

BRUKENTHALIA

Supplement of Brukenthal. Acta Musei

NO 5

Editura
Muzeului Național Brukenthal
Sibiu

BRUKENTHALIA

Romanian Cultural History Review
Supplement of *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*

No. 5
2015

BRUKENTHALIA

Romanian Cultural History Review
Supplement of *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*

Revistă Română de Istorie Culturală
Supliment al Revistei *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*

Advisory Board

Andi MIHALACHE, Researcher, “Alexandru D. Xenopol” Institute of History, Iași
Virgiliu BÎRLĂDEANU, Professor, Moldova State University, Chișinău
Francis CLAUDON, Professor, “Val de Marne” University of Paris
Dennis DELETANT, Professor, Georgetown University of Washington D. C.
Hans-Christian MANER, Professor, “Johannes Gutenberg” University of Mainz
Pascal ORY, President of Association pour le Développement de l’Histoire Culturelle (ADHC)
Professor, 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University of Paris
Zoe PETRE, Professor emeritus, University of Bucharest
Alexandru-Florin PLATON, Professor, “Alexandru-Ioan Cuza” University, Iași
David D. SMITH, Professor, University of Aberdeen
Tony WALTER, Professor, University of Bath

Editor-in-chief

Adrian Sabin LUCA, Professor, “Lucian Blaga” University, Sibiu
Manager of Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu

Senior Editor

Mihaela GRANCEA, Professor, “Lucian Blaga” University, Sibiu

Editors

Anca FILIPOVICI, Ph.D., “Petru Maior” University, Târgu-Mureș
Ecaterina LUNG, Professor, University of Bucharest
Dana PERCEC, Associate Professor, Dean, West University of Timișoara
Olga GRĂDINARU, Ph.D.c., Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
Mihai FULGER, Romanian Cinematheque director, critic and Film selector
Alexandru SONOC, Ph.D., Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu
Anca FILIPOVICI, Ph.D., “Petru Maior” University, Târgu-Mureș

BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM * MUZEUL NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL

BRUKENTHALIA

Romanian Cultural History Review
Supplement of *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*

No. 5

EDITURA MUZEULUI NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL
Sibiu/Hermannstadt 2015

Editorial Policies and Instructions for Contributors

Brukenthalia review receives contributions under the form of unpublished research papers and review papers written in English. The field of interest is Cultural History. The editors alone are responsible for every final decision on the publication of manuscripts. The editors may suggest changes for the manuscript. Such changes are not to be made without consultations with the authors.

Manuscripts will be accepted on the understanding that their content is original and that they have not been previously published in a different form or language.

Articles will be edited according to Brukenthalia style guide in matters of punctuation, capitalization and the like. The accuracy of the translation is the author's responsibility. The authors should ensure that the paper is ready for publication. Page proofs will be supplied, but only errors in typesetting may be corrected at this stage.

All the correspondence regarding article contributions and books for reviews should be sent to the editors.

E-mail: mihaela_grancea2004@yahoo.com

ISSN 2285 - 9497

ISSN-L 2285 – 9489

Table of contents

A. STUDIES. THE CULTURE OF WAR

Dana Percec <i>Shakespeare and War. "Richard III" – The Long Shadows of Early Modern English History</i>	687
Alexandru Mamina <i>Rationalisation, Ideology, Mechanization. Modern Culture War</i>	695
Laura Stanciu <i>The Antidote of Conflicts. Institutional Dialogues in the Age of Unilateral Claims. The 1850 Episode</i>	701
Roxana-Mihaela Coman <i>Oriental Representations in Carol Popp De Szathmari's Watercolours: Documents from a Western Perspective?</i>	713
Andi Mihalache <i>Ad Patres. The Modern Ego in the Art of Public Forum Monuments</i>	720
Alexandru Gh. Sonoc <i>A Portrait of General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue in the Collection of the Brukenthal National Museum from Sibiu</i>	731
Elena Andreea Trif-Boia <i>The Russians' Portrait in the Romanian Imaginary. Transylvania, 19th Century</i>	750
Marc Stegherr <i>"Nationalists and Pacifists with the Pen". European Writers between War Euphoria and Depression</i>	758
Andreea Dăncilă Ineoan <i>Destinies in a Time of War: Mircea Russu Șirianu</i>	765
Bogdan Ioanițiu Boșoteanu <i>War Satire and Caricature Reflected in Furnica Magazine. A "Different" Perspective on the Great War from the Romanian Neutrality Period (1914/1916)</i>	772
Valeria Soroștineanu <i>A City at War. The Romanian Community from Sibiu in 1915</i>	778
Ștefania-Maria Custura <i>Identity and Alterity in Queen Mary's Memoirs</i>	788
Alena Mikulasova, Miroslav Palarik <i>Between Politics and Culture: the Impact of Ideology on Cultural Heritage Protection in Slovak State 1939 – 1945</i>	794
Carmen Țăgșorean <i>The Romanian-Jewish Diaries as a Form of Resistance during World War II</i>	802
Zoltán Rostás <i>Dimitrie Gusti's Perspective on the Beginning of World War II</i>	813
Ionuț Butoi <i>"The Most Troubled Times Ever". Everyday Life in the 1940s Romania</i>	821
Alina Juravle <i>Henri H. Stahl and the Agricultural Communes during World War II</i>	829
Balázs Telegdy <i>Gusti in Northern Transylvania. The Gustist Sociology Pursued by József Venczel in the 1940-1945 Period</i>	846
Gulmira Orynbayeva <i>Everyday Life in the Countryside of Kazakhstan during World War II (The Example of Kustanay Region)</i>	855
Marius Tărlîță <i>The Memory of the War (Second World War) in the Villages of the Chernovtsy Region (Ukraine)</i>	867
Tetiana Perga <i>The Memory of the World War II: Ukrainian Breakdown or Reconciliation?</i>	872

