development of the town. The monograph approach would have been incomplete without the visual support. Boia appeals to overview images of Balchik, photos of streets and buildings, human hypostasis, and also to the most relevant paintings signed by Ion Thedorescu-Sion, Alexandru Satmary, Victor Brauner or N. Tonitza.

What is left today of the Romanian Balchik? The Queen's castle, a few houses, a 'recovery' of the Romanian elements by the increasing number of Romanian visitors and by the Romanian language use, and especially some spicy legends that surround the area. Though, Balchik is not missing from the remembrance of the interwar Romania, being on the border between real history and legend. The imagination that confers it the symbolic aura and the history's will to keep the place alive are those who make Balchik a genuine site of memory. Memory is not invoked randomly. As Pierre Nora emphasize, 'We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left' (Nora 1989, 7). And because memory can not be dissociated from the imaginary, Boia himself gives de verdict: 'History, legend, who knows where the truth is? In fact, the shifting to legend is a good sign, a sign of vitality. Only that part of the past susceptible to stir the imagination remains with us' (Boia 2014, 186). And so, the end of the book reiterates the previous assertions of the historian on the imaginary field. While once imaginary exploring the outer space, Boia argued: 'Nothing is more real, more durable, more crucial than imaginary, this collective dream of the humanity' (Boia 2012, 224).

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The Amazons. A Story

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One of the most critically acclaimed volumes of cultural history published in 2013, Adriana Babeți`s *The Amazons. A Story* (Polirom, 2013) ([1]) coagulates the author's extensive work dedicated to the generous and complex theme of the warrior female hero reflected, throughout the ages, in literature, history, popular culture, the arts and film. In a massive 740 pages quasi-exhaustive exploration of the subject, the author articulates a dense, well-balanced 'story' that successfully blends academic discourse and scientific rigor with the pleasant fluidity of a captivating narration.

Divided into eight main sections, the book contains numerous sub-chapters that allow the reader to map the contents of the book in an efficient manner, while at the same time being stimulated by their 'user-friendly' nature and contemporary humor. A talented writer as well, Adriana Babeți proves that solid research does not necessarily need to be translated into vetust formulations, therefore she prefers to create a multi-leveled, exciting and impeccably documented meta-novel of the history of the Amazons. The first chapter, *Exhortation* works as a finely-tuned *captatio benevolentiae*, familiarizing the reader with the strategies, methodologies and aims of the volume. An older research theme the author has explored in the past, that of 'arms and letters', of the cultural and imaginary connections between the art of war and that of text and literature is revived and reinterpreted, becoming the generative nucleus of the book. The '*manoeuvres*' she details in one of the first sub-chapters describe the initial context in which the theme of the Amazons became of such great interest to the author, the particular aspects that gradually built the framework of a major scholarly enterprise. The second chapter, *Attack*, opens the gates of the imaginary world of female power and glory, *The Amazonland*, and, with the clear intention of familiarizing the reader with the basic vocabulary of a first strategic incursion into the cultural perimeter of prominent heroines, Adriana Babeți recreates the onomastic, mythological, historical and literary basis of their unusual persistence in artistic imagination. *Onomastikon*. *A Burnt Breast and Other Inventions*. *Daughters of the Mother, Daughters of the Moon? Killers, but also Man Lovers*. *From Amazon to Amazon.com* are inviting titles that consolidate the core structure of the book's argumentative and scientific background.

Following the *Attack*, an *Incursion* is in order, and a historical overview of the presence of the Amazons in Western culture begins in early antiquity and ends in the present, with the contemporary figures of female rock stars and action heroines in films and videogames. Therefore, the *Ages of the Amazons* provides the reader with a vital understanding of the omnipresence of female virility, reloaded and recalibrated, aestheticized and deconstructed in its millenary life-span. A *Counter-Attack*, a *Surrounding* and an *Assault* mark the central chapters of this metaphoric battle of mentalities, histories and representations. The inextricable mixture of *Myth and Reality*, as one title reiterates, is carefully dissected for the purpose of revealing the multiple cultural meanings entailed by the historical accounts, literary fictions and mythological projections concerning the 'lives' of Amazons. Although 'historians, archaeologists and anthropologists are far from agreeing upon the real or simply imaginary existence of Amazons', it is doubtless that their primary significance lies at the level of the cultural imagination. Food rituals, love stories, legends about their savage, barbaric nature, gender relationships, the cult of the body, dress codes and sexual behavior, to name just the main levels investigated, the thematic spectrum of the subject matter is explored with the authentic

([1]) A review of *Amazoanele. O poveste* [*The Amazons. A Story*] (by Adriana Babeți), Iași, Polirom, 2013.

dedication of the scholar and the verbal seduction of a genuine storyteller. From Herodotus and Homer to Virginia Woolf and Marcel Proust, the author invokes the grand narratives that immortalized and refined this feminine archetype. Yet, the strategic conquest of this difficult domain wouldn't be complete without a final *Parade*, in which the superstars of Amazonland are invited to march in their full splendor: Penthesilea, Camilla, Velleda, Bradamante, Clorinda, Joan of Arc, Hauteclaire, Madeleine de Maupin, Orlando, Albertine.