Andrea Chiriu	
<i>Romanian Relations with Non-Communist East Asian Countries during the Cold War. Cultural Aspects</i>	880
Rozeta Gujejiani	
<i>Pre- and Post-Conflict. Situation in Dali Gorge</i>	895
Pompiliu-Nicolae Constantin	
<i>War and Peace in the Romanian Football: The Historical Evolution of Sport Metaphors</i>	901
Olga Grădinaru	
<i>Between Myth and Demystification. Soviet and Post-Soviet Films on Molodaya Gvardia (The Young Guard) Organization</i>	908
Alexandru Budac	
<i>Jolly War. Cathartic Fantasies in Thomas Pynchon's Gravity's Rainbow and Quentin Tarantino's Inglourious Basterds</i>	921
Laura Comănescu	
<i>Repression as a Virtue: Post World War II Representation of Soldiers in the United States</i>	931
Anca Filipovici	
<i>Old Identity Constructions in New Clothes: on Regional Identities in the Cultural Post-Communist Press of Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina</i>	944
Camelia Crăciun	
<i>Yidish Literary Translations after 1989: Between Preservation of Cultural Heritage and Promotion of World Literature</i>	953
Vivek Sachdeva	
<i>Identity Politics and the Muslim Other: A Study of Shyam Benegal's Mammo</i>	965
Mihaela Grancea, Olga Grădinaru	
<i>Scandals on Statues. Dangerous Nostalgia, Unfinished Polemics during Post-Communism</i>	974
Mihaela Grancea	
<i>The Historical Reconstruction in the Film Restul E Tăcere [The Rest Is Silence]</i>	984
Fatima Harrak	
<i>Knowledge about the Peoples of North Africa. Contemporary Debates</i>	989
B. STUDIES. MISCELLANEA	
Mimi-Carmina Cojocaru	
<i>The Relativity of Space – Time in Eminescu's Work. An Antropogonical View</i>	997
Gabriel Badea	
<i>Mircea Eliade and Art as a Spiritual Experience: A Complementary View to the Aesthetical Hermeneutics and Interpretation of Art as a Historical Phenomenon</i>	1006
Eliane C. Lima	
<i>John Cassavetes on Gloria-Myrtle-Mabel: A Trilogy of the Female Body</i>	1011
C. REVIEWS, INTERVIEWS, SCIENTIFIC EVENTS	
Gabriela Gruber	
<i>Cultural Interferences in Sibiu between 18th and 20th Centuries</i>	1018
Ludmila D. Cojocaru	
<i>(Re)Visiting Romanian Childhood</i>	1022
Ecaterina Lung	
<i>Cultures of Damaged Societies: From Post-Conflict Resolution to Inter-Cultural Dialogue – Annual Conference of the International History for Cultural History (ISCH), Monash South Africa Campus, 24th-27th of November 2014</i>	1024
Mihaela Grancea	
<i>Days, People, Events. Interview with Zoe PETRE</i>	1026

A. STUDIES. CULTURE OF WAR

Shakespeare and War. *Richard III* – The Long Shadows of Early Modern English History

Dana PERCEC

West University of Timișoara

E-mail: dana.percec@e-uvt.ro

Abstract. In the light of the recent discovery of King Richard III's remains in a Leicester car park, the revision of Shakespeare's first historical tetralogy, the Plantagenet plays about the Wars of the Roses, has become desirable, if not necessary. The paper offers a reading of Shakespeare's historical play *Richard III* in terms of Tudor historiography, discussing the objectivity of the playwright's approach and the relevance of this topic today, in contemporary Shakespeare studies, but also in the contemporary historical discourse about early modernity. I discuss about Richard III's afterlife as a historical and literary character as mainly a negative character, with only very recent positive touches.

Keywords: early modernity, Plantagenet plays, Shakespeare, Tudor historiography, war.

Introduction

Recent archaeological findings and events in England have brought Shakespeare's historical play *Richard III* again to the public attention. It is true that, in time, this chronicle has been more quoted, famously and infamously, than any other historical play, for reasons that have to do with English historiography and propaganda, literary criticism, reception and appropriation.

First of all, for Shakespeare's contemporaries, the presentation of the "ancient regime" in an unfavourable light was common. Tudor historiography took pains to offer a critical portrayal of the dynasty that had been on the English throne before Henry VII. As the last Plantagenet king, with a very short reign, which was troubled by the insecurity caused by endless civil wars, on the one hand, and by suspicion and gossip, on the other, Richard III was the ideal candidate for Tudor chroniclers who needed a scapegoat, as it were. Secondly, traditional Shakespearean criticism has extensively quoted the character of Richard III as a typical Renaissance creation, which combines the medieval dramatic tradition with the early modern political thought. Thirdly, as a controversial figure, Richard III has constantly attracted sufficient attention from the general public, viewers of performances, film adaptations and even cartoons inspired by Shakespeare's plays (such as the popular BBC series "Shakespeare: The Animated Tales", whose half-hour episode of *Richard III* was among the most favoured by the young public). More recently, though, Richard III has scored high in the general interest because of the discovery of his body in a car park in Leicester.

News articles, scientific studies, books and documentaries have appeared on the subject, prompting a new historical perspective on the life and death of the last Plantagenet king, as well as a new reading of Shakespeare's fictional creation. The controversy, however, continues, since Ricardian adepts are now in favour of an idealized portrait of Richard III, while skeptics and conservative scholars still embrace the classical version of an evil, scheming, hunch-backed ruler.

The Tragic Hero and the Villain

In his recent book devoted to the "psychology" of the battle of Bosworth, Michael Jones (Jones 2014, 20) talks about how compelling and intense Richard III's story, in Shakespeare's play, is, especially in his last day on earth, before being killed in action. It is true, he argues, that Shakespeare's account is tributary, if not to sheer propaganda, then at least to a solid Tudor tradition, backed also by the aristocratic supporters of the new dynasty, who sided against the Plantagenet king. Still, there are numerous elements in Shakespeare's portrayal of Richard, which are not just bits of malicious criticism and biased remarks, as many Ricardians have claimed, and these very bits make him fascinating to audiences of all ages, irrespective of the moment or context of his reception. Bits, which make him, that is, one of the most attractive and, also, the most intensely tragic villains of Shakespeare's plays.

This, the editor of the famous RSC Shakespeare Jonathan Bate explains (Bate 2008, viii), is the result of a combination of factors, which include the strong tradition of morality

plays on the English stage, the new fashion of political thinking and, naturally, Shakespeare's peculiar manner of dramatizing history. Much has been said about how well Richard fits the morality plays' tradition of presenting stock characters impersonating Vice in their full splendour. Indeed, Richard himself spells out this association when he exclaims, unequivocally: "Thus like the formal Vice, Iniquity, / I moralize two meanings in one word" (III.i.82–83). However, much about Richard's personality, the way in which he presents himself, the way in which other characters perceive him, or the way in which he influences other people's decisions in a decisive, final manner, as Vice tempted Everyman implacably, despite all the efforts made by Virtue, directs the audiences towards the same impression and emotional response. Probably the most famous soliloquy of the play is the opening speech made by the then Duke of Gloucester who, significantly, reports that, since he lacks the heroic potential of Edward IV, and of other men presumably (physical beauty, self-confidence, charisma, *etc.*), "I am determined to prove a villain" (I.i.30).

Interestingly, as the play develops, what Richard proves is that he has both the self-confidence and the charisma he envied in his elder brother (if not the sex-appeal). He talks Lady Anne Neville into accepting him as her husband – "Was ever woman in this humour wooed? / Was ever woman in this humour won?" (I.ii.215–6) – then brings under control a citizens' riot, negotiates with Elizabeth Woodville a new marital alliance for her daughter Elizabeth (who will finally be offered to the winner, Henry Tudor), in the end, persuades the army to fight on his side at Bosworth, in an exhortative speech he manages despite his nightmares and macabre visions.

Shakespeare's *Richard III* technically tells a long story, framed by the coronation of Edward IV, in 1471, and by Tudor's victory at Bosworth in 1485. But in the economy of the play the events are compressed, so as to convey more momentum to Richard's actions – some, historically accurate, some, speculations pushed forward by Tudor historiography, such as the murder of the Princes in the Tower and some, Shakespeare's own fictional projections, meant to enhance the overall picture of the villainous character (his rejection by his own mother, his responsibility for Lady Anne's death, his determination to apply Machiavellian scheming in his political actions). Moreover, most likely inspired by Thomas More's *History of King*

Richard The Third (1513), Shakespeare presents the king as an isolated, lonely individual, completely separated from family and society, an image that, in Shakespeare's play, suits the playwright's purpose of transforming Richard into an allegory, rather than a man in flesh and blood. Thomas More had explained this by burdening the king with the personality of an insecure, suspicious, fearful man, a consequence of his malign nature: "I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberlain that after this abominable deed done, he never had a quiet mind... He never thought himself sure. Where he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger... so was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed" (More 1986,6).

Historically accurate or not, Shakespeare manages to create a larger-than-life figure that has a mesmerizing effect on generations of critics and audiences. This idea of offering the public a hero with a magnetic effect on the public is evidently borrowed by the young Shakespeare from his most famous contemporary fellow and rival, Christopher Marlowe, whose tragedies all reside around the notion of a male character with an inexhaustible desire to have an impact (mostly negative) on the others, to subject mankind, to follow a single-minded obsession until the final victory or destruction, to pay the supreme price of selling their souls (the case of Dr. Faustus) in exchange for securing an enormous ambition. Marlowe's villains, though, had emerged from the same morality tradition and the popularity of Vice characters and their variations well into the 15th and the 16th century is undeniable. One of the most visually powerful images in Shakespeare's *Richard III* is a scene of the night before the final battle, when, tormented by a heavy conscience and terrible nightmares, the king seems to perform a genuine *danse macabre*, another enduring medieval picture in the same morality tradition, in which the personified death was visiting his next victims, an image commonly associated with battle scenes, since nowhere was death more present than in the confusion, chaos, and total unpredictability of the hand-to-hand struggle.

But Shakespeare adds a further degree of sophistication to Vice, by bringing into the picture a new and equally compelling model, a Renaissance invention, the "Machiavel". In English and, indeed, in the Shakespearean text, "Machiavel" is a common noun designating a

modern politician, very clever and versatile, who, like the Prince described by the author, whose name inspired this model, uses deception to mislead, seduce, and destroy his victims. In the play that chronologically precedes the events of *Richard III*, (*3 Henry VI*), the then Duke of Gloucester makes an announcement similar to his determination to prove a villain that I quoted above: "I can smile, and murder whiles I smile, .../ And set the murderous Machiavel to school" (*3 Henry VI*, III.ii.192-3). As the clever politician he associates himself with, Richard plays a large number of roles, which suit his goals at a given moment in his career: loyal brother, faithful subject, inspired orator, ardent lover, caring leader, proud and fearless warrior. The only problem with this approach to explaining Richard's actions is that his villainy may also be regarded as a mere role, all the more so since the man himself made such a confession in the first lines of the play.