The word – like the sword – finds its way to victory in one and the same way: by starting the plot with a clear mind and military discipline, as in war, through an *exordim*. It was meant to give me courage and also the ability to captivate (or even capture) the reader. Win him/her on my side. What better way to do that than by telling him/her stories? In fact, just one, marvelous story about warrior women. Display them one by one, as in Hesiod's catalogue, with all their brave deeds. I felt more and more that these warriors would be my mirror and shield. And I began writing about them with zeal and passion. Without forgetting Barthes' phrase, surrounding me like a chain: 'The imaginary… a labyrinth of the jagged fortifications in which he who speaks of himself goes astray.'

Adriana Babeți`s *The Amazons. A Story* is first and foremost an essential guide to a major theme, cardinal in modern and postmodern culture. A genuine archive reuniting probably all major references concerning the subject, the volume assimilates a vast bibliography published not only in Romanian, but also English, French or Italian and, although indirectly, makes it available to the Romanian reader. An indispensable academic instrument for cultural and literary researchers, *The Amazons* can be an excellent source of documentation for the general, less specialized public as well, given its remarkable success in balancing various discursive regimes inside an artfully narrated 'story'.

About A Historiographical Behaviour

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Abstract. The present study deals with a valuable book presented from the perspective of the comparative method applied to the Transylvanian Romanian and Slovakian Enlightenment. At the same time, the author notices that the success of the book is the result of the integrated perspective offered by Oana Bodea Indrieş to the Romanian and Slovakian Enlightenment within the context provided by the European Central Enlightenment.

The compatibility between the two variants of the European Central Enlightenment resides in the fact that they did not have an anticlerical manifestation. On the contrary: the bearers of the enlightened ideas in both cultures were mainly priests, and Joseph's followers as far as their social and political convictions are concerned. They promoted an identitary Enlightenment that developed the Pan-Latinism in Transylvania, and the Pan-Slavism in Slovakia, seen as a reaction to the progress of Pan-Magyarism.

The book *A Time of Change. The National Renaissance of the Peoples in Central Europe in Aufklärung and Vormärz. A Comparative History* pleads for a historiographical attitude and behaviour that might contribute to a better and real understanding of the Romanian Enlightenment, and to the integration of our modern culture into the European circuit of values.

Keywords: Enlightenment, Transylvania, Slovakia, Church, Josephinism

Even if the critics interested in the Romanian enlightened historiography of the last twenty years register analyses and comparative studies between Romanian enlightened intellectuals and intellectuals belonging to other cultures in Central Europe, and the list is not long at all in this respect (Stanciu 2007, 195-226), Oana Bodea's book, *A Time of Change. The National Renaissance of the Peoples in Central Europe in Aufklärung and Vormärz. A Comparative History* is the first comparative synthesis about this issue, declared and assumed as such ([1]).

This is the reason why from the very beginning we should mention that the fundamental contribution of the work – that motivates the choice as well – is the fact that it places the Romanian historiography in relation of interdependence with the Slovakian one, and succeeds to provide a context for both in the field of Central European historiography. The Central European Enlightenment emerged and developed in a social and political context specific to the Habsburg Empire. This is the reason why it has a peculiar and distinct evolution compared to the Western Enlightenment (Italian, French, and British). It practically reflected the local conditions, the social, economic and political relations and circumstances specific to the region. It took various shapes, promoted different ideals, and developed itself in various ways, according to the different realities existing in Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Transylvania and Hungary. Generally speaking, there was a common platform of the Mittel-European Enlightenment determined and supported by the reforms of the Court of Vienna, which provided the text about the enlightened ideal of emancipation, but read it according to a certain reality, and reflected the local needs (Porter, Teich 1998). Thus, we have common ideas and common ideological framework as far as the Central European Enlightenment is concerned, but its manifestation provided enormous cultural differences, and various complementary formulas.

There is no doubt: every work is influenced by a personal option and opinion. The relation between reader and writer also requires time, and the receiver finally gets most of the times, a complementary image in this respect. He or she bears the subjective nature of the reader interested in the epoch, or in the topic as well. The success of a book also depends upon the way in

([1]) A review of *Un timp al schimbărilor. Renaşterea naţională a popoarelor din Europa Centrală in Aufklärung şi Vormärz* [*A Time of Change. The National Renaissance of the Peoples in Central Europe in Aufklärung and Vormärz. A Comparative History*] (by Oana Bodea), Rao, 2011, 416 p.

which the receiver of the work perceives the topic in the epoch. From my point of view, in order to understand the genesis and peculiarities of *Aufklärung*, it is important and even conclusive to know its relation with the Catholic Restoration and the Theresian and Leopoldin reforms as well. This image, as clear as possible, is significant with a view to helping the reader to have a perception about the so-called 'incubator' of the Central Europe of nations. The forming, in the Habsburg Empire, in 1688, of a commission led by the Roman Catholic bishop of Györ, Leopold von Kollonich, had a significant contribution in this respect. The commission had to design and propose a 'Project for Hungary's reorganization and administration'. Completed in 1689, the project about the integration of new Eastern provinces, known as *Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Hungarn (*The project consists in 5 chapters: *Iustitiarum*, *Politicum*, *Militare*, *Camerale*, and *Ecclesiasticum)*, stipulated two significant modes of integration. The local juridical and administrative system had to be coupled with the Aulic one, and the retrieval of the positions occupied by the Catholic Church had to become possible with the unconditioned support granted to Catholicism by Emperor Leopold I. Catholicism had to be considered state religion in the Empire.

Through *Einrichtungswerk* […], the Reforms needed for implementation both in historical Hungary and the provinces that formerly belonged to Saint Stephen's crown were highly designed. They consisted in changes in the administrative, social, juridical, military, and economic field. Generally, this project was considered useful for making up modern societies. One can assert that the project about the annexation of the Eastern provinces of the Empire represented an advanced stage for the social and political activity of the monarchy comparatively similar projects from Leopold's time. The stress on the Catholic Church is natural since the Austrian sovran played an irrefutable leadership role for the Counter – Reform in Central Europe. Being a fervent Catholic, Leopold I discovered practical political valencies in the Counter-Reform. The Counter-Reform gave him the possibility to modernise the Central European state and to replace the old, medieval noble elite with a new one, without medieval privileges and ready to involve itself in the process for leadership and modernization in the Austrian Empire (Gorun, 2013). During that age, the *Einrichtungswerk* did not gain in popularity because of its absolutist and national peculiarities. Since it favored the Germans in the Monarchy, it shadowed the Magyar interests. The categorical appeal to the Catholic Church employed by the Imperial Court for the situation in Transylvania, Poland and Czech Republic, where the elite was mainly protestant, played a double role in the hereditary provinces: the traditional role, but also political instrument as well.

There is no doubt that beyond favoring the Catholicism in Transylvania, there was a religious solidarity, but also practical interests as well. After four years of negotiations (1697-1701), the accomplishment and acknowledgement of the Union of the Romanian Church of Transylvania with the Church of Rome, by the central power, represented, first of all, a clear expression of the will of the Transylvanian Romanian national Church to gain a positive juridical position within the constitutional context of Transylvania (Marte, 2010). From the Romanians' point of view, this was the birth certificate for the fight for emancipation, also called national fight during the *Vormärz*, and the entry permit in Central Europe's concerns. Like Germans, Hungarians or Ruthenians, Romanians were integrated to that typology of mono-ethnic and bi-confessional society specific to Central Eastern Europe (Turczynski, 1976, 118-130, 188-192, 206-210). Unfortunately, Slovakians did not have their own national Church since they were bi-confessional, i.e. protestant and Catholics 'melted' themselves in the Protestant or Magyar Catholic Church. This is a detail or a situation with certain consequences for the temporization of the Slovakians' national and political fight for emancipation.

Even if we do not consider it a lack of the book, we are convinced that the approach of the impact of the Catholic Reform upon *Aufklärung*, in general, and Josephism, in particular, would have ensured an edifying, correct and solid framework for the argumentation of the book in explaining the comparison between the Transylvanian Romanian and Slovakian Enlightenment. The understanding of the specific characteristics of the *Aufklärung* in Central and Eastern Europe as a manifestation of a peripheral Enlightenment compared to the centre of the rationalist and anticlerical (French and English) Enlightenment depends precisely upon the approach of the relation between Church and State in the Habsburg Empire. It was the reality that determined, in Transylvania, just like in Serbia or Slovakia, in the 18th century, the emergence of two phenomena with parallel development, yet with numerous interferences: the making up of the Romanians', Slovakians' and Serbs' national movement, and the attempt of the central power

from Vienna to amend the medieval structures of these anachronic provinces, from the enlightened monarch's perspective. Mention should also be made about the effects of Josephinism on multiple plans, and especially about the culture efficiency with political finality. Vienna had practiced an integrationist policy that did not inhibit the process of national emancipation for 150 years. On the contrary: through what we call nowadays cohesion funds, imperialists stimulated the economic, social, and cultural development of various ethnic groups and the multiple confessions of an empire that was fascinating and powerful thanks to its multi-confessionalism and cosmopolitism.