The Biography

There is a general impression that much is known about Richard III because of the large amount of literature on the subject, from the 15th century onwards. Shakespeare is surely the foremost authority when it comes to the story of Richard III and he is also the writer who transformed this king into a legend. But Shakespeare himself sought inspiration in the historical sources of his time, Polydore Vergil, the leading Tudor chronicler, Edward Hall, Raphael Holinshed, and Thomas More being only the most available examples.

The facts would be simple had there not been so many dark spots and gaps in the way in which Richard's life and death were recorded and presented. Richard became king upon his elder brother's dubious death and upon the even more dubious deaths of Edward IV's two young sons. His rule, of only two years, though short-lived, seems to have been efficient and not really unpopular with the English subjects. In August 1485, he was the last English monarch to die on the battlefield, at Bosworth, being immediately replaced (rather than succeeded) by Henry Tudor, who thus brought a new dynasty on the throne. Henry, Earl of Richmond, claimed the throne on behalf of the Lancastrian faction (in the never-ending civil war, known as the Wars of the Roses, which had started, and had been waged, by the two royal houses, the Yorks and the Lancasters). But that claim was dubious and Henry, as well as his followers, took great pains to prove their legitimacy and consolidate their

position in the consciousness of their English subjects.

Henry VII and, even more conspicuously, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I tried to impose an image of supreme and legitimate royalty upon their subjects' consciousness, known as "the Tudor myth". It expressed an ideology of absolute kingly power, social and political commitment, popularity of the monarch, as the embodiment of human and even divine perfection. While Henry VII tried to persuade his subjects that he was a domestic monarch, not interested in waging wars, conveniently, after more than a century of continuous civil warfare in England, Henry VIII strived to secure his male succession despite the high costs he had to pay (his divorce, his separation from the Catholic Rome, *etc.*) and to present himself as the Supreme Head of both state and church. Elizabeth combined both her father's and her grandfather's projected images, adding the female element in its virgin, Amazonian version (Berry 1994).

Although the Plantagenets never seem to have cultivated a particular image about themselves, it would be exaggerated to state that they had a low public profile. As a medieval dynasty, they relied more on the time's conception about the monarch's divine and uncontested right to rule, on the principles of succession established by the Salic Law, on their authority given by a combination between martial and religious qualities and responsibilities. Their chroniclers wrote in accordance with these prerequisites, but also added a pinch of salt, as it were, so that we know, for example, that Henry VI Lancaster was an extremely pious king, though politically inept, or that Edward IV York was a great warrior but an even greater womanizer, *etc.* Richard III is more controversial than his predecessors and this happens mainly because, as Michael Jones notices (Jones 2014, 10), there is no contemporary narrative telling the story of his life and death from his own point of view. Historians, literary critics and the general public have no idea how the unfolding of events from the battle of Wakefield, when the Yorks gained a decisive advantage over the Lancasters, securing the throne for two decades, until the battle of Bosworth, when Tudor won, might have been perceived by Richard himself.

What all chronicles of Richard III's life and death dating from the 15th-17th century have in common is the darkness of the portrayal they offer a monarch who was decidedly controversial but perhaps too bad to be true. But,

while all have a lot to say about Richard's days after Edward IV's death, there is little – if any – information about the early years as the Duke of York's youngest son. Sean Cunningham tries to retrieve the figure of Richard Gloucester from secondary, indirect sources, such as diary entries, letters, charters, etc. As he argues (Cunningham 2003, 7), “we accept Richard either as manipulated victim of Tudor propaganda, or as a scheming monster of Shakespeare's play, but by promoting these stereotypes, writers have moved away from who Richard was”. He continues that, in this equation, Gloucester is no longer a 15th-century character, who occupies a specific place in a social, political and cultural environment, but the product of a modern, stylized refurbishing. Who and what he really was can be understood best in connection with his family, with the service he performed and the roles he played as a feudal public actor (Horrox 1999). He was the smallest of twelve children, born and raised in the Northern territories, at Ludlow Castle, the son of Cecily Neville and Richard, Duke of York, heir presumptive to the throne of England when Richard was a child. He was too young to be involved in the first episodes of the civil war, but, by the time he was eight, he must have experienced all the pain, suffering and havoc brought about by the Wars of the Roses. He remained in his mother's care, together with his next brother, George, while his father and elder brothers lived in exile in Ireland. During the second phase of the war, when his father and eldest brother, Edmund Rutland, were killed, his mother sent him away to safety in the Low Countries. When his brother Edward ascended to the throne, he was taken in the household of Warwick “the Kingmaker”, his mother's relative, where he received the elite education reserved to the nobility of the highest echelons – the conventional schooling of war, estate management, and politics. As a young adult, Richard Gloucester was already the uncontested ruler of the North, who enjoyed the loyalty of the Northern counties of England, being himself one of the most valuable vassals and allies of his brother the king, securing these remote territories for the crown and maintaining the solid border against the Scots.