By combining the tradition with the achievements of the Romanian and Slovakian historiography, which were seldom determined to support each other like it is presented in the book, the author acquired a solid structure for her work: 1. reasoning, progress and optimism in national Enlightenment within the context provided by the Central Europe in the 18th century; 2. incursions in the political and cultural trends within the context provided by the Austrian Reforms and the national movements in Slovakia and Transylvania until 1848; 3. a captivating comparative image between the Slovakian and Transylvanian Romanian intellectuals, their common formative areas (Trnava, Buda and Pesta) with emphasis on two characters, Ioan Bob and Alexander Rudnay; 4. the triumph of Herder's revolution upon the Romanian and Slovakian ideology in *Vormärz*, underlining the impact of the linguistic revolution on the two modern cultures. We notice the author's endeavour to readily answer as argumentative and shaded as possible to the pertinent questions posed during the research. We admire Oana Bodea's success in defining and explaining several concepts specific to the age and area under analysis. We underline the author's constant wish to integrate her topic within the European spirituality, a wish that emerged from the need to decrease the cultural gap between the two European regions that made, in those times, the first steps to laicization, and to European values, in full change as well.

Keith Hitchins wrote numerous studies about this century concerned 'with the morals and with the spirit of nation', and made research, analyses and interpretations that demonstrated the exact moment of performance and compatibility of the Transylvanian Enlightenment with the European one. Pompiliu Teodor mentioned that Baroque, Früaufklärung (pre-Enlightenment) or Aufklärung (Enlightenment), Romanticism or the cultural trends, in general, are not monads, i.e. they do not exist in pure state. We do not have disruptions or discontinuities between them. There are only continuities, changes, and dissolutions of one into the other. Most of the time, we register a slow transition with innovations that manifest themselves gradually, from one to another, more and more visible and strong. There co-existed in Transylvania, just like in Slovakia of the time, both the humanistic and baroque patterns but they were modified by the new political and cultural circumstances brought and imposed by the Habsburg reforms. Thus, the interest for historical writing, the institutional substantiation of the ecclesiastical life, and the interest in polemic and concerns with a view to finding out the origin and the historical truth increased.

If the influence of the School of Göttingen upon Petru Maior and Ion Budai-Deleanu, the emergence of national ideas in historical discourse and in the historiography of this territory represent a gain of the specialty Romanian criticism (Teodor 2000; Hitchins 1987; Toth Zoltán 2000; Câmpeanu 2000; Protase 1973; Stanciu 2003 *etc.*) Oana Bodea's opinion is complementary with Stanley Bucholz Kimball's or Radu Mârza's (Bucholz Kimball 1973; Mârza 2008) vision, and places us in front of a case about the fact that the Romanian discourse of the Transylvanian School, the Slovakian discourse of *Slovenské Učené Tovaryšstvo*, and, later on, of the cultural society of *Tatrin* were not conceived and related to some enlightened satellite-type historical discourses perceived as part of a peripheral culture.

Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Şincai, Petru Maior, Ion Budai–Deleanu, Anton Bernolak, Mathias Bell, Juraj Ribay, Bohuslav Tablic, Juraj Palkovič, Ján Kollár, Pavel Jozef Šafárik wrote Romanian or Slovakian historical, linguistic, and theological discourses concerned with the Central European intellectuals' achievements or about the entrance of the Romanian and Slovakian culture in the European circuit of values. From the point of view of the role played by the elite in the region in forming the national identity in Central and South Eastern Europe (Trencsényi, Kopeček 2006), Oana Bodea's work completes and improves the criticism interested in the European Central Enlightenment. The discourse of this enlightened and pre-romantic generation led to the finalization of some permeable works. They cannot be considered simple mimetic readjustments of their conceptions and ideas according to the European patterns existing at their disposal. The significant contribution of this generation in a period of time placed between *Aufklärung* and *Vormärz* remained the fact that, first of all, it promoted an identity spirit with a

well-defined aim: to integrate it to the culture of Central Eastern Europe, and this is the peculiarity of these movements in the modern Romanian and Slovakian culture. This achievement came to light especially when the inhabitants of the Central Europe, be them Czechs, Germans, Romanians, Hungarians, Slovakians or Bulgarians trained and prepared themselves in order to assert their national conscience. This phenomenon was taken upon and even owed, to a large extent, to the choice made by the Romanian or Slovakian choice, between Michelet's and Herder's conceptions about the state and nation as well. Like most of the ethnic groups in the Empire, the Slovakians and the Transylvanian Romanians who were familiar with Leibniz's and Wolff's influence preferred Herder's mono-cultural nationalism represented by people, that is to say a distinct community with its own language, habits, origins and history that stimulated the idea of nationalism and made them partners for the national fight, starting with the spring of 1849 (Neumann 2005, 60-63). One cannot ignore the fact that the emergence of two paired ideologies, the Pan-Slavism and Pan-Latinism, made this partnership possible between 1848 and 1918; there is no doubt that it emerged and was nourished by anti-German and anti-Russian ideas, in their fight with the Pan-Magyarism existing in Slovakia and Transylvania.

In order to understand the place and role played by the Transylvanian and Slovakian Enlightenment for the dynamics of Mittel-European Enlightenment, the author had to understand who the promoters of these ideals were, to find out data about the intellectuals' initial stage of recruitment and selection meant to define these forms of regional Enlightenment. In Transylvania and Slovakia, the foundation enjoyed the same clerical basis, and the same aims that generated the ideology of the age, with its two paired ideological and identity formulas: Latinism and Pan-Slavism. I also consider that the author's endeavor to understand the Transylvanian and Slovakian priest's positioning, as a true intellectual clerical man as everywhere in Europe, is appropriate, and even worthy. This elite category was 'the pot' out of which the Transylvanian Romanians and Slovakians were recruited during the modern age.

As a matter of fact, Oana Indrieş Botea's entire discourse is interesting and makes one think about this book. It arouses curiosity for the understanding of the Transylvanian Romanians history in parallel and by comparison with the Slovakian one. It is an intercession that stimulates the problems and concepts of cultural history specific to this region. There is no doubt that the book is an intellectual adventure. Consciously or not, the author of the work provides us with a page of history 'lived as consciousness and freed by the illusion of certainties and objectiveness' (Barbu 1996, 16) also because she explains and even defines several concepts specific to the age and relevant for the problem under research. As a matter of fact, the title of the work 'convicts' the author to comparative approach, both in documentation and at narrative level, but also as far as the demonstration of several real interpretative valences is concerned. The success of Oana Bodea's work is the result of the author's multilingual education that made the work documentation, its drawing up and interpretation possible. The work is also the result of a rich and diverse Romanian, Slovakian, Magyar, German and English bibliography deliberately and complementarily consulted by the author in order to deeply understand and vary the real image about the becoming of a regional and not at all peripheral Transylvanian Romanian and Slovakian historiography in the 18th century.

As the author suggested at her Ph. D. thesis defense held in Alba Iulia, on May 2012 (Bodea 2012), the fast publishing of the present book covered a gap in the Romanian historiography. Even if, meanwhile, an interesting translation in Romanian of the *Short History of Slovakia* (*Scurtă istorie a Slovaciei*, Mannová 2011*)* also emerged, I dare say that, owing to the present volume, the Slovakian historiography also acquires more knowledge about the forming of its own nation in connection with the Central European nations in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is a courageous comparative demarche, not very demotic in Romanian historiography, which deserves to be encouraged and perceived as historiographical behaviour chiefly because, unfortunately, the cultural area under analysis continues to be 'peripheral' for the Western criticism interested in European Enlightenment.

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Black. The Hero of a History

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In 2008, Michel Pastoureau's hero was the black colour. It appears in his book *Noir. Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris, Seuil, 2008) ([1]) – translated into Romanian *Negru. Istoria unei culori*, at the Cartier Publishing House in 2012 -, it follows another hero's success from 2002, the blue colour: *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris, Seuil, 2000), and prepares the way for the green colour: *Vert. Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris, Seuil, 2013).

The book begins with an introduction and the content itself is structured in five chapters (*At the Beginning was Black*, *In the Devil's Pallet*, *A Fashionable Colour*, *The Birth of the World in Black and White*, *All the Colours of Black* ([2])), each one divided in turn into small subchapters, accompanied by an introduction at the beginning of their chapter. The notes, the thematically structured bibliography, and the author's thanks are put at the end of the book.