As one of the most reliable supporters of Edward IV's claim to the throne during the third phase of the civil war, when Margaret of Anjou and her son Edward were defeated and Henry VI was killed in the Tower, it wasn't such a big surprise that, on his deathbed, “the sun in splendor” named Richard regent and protector

of his minor sons. Peter Hancock (Hancock 2011) observes, as a reaction against the general impression that has been promoted by the Tudor chroniclers (that Gloucester had plotted to usurp the throne long before his brother's death and that he may be even responsible for Edward's demise), that, had Edward not died so unexpectedly young and had his sons been only a few years older, Richard would have spent his whole life in the North as a respected overlord and trustworthy royal ally and would have remained only a footnote in history. But, as it happened, he came to London and, from that moment, he became a major player and a historical figure about whom all future generations had an opinion. Hancock makes another interesting point, noting that, just as the primary cause of the Cousins' War had been the frustration and discontent of a generation who was not given the chance to rule (referring to Edward III's sons and grandsons), Richard III's plight stems from his status as a youngest son. Being only “a spare”, unprepared and insufficiently trained for the highest office, he was unconvincing, not legitimate enough in the eyes of his contemporaries and subjects. This drawback is also responsible for how easily he was deposed, a situation similar to the fate of Richard II, the second son of the son of a king, removed and executed by Henry Bolingbroke, future Henry IV.

The Archaeological Findings

But the attempt to rehabilitate the youngest son of the White Rose, supported especially by Ricardian scholars and fans, came to fruition in August 2012 when, after many years of speculation, the skull and bones of a man who had died at least 500 years before were dug out of the yard of Leicester's department of social services, the place where the medieval Franciscan Priory Church was proved to have stood (Carson *et al.* 2014, 23). The man had been buried without a coffin and the superficial grave had been too small for him. The back of his skull had been cut open by a bladed weapon and there were signs of other wounds, which indicated violent death, but also the fact that the body had suffered a series of post-mortem aggressions. The archaeological findings indicated that the place where the body was found had belonged to a medieval church. The historical documentation, forensic investigation, DNA testing on living descendants on the maternal line, and radiocarbon dating, proved, beyond any doubt, that the remains were King Richard III's (Carson *et al.* 2014).

This painful quest may seem unlikely when it comes to the grave of an anointed king, but in Richard III's case, it was not so. Late 15th century documents about what happened to the king's body after he received the fatal blow on his head are contradictory, and so are those indicating the place of his burial. Moreover, many urban legends of later centuries revealed several possible profanations of the grave (one even proposed that the king's bones might have been thrown into the river Soar at one point) or simply suggested that the body had been removed from the city of Leicester (Carson *et al.* 2014, 8, 42).

In March 2015, after centuries of being buried "sine ullo funerere honore" as the late 15th-century documents argue (Carson *et al.* 2014, 17), Richard's remains were reburied in Leicester Cathedral (despite the protests of Yorkshire representatives, who claimed he belonged to his place of origin, rather than the place where he was killed), in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, and other members of the royal family. During the religious service, the archbishop stated that people attended the ceremony "not to judge or condemn", irrespective of their views on the personality of the last Plantagenet king. Commenting on the event, the Queen herself presented Richard as "a king who lived through turbulent times", refusing to take sides in what concerns Richard's role in English history. Last but not least, Philippa Langley, coordinator of the famous and controversial "Looking for Richard" project, which militated for the finding on the king's remains and for his rehabilitation, described the very ethos of the entire project being that of giving a rightful king what he deserved (all available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-leicester-shire-32052800>, which covered the event).

Indeed, it is the "Looking for Richard" project, initiated by historians, writers, academics and independent scholars, which takes all the credit for locating the king's grave and his subsequent reburial. The work that the team has done included the most careful and thorough selection and analysis of the 15th and 16th century documents, the filtering of local myths about the death, burial and profanation of Richard's grave, the interpretation of all available maps and plans of the city of Leicester and neighbouring areas, and lasted from 2009, when the project came into place, through 2012, when the body was found, to 2015, when the reburial took place (see Carson *et al.* 2014).

From the well-known Tudor historiographers to local chroniclers, all documents have been scanned in search of not only the king's deformed spine, but also the perception Richard's contemporaries and his immediate followers really had about the king who lost his life fighting on the battlefield, a true (and last) warrior king.

Bosworth 1485

Michael Jones, historian with an acknowledged interest in the history of the Cousins' War, as the Wars of the Roses are also known, starts his 2014 edition of the book of Bosworth 1485 insisting on how substantially our perception of the events has changed in the past five years, more than it has had in the previous five hundred (Jones 2014, 1). He continues, on the same page: "History is about tangibility – and we now have a far greater connection to Richard III and Bosworth". This happens not only (though decisively) by the discovery of the bones and skull under the car park in Leicester, but also due to archaeological finds in the area around the presumed battlefield location – artillery shot and other remains.

For more objectivity, Jones avoids Tudor accounts of the battle, including Shakespeare, which presented Richard as a nervous leader, burdened by his consciousness, trying to deal with events (or even incidents), which always seemed out of his control. One of the most famous lines in all Shakespeare is, undoubtedly, Richard's "A horse, a horse! My kingdom for a horse!" (V.iv.7), uttered during the battle, suggesting the anxiety of a leader who is about to lose everything and is moving implacably towards disaster, as well as his vulnerability, as compared to the hero of the play, Richmond (Henry Tudor), pictured as fighting with the confidence provided by his conviction of being on the right side. In exchange, Jones uses a more historically sensitive version, in which Richard, being neither saintly nor evil, is simply intent on defending a right he considers fundamental and earned, that of being the only rightful living king of England. As a warrior king, typical of an age closer to medieval standards than to those of modern military strategy and mentality, he is an "aggressive commander, fully believing in his ability to win this vital clash of arms and determined to seek out and kill his challenger" (2014, 3), where these notions and ambitions are natural and efficient rather than vicious.