Pastoureau analyses in his book how the black colour has had, along the history of its appropriation by Western society, a route often calm or glorious, and sometimes tumultuous, thus oscillating between acceptance or rejection - part or all. This is the colour of the primordial beginning, of the darkness (biblical or scientific) that precedes light, and will represent the earth in the symbolism of the four elements, together with other three colours: red standing for fire, green for water, and white for air, from Aristotle until the second half of the 18th century. It can also be found in the ancient basic triad white/red/black, playing an important role in the early Middle Ages too, continuing its existence within the system of the six basic colours belonging to the central Middle Ages, when yellow, green, and blue were added to the three primary colours. Closely associated with whiteness, black (in great vogue at that time) begins to be seen as a non-colour in the late 15th century and especially in the mid-16th century. The world of black and white prints, to which add Newton's discoveries from 1665-1666 (published in 1704, with the spectrum of light without black and white), and social and religious morality (especially Protestant) will remove gradually the black colour outside the world of colours. Black will regain its status of colour in the late 19th century, when painters make it the dominant of their palette.

Pastoureau traces the history of the black colour, showing that it had been a diabolical colour from the 11th century until the 12th century, when heraldry took it out of the devilish palette and won a middle position as regards frequency, thus anticipating its revaluation in the Late Middle Ages.

Being a monastic colour since the late 9th century, in the early 12th century black was the object of the polemics between the white robes (the Cistercians) and the black ones (the Cluniacs), representing *the history of black versus white, an antagonistic and relatively discrete couple until that time [...], and which will assert itself even more strongly. From that day on, colours got a dimension they had never had before, at least in clothing.*([3])

By the late 14th century (when the wealthy clients' requirements will compel dyers to solve the problem, no matter how expensive it would be), it was quite difficult to paint a fabric in a true black colour. At the end of the 13th century and in

([1]) A review of *Negru. Istoria unei culori* [*Black. The History of a Colou]* (by Michel Pastoureau), originally *Noir. Histoire d'une couleur*, Paris, 2008), translated by Emilian Glaicu-Păun, Chişinău, Cartier, 2012, 252 p.

([2]) Michel Pastoureau, *Black. The History of a Color*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2008.

([3]) Michael Pastoureau, *Negru. Istoria unei culori*, Chişinău, Ed. Cartier, 2012, p. 80.

the early 14th century, the virtuous and austere black enters the clothing of those professional categories with functions or responsibilities in the service of the state, and, in the mid-14th century, those of the *long-robed* people (professors or scientists), as a hallmark of a particular status. In the second half of the 14th century, the black fashion was adopted by merchants and bankers, in response to sumptuary laws in force that forbade all those who were not part of the nobility the wearing of the most beautiful and expensive colours and colouring materials. At first, this reaction occured in Italy in the clothing of dukes, counts, and lords, then in the princely ones, then spreading to France and England in the late 15th century, and then in the rest of Europe, where the entire 15th century became the great century of the royal and princely black, whose fashion will continue until the modern era.

Pastoureau states that the invention of printing and the spreading of the printed book, and the engraved and the printed image will replace, for several centuries, the medieval polychrome images with a world in black and white, creating *a cultural revolution of considerable amplitude, not only in the field of knowledge, but also of the sensibilities* ([4]). The chromoplastic wave at the beginning of Protestant Reformation (in the 16th century) adds to the current black and white imagery and will lead to the emphasis on the opposition between the world in black and white and world in colours itself, and to the chromophilic Catholic reaction. This is the time when black has a dual nature: the royal and princely, the luxurious one, descending from the Burgundian court, and that of humility and temperance, coming from clerics and monks, in search for the simplicity of the early Christian church.

Pastoureau acknowledges that the Protestant chromatic austerity will be extant in Europe in the 17th century too, when black became the absolute mourning colour. Being pulled out of the chromatic system, black will disappear from clothing and from the everyday life of urban population and the upper strata of the society of the Enlightenment (in the 18th century), but continues to exist unabated in Venice, and at the Spanish and Austrian courts. Its comeback in art and literature will take place beginning with 1760, and is fully achieved in the early 19th century, when serious and austere black generalizes in the men's wardrobe and will remain especially in the regulation uniforms or clothing of those who profess an intellectual work in the early 20th century. The decades of the mid-19th century brought another black colour, that of coal (until the middle of the following century) - the main source of energy for industry, and of misery for cities.

Towards the end of the book, Pastoureau notes that, in the 20th century, black and white photography and film will prolong and exacerbate the black and white imagery created more than three centuries ago, and although they lost their primacy, making place almost entirely to coloured images towards the end of the century, they remain a symbol of elegance, as black is living its modernity through the work of designers, fashion designers, and stylists.

Pastoureau's book arises interest while reading it, thanks to the dense and interesting information peppered throughout the course of human history. They are the result of the study of an enviable bibliography. A question arises, however, in connection with the assertion of colour film – on what basis Pastoureau admits that the Technicolor process, improved since 1915, was able to implement the production and marketing of films beginning with that year, but *perhaps* the moral reasons are those that have delayed this[5]. In this respect, the author states that moving images were at that time considered a frivolity, the coloured images becoming an obscene thing that contributed to the delay of the marketing of the colour films sometime after World War II.

Scott Higgins** claims, during a Coursera MOOC (Massive Open Online Course) entitled *The Language of Hollywood: Storytelling, Sound, and Color* ([6]), held in September-October 2013, that the first technical solution for obtaining natural colour films (called *two-colour Technicolor*) dates from the 1920s and consists of simultaneous recording of two images using different filters onto the film stock: a bluish green filter and a reddish orange one, but without obtaining pure colours. Warner Brothers made one of the last films in this technique in 1932.

The new technique, the *three-colour Technicolor*, was completed in 1934 and added another colour filter to the previous system, thus obtaining natural and stable colours. The process requires sacrifices on controlling the amount of light, making limitations of the filming, and the camera used is very complex, because it runs inside three negatives recording simultaneously three different images through three different

([4]) *Ibidem*, p. 130.

([5]) *Ibidem*, p. 198.

([6])https://www.coursera.org/course/hollywood. Accessed 17 June 2014.

colour filters. The camera is not for sale, but rented by the company Technicolor to studios with all related services: a cinematographer, the processing of the film, and the use of the Color Advisory Service, so this company controlled colour cinematography during this period.

Becky Sharp, in 1935, the director being Rouben Mamoulian, was the first featured film made using the *three-colour Technicolor*, and, despite it was a box office failure, being an experimental film considered as a cheap novelty by the audience, *it was influential and convinced studios that it was worth trying the technical process in studio work* ([7]). Scott Higgins also claims that the second film made in this technique, *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, by Paramount Pictures (in 1936, director Henry Hathaway), had the greatest success of Technicolor films by then (leaving it so for a while), was one of the highest-grossing film of that year, and set aesthetic standards for the films that followed.

Therefore, Scott Higgins's presentation does not reflect that hostility to animated image in colour, during the first two decades of the Technicolor era. As I cannot access the bibliography Pastoureau indicated on this topic, the question thus remains open.

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** Scott Higgins is Associate Professor of Film Studies at the Wesleyan University and his area of specialization includes aesthetics, silent and classical cinema, narrative theory, genre, and technology. ([9])

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([7]) *Idem.*
([8]) Michael Pastoureau, *Negru. Istoria unei culori*, p. 2.
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Fairy Tales: Between Literary and Oral Tradition

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The first new approach to fairy tales history in the last two decades, this book tries to answer questions about the origin and spread of the fairy tale that are now so popular around the world ([1]). In the traditional view, stories such as *Cinderella*, *Sleeping Beauty* and *Puss in Boots* are rooted in the oral tradition of the peasants, and were recorded for posterity by the brothers Grimm. Starting from the observation that there is no evidence that farmers have invented wonder tales and then transmitted them through the oral tradition, Ruth Bottigheimer offers proofs for the occurrence of fairy tales in an urban environment, the Venice of the 16th century.

Trying to differentiate the wonder tales (fairy tales) from folk tales, which are part of the oral tradition of the peasants, Bottigheimer shows that not the motifs, structure or the happy ending define fairy tales (motifs such as the magic ring and the number three appear in Italian novels dating from the 15th and 16th c. and the happy ending is typical for the slushy romance novels of the 20th c.), but the plot. Thus, one of the defining plots for a fairy tale is that according to which a prince/princess is revoked, goes through a series of tests, which he surpasses with a magic help, and marries a princess/prince, regaining thus his original status. The most common and popular fairy tales, however, are the 'rise tales', those in which a poor person gets, with a magic help, the hand of a prince/ princess, inheriting thus the kingdom and a considerable fortune.

In search of the origins of the fairy tales, such as they were defined above, Bottigheimer's analysis begins with the famous collection of the Brothers Grimm, which gave a powerful impetus to the creation of other national collections and theories about the origin of the fairy tales. Trying to explain the similarities between the tales they collected and those published in previous centuries, the brothers Grimm have theorized that fairy tales are many centuries old and were transmitted through oral tradition from one generation to another. Based on studies published in the last twenty years, especially those of Heinz Rölleke, Bottigheimer shows, however, that the fairy tales from the Grimm's collection have their origin in the books read by young girls and ladies from Cassel, in the late 18th c. and early 19th c. Brought from France, these tales circulated in Germany, written first in French and then in German, 50 years before the brothers Grimm would collect them, and occupied an important place in Germans' readings since 1760.