It is rewarding to compare here not only the narrative of Bosworth in Shakespeare's

words with that of official documents, but also Shakespeare's Bosworth with other battlefields rendered dramatic by the playwright, just to see what message he offers about Richard's personality, intentions and convictions. First of all, what the famous horse-kingdom line shows is the impression Shakespeare manages to convey about the king, an impression of great persuasive power – that Richard faces his nemesis entirely alone.

Whether this is to be interpreted as a punishment for his evil deeds or is meant to inspire the audience's sympathy is a further matter of debate. What remains for sure are several scenes of remarkable authenticity, from the night before the battle, in a lonely military tent, to the final cavalry charge Richard attempts single-handedly and desperately, with tragic consequences. From the description of the battle, with its broken narrative pace, another strong impression surfaces, that of a terrible inevitability. In his "psychological" interpretation of the battle of Bosworth, Michael Jones puts this in the following terms: "Imagine you are having a terrible dream. You feel an odd, heightened awareness, an encroaching sense of dread or sudden experience of terror. [...] You are faced with the inability of others to hear or respond to you, to realize the urgency of what you wish to say. [...] you may wish to run very fast, you may be rooted to the spot and be unable to run at all. A terrifying truth dawns. You will have to face whatever it is you dread the most. And when you do, you will do it absolutely alone" (2014, 13).

This is, in the author's view, the feeling that Shakespeare wishes to stir in his audiences in the fifth act of the historical play. The nightmares he was haunted by on the night before the battle seem to have extended and taken over the morning waking hours as well, since the struggle that begins is chaotic and absurd. The commanders don't seem to respond to the king's orders, he finds himself on foot, lacking the perspective of the entire battlefield, and he dies crying treason and not understanding what could have gone so terribly wrong. This must have seemed traumatic for a leader who had won so many fights before and who emulated the glorious model of his father, the Duke of York, himself a challenger of the English throne during the Wars of the Roses. The official perspective is the Tudor approved one, in which the entire universe rises against Richard on the morning of Bosworth, making the Earl of Richmond, Henry, its instrument of revenge. But the nuances that emerge are far

more numerous and rich. First of all, the atemporal background against which the battle scene is set creates a powerful sense of atmosphere, giving the audience the conviction that Bosworth is not an ordinary battle, but one of the most important wars.

A similar impression is secured by the same strategy being used by Shakespeare in the narrative of Agincourt, the battle of Henry V. There, too, the actual fighting is important, though not as important as the eve of the battle, when Henry walks around his camp, checking his soldiers' morals. Presented as a visionary and charismatic leader, an almost archetypal hero, sympathetic about his men's needs though merciless with traitors and cowards, Henry is shown as the ideal king and army commander, all characteristic being historically accurate as well. However, few observers have taken some time to examine how similar, despite the obvious differences that have been enumerated so far in this paper, the attitudes of the two kings are, eventually. Both Henry and Richard prepare for the battle with the conviction that they are doing the only right thing and they are doing it in the name of the crown, their family and their country. Although Henry's line invoking "God for Harry, England, and Saint George!" (III.i.34) gives a nominal list of traditional English allegiances, Richard, according to major near-contemporary (Tudor) accounts of Bosworth, is just as determined to prove a rightful king of England on the battlefield as he is reported by Shakespeare to have been to prove a villain. In retelling the moments in the early morning of August 22, 1485, chroniclers don't miss the detail that Richard, during the Mass that was traditionally organized before any battle, put on the "most precious crown" (Jones 2014, 25), probably the Coronation crown, in front of his army, as proof of the legitimacy of his claim in this last confrontation of the Wars of the Roses. An important element that Jones' book stresses, in a spirit also embraced by other scholars, who simply argue that a story told from Richard's point of view would have surely made a huge difference in the historical understanding of the events in the year 1485, is a revisitation of many elements considered common knowledge about the Plantagenet king's war strategies and personal feelings displayed on the day of the battle. It is inevitable that all battle history is written by the winners (so was Henry V's Agincourt, after all), in this case, by Richard's challenger, who had come from France with an army of mercenaries and relied on the support of noblemen allied with his mother's husband,

Lord Stanley. Richard, on the other hand, must have considered he had God, England and the right cause on his side, just as Henry V had stated, in his oration to the soldiers, outside the gates of Harfleur. He must have been driven by the same code of chivalry that had guided his father in the battles he had won, against Henry VI, when he himself had been a challenger. Indeed, Michael Jones goes as far as to argue that, on the day of the battle, Richard might have resorted to a strategy he knew well from his father, which the Duke of York had applied successfully during one of the crucial battles fought on French territory, during the Hundred Years War (Jones 2014, 5). The cavalry charge launched against the French king was regarded as fiercely brave, rather than reckless, by medieval warfare standards, where the *melée* of the physical struggle allowed and even required sudden and decisive action. A moment that all chronicles and Shakespeare himself mentions is Richard seeing his adversary alone and confused for a moment and charging at him for a single combat, a duel, a clash, which is a strategy frequently recorded by military treatises and a choreographic gesture often employed by Shakespeare and other playwrights in their dramatizations of battles. What happens, we learn from the same Shakespeare, is that Richard's strategy goes wrong at the last moment. Stanley and his men, who have been keeping themselves away, trying to figure out whose side is more advantageous, finally decide to intervene and protect Tudor against Plantagenet. Thus, Richard falls, crying out treachery and Henry is offered the king's helmet, with the coronet on it, on the very spot where the true monarch was killed. Reading this scene in Shakespeare and late 15th century documents, Jones concludes that the reasons why Richard lost at Bosworth have little to do with the king's own mistakes and his evil nature, with the fact that his tormented conscience makes him insecure, unfocused and restless (2014, 12). The historian considers there is no doubt that Henry's coming to England with an army of mercenaries could have made a crucial difference, since the clash at Bosworth is one between a traditional warfare conception, the medieval chivalric code, and a modern set of tactics, the new wars fought and won by armies of paid and trained soldiers.

The (his)Story of a War

Writing about Shakespeare's first historical tetralogy, devoted to the Cousins' War of the Plantagenet dynasty, Keith Dockray (Dockray

2004, 200) wonders whether, after all, Shakespeare was so very wrong about the Plantagenet kings and the battles they fought. It is obviously true that, with the rising importance of cultural history in the reading of early modern literature, the presence or, for that matter, absence of accuracy and "truth" in a piece of fiction has been discussed, in that past several decades, more than ever before. Historians and literary critics seem to be in no doubt that Shakespeare's historical plays show striking departures from accuracy. John Julius Norwich's 2000 inventory of the dramatic licence in the Plantagenet plays, for instance, highlights a number of major inaccuracies, not only in *Richard III*, but in the other episodes of the tetralogy as well. To give only a few examples, in *Richard II*, the scene in which the Parliament deposes the king is totally fictional, in *1 Henry VI*, the fact that Joan of Arc may have been the Dauphin's mistress is sheer calumny, while the importance of some War of the Roses battles (Wakefield and Towton) over others (Mortimer's Cross and St Albans) is only a matter of speculation, in *3 Henry VI*. But, in the end, as Dockray points out, "the plays' stress on the political role of kings, the central importance of crown/baronial relations and the prevalence of warfare both at home and abroad remain fundamentally sound" (Dockray 2004, 200). Shakespeare was also right in spelling out clearly for contemporary audiences and future generations that, in the age he depicted, the personalities, ambitions and ruling skills of monarchs were essential, while the fact that a king was kind-hearted or cruel might have had less impact on the medium and long term.

Unavoidably, with the volume of historical research done in the late 20th and early 21st century, several Shakespearean notions promoted in his chronicle plays have turned irrevocably obsolete. It is of less importance whether the playwright's vision was deliberately distorted by Tudor propaganda. What can be stated as clearly as a diagnosis is two-fold: Shakespeare's idea that the Wars of the Roses were merely dynastic conflicts is wrong and the Tudor vision of chaos and mayhem can no longer be applied as a reading grid. Still, two other elements bear out today, after careful historical consideration: that the impact of the Wars of the Roses played a major role in the dissolution of the late medieval English society and that the new family who ascended to the throne as a result of the last Plantagenet king's death, that of Henry Tudor, was a highly stable and hugely successful dynasty for more than a

century. The hard work of many historians to find answers to the 15th century problems in Shakespeare's plays alone prevents them from

remembering that, at the crossroads between fiction and truth, there is the dramatic art.

References

a. Books

- Bate 2008** Bate, Jonathan (ed.), *Richard III. Introduction*, New York, Modern Library Classics (2008).
- Berry 1994** Berry, Philippa, *Of Chastity and Power. Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen*, London and New York, Routledge (1994).
- Bevington 2007** Bevington, David (ed.), *Shakespeare's Histories*, London and New York, Pearson Longman (2007).
- Carson et al. 2014** Carson, A.J., J. Ashdown-Hill, D. Johnson, W. Johnson, P.J. Langley (eds.), *Finding Richard III. The Official Account of Research by the Retrieval and Reburial Project*. Horstead, Imprimis Imprimatur (2014).
- Cunningham 2003** Cunningham, Sean, *Richard III: A Royal Enigma*, London, The National Archives (2003).
- Dockray 2004** Dockray, Keith, *William Shakespeare, the Wars of the Roses and the Historians*, Tempus, Oxbow Books (2004).
- Hancock 2011** Hancock, Peter, *Richard III and the Murder in the Tower*, Stroud, The History Press (2011).

- Horrox 1999** Horrox, Rosemary, *Richard III: A Study of Service*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1999).
- Jones 2014** Jones, Michael, *Bosworth 1485. Psychology of a Battle*, London, John Murray Publishers (2014).
- Norwich 2000** Norwich, John Julius, *Shakespeare's Kings*, London, New York, Penguin Books (2000).

b. Internet sources

- More 2013 (1513)** More, Thomas, *The History of King Richard III* (2013) (1513), available at: <http://www.thomasmorestudies.org/docs/Richard.pdf>, accessed 10/28/2013.
- Richard III: Leicester Cathedral reburial service for king** <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-leicestershire-32052800>

Rationalisation, Ideology, Mechanization. Modern Culture War*

Alexandru MAMINA

“Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History

E-mail: alexandru_mamina@yahoo.fr

Abstract. L'étude cherche le rapport entre la phénoménologie de la guerre depuis le XVII^e siècle et jusqu'au XX^e siècle, respectivement les traits intellectuels et pratiques qui ont précisé son profil culturel. On observe alors, à travers le passage de l'étape monarchique à l'étape nationale, le lien entre la manière de lutter et l'effort de rationaliser les ressources, le besoin d'une motivation idéologique pour la population et le triomphe de la mécanique, sur rapport matériel et symbolique à la fois. Ça correspond en effet au passage des armées professionnelles aux armées de conscription, en relation avec les structures intégratives de la pensée moderne.

Keywords: guerre moderne, armées, opérations, technique, rationalité, engagement idéologique, mécanique.