Continuing the identification of the origins of fairy tales, Bottigheimer reveals that the French authors of the in the late 17th c. and early 18th c. took their tales not from peasants or nannies of the aristocratic children, but from the collections of two Italian authors: Giambattista Basile and Giovanfrancesco Straparola. French authors such as Charles Perrault, his niece, Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier, Mlle de la Force and Mme d'Aulnoy, adapted some tales from Basile's collection, giving them a moralizing character, and making them more suitable for the tastes of the court. The birth of the fairy tales is thus marked by two moments: the printing at the beginning of the 17th c., in Naples, of Basile's collection *Lo Cunto de li cunti* (The Tale of Tales, 1634-1636) and of Staraparola's collection *Le Piacevoli Notti* (*Pleasant nights*, 1551-1553) published in Venice in the mid-16th century. *Le Piacevoli Notti*, structured after Boccaccio's *Decameron*, contains wonder tales in which a prince regains its lost status, inspired by Roman and medieval epics. The novelty, however, was the 'rise fairy tale', in which a poor boy marries a princess from a faraway land, thus gaining a fabulous fortune. The story in Straparola's collection with this type of plot, which, adopted by future authors, was going to define the fairy tales genre, is *Constantino Fortunato* (*Le Maître-Chat ou le Chat Botté* from Perrault's collection).

A conventional history of fairy tales would begin, says Bottigheimer, by stating that they were created by an anonymous peasant, thousands of years ago, and were then

([1]) A review of, *Fairy Tales. A New History* (by Ruth B. Bottigheimer), Albany, New York, State University of New York Press, 2009.

transmitted from one generation to another through oral tradition. Her book demonstrates, however, that there is a close connection between the selling of chapbooks with fairy tales and their spread among the folk. The history of the printed collections of fairy tales shows that they appeared, as a literary genre, in the mid-16th century Venice, were developed in Naples in the first half of the 17th c., and then again, in France, at the end of the 17th c., from where they were exported to Germany in the second half of the 18th c. At the end of the 18th c., fairy tales were transmitted throughout Europe, through chapbooks. In the 19th c., schools helped spreading the fairy tales among city and village children, in Western Europe, as well as in the British, French, Italian and German colonies in Africa, Asia and the New World (Bottigheimer 2009, 23). *Fairy tales. A new history* can change the way readers and researchers are looking at fantastic stories, thinks the book's author. A history of fairy tales based on the circulation of books explains the remarkable similarities between tales told by storytellers from very different cultural spaces. This makes interpretations based on the assumption that fairy tales are reflecting the structures of the human mind – among these, the most successful are the psychoanalytic interpretations – to be no longer valid. Or so Bottigheimer thinks...

All the major points in Bottigheimer's argumentation can be contested: that Straparola was the founder of the fairy-tale narrative described as ‘a rise tale’, which reflected the rise of the mercantile and bourgeois classes; that Straparola's tales set a model for other writers, especially the French; that it was through print literature that tales were disseminated and reached the peasantry; and that Straparola lived and worked in Venice and catered to a wide circle of artisans who were literate.

Bottigheimer dismissed the oral tradition as providing the source of literary fairy tales. But as Ziolkowski had pointed out, she ignores numerous Latin texts that have their origins in an oral tradition (Ziolkowski 2010). There is evidence that the Greeks and Romans and other European, Asian and African people were telling tales during the pre-Christian era and early antiquity that laid the foundation for a literary genre which gradually flowered in Paris, not in Italy, during the 1690s. In this period, the socio-cultural conditions were riper in Paris than in Italy for designating certain tale types as belonging to the genre of the fairy tale.

The accuracy and authenticity of Bottigheimer's biographical depiction of Straparola can be questioned. Though nothing is known about Straparola, where he was born, where he lived or what his professions was, Botigheimer wrote an imaginary biography. Moreover, there is a contradiction in Bottigheimer's thesis wherein she claims that new ‘rise tales’ appealed to an urban and artisan readership, but ultimately nourished Europe's hungry folk imagination even though they were filled with references to upper classes in the 16th and 17th c.

The French writers of the 1690s were not primarily influenced by Straparola, as Bottigheimer claims; there were numerous French oral tales and literary romances that circulated and influenced writers such as d'Aulnoy, Lhéritier and Perrault.

Straparola plagiarized many Latin tales, translating them into the vernacular Italian, and imitated contemporary writers. This plagiarizing and patchwork style followed the fashion of his age and also the tradition of oral storytelling.

One of Bottigheimer's major arguments throughout her book is that absence of documentation of fairy tales (as she defines them) is clear evidence of absence of fairy tales in the lives of the peasantry until Straparola and others began writing and publishing their tales. However, other researchers like Jan Ziolkowski, Francisco Vaz da Silva (Vaz da Silva 2010) and Dan Ben-Amos (Ben-Amos 2010) claim there is sufficient documentation about storytelling and texts that indicates a long tradition of oral wonder tales that incorporated fairy-tale motifs, topoi, characters and patterns.

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