If war is the confrontation between armies of states with divergent political and economic power interests, modern war is the confrontation between armies equipped at least in part with firearms, having an organizational structure relatively homogeneous and an institutionalized control system and acting under formalized strategic and tactical principles. Although the use of firearms began to spread from the 16th century, we can speak about a real modern war from the 17th and 18th centuries, when during King Louis XIV was set up the first Minister of War and when authors with different formations and positions from Sébastien de Vauban to Friedrich II started to elaborate treatises on how to wear war. The phenomenon has reached maturity in the 19th-20th centuries, with the apparition of the armies based on conscription, of the general staff and of the war schools, in parallel with practically replacing fully the weapons with firearms.

In the history of modern conflagrations, there can be distinguished chronologically and typologically two categories: monarchic wars – until the French revolution –, and national wars – until after the World War II, no matter if the idea of nation was associated with the colonial resources (France case between 1914 and 1918), if the national mobilization was the instrument of the party declared as class party (like during Stalin regime) or if the nation was conceived from the race perspective (as it happened in the Nazi Germany). In both cases, monarchic and nationalist, the war was said in specific thinking

and action parameters which gave it the modern cultural profile in a progressive way. Synthetically, these were rationalization, ideology and mechanization, in which subtext there are furthermore disclosed some moral and intellectual features specific to the same modernity.

The monarchic wars were fundamentally determined by the efficient criteria of rationalization which meant not only their assessment from the point of view of the conformity with the natural law – as Hugo Grotius did for example (Grotius 1968, 108) ⁽¹⁾ – but also the approaching of the proper confrontation with scientific ambitions according to the resources, investments and gains calculation. It is obvious that the problem of report between expenses and benefits was felt somehow by those who took care of was along the time, only that this time there was developed a kind of military and political economy which influenced programmatically the strategic options and the tactic evolutions. It was a vision in accordance with the ideas of the mercantilists and physiocrats which, at the same time

* This work was published into Romanian in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Modernă*, vol. XXVII, 2014, p. 3-10.

⁽¹⁾ “The natural right – he wrote – consists in rules of the right reason, which shows that an action is correct or incorrect from the moral point of view, as it corresponds or not with the rational nature itself and that in a lasting way such actions are prescribed or stopped by the creator of nature, God”.

corresponded, on a larger conceptual plan, to the rationalism and the mechanistic of Cartesian – Pascalian inspiration, which found their expression in the prestigious image of the machine – as an organized assembly in which every part did an action with less energy consumption and more efficiency ⁽²⁾. This explains the many authors' preference for scientific references and analogies, if we mention Freiherr Dietrich von Bülow trigonometry reference or Carl von Clausewitz invocation of "mechanic virtuosity" (Clausewitz 1982, 107). As a matter of fact, maybe any other social system did not remind more the image of the machine as the military system.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, although they ruled with absolute title, the monarch did not have all their country's resources for wars. Exemptions from taxes of the privileged categories limited the financial possibilities and the noble monopoly on the officers' degrees restrained much the selection base of the specialized staff (cf. Robert R. Palmer) (Mead Earle 1987, 66). There were also the long period and the costs of the troops training, as well as the numerous desertions which made the experimented soldiers to be pretty difficult to replace. According to the criteria of reasoning, the commanders were preoccupied to avoid the human and material losses, first of all through the fortification systems and secondly through prudent operations conducting, avoiding large fronts and flanking maneuvers which dispersed the units and exposed them to destroying or disintegration by the soldiers dissertations. The tactic consequence was the predictable developing, almost ritualized of the battles with compact armies advancing one against the other on parallel alignments in a regularity from which only Friederich II made an exception with the so called order of oblique battle.

From the standpoint of Carl von Clausewitz definition on the war as a form of doing politics with other means, the way of fighting in the 17th and 18th centuries corresponded to a conception which we can consider minimalist regarding the state – as defender of life, honor and goods of the inhabitants, without the vocation of the absolute principles or of historical messianic (Grotius 1968, 801) –, doubled by the understanding of the military confrontations as "family affair" of

the princes or nobles, otherwise perfectly compatible and polite ones to others. Hence the moderation of the objectives, at least in comparison with the following periods, as well as a specific "civility" of the combatants, illustrated by Diego Velasquez in *Breda capitulation (Las lanzas)*. Related with the ritualization with theatrical elegance aspect of the real confrontation, especially in the 18th century, these elements gave the monarchic wars an appearance of idyllicism which some authors related to the influence of the rococo style of the era (Mead Earle 1987, 122).

Now there is to be discussed the causal correlation of the cultural factor with the material one. More precisely, the question is if the principle of reasoning determined the saving of the resources in the war or if the relative precariousness of these imposed the reasoning in theory and practice? In the phenomenal specification of the modern war, the causal anteriority of a factor – in the hypothesis that it can be really distinguished – has less importance. It is essential only the identification of the cultural profile with its specific intellectual – attitudinal reasoning and motivations. In order not to elude the matter anyway – which has its general historiographical importance – we rather consider that the reasoning was if not necessary anterior; at least autonomic in relation with the war and with which logic met at some point. The imperative of saving the resources always existed, but its theorization and application as a principle happened only in the mental – scientific context of the modernity which triggered a larger area of thinking than the military thinking. It is not less true that the apparition of the firearms, having a destructive capacity greater than all it was known until that moment, put with more acuity the problem of saving the forces and to which it was responded by appeal to reasoning. The univocal causal explanation seems to us unsatisfactory. It was not about a deterministic relationship from the material to cultural or backwards, but about the mutual influence within an integrated social – cultural system, defined by a particular manner of reporting of the human being to its existence, not only in its real aspects, but also in the ideal ones. Understood in this way, the modernity represents essentially an interpretative model in the way of Thomas Kuhn paradigms.

More clear was the interpenetration between the modern war and ideology – efficient once with the passing from the monarchic wars to the national ones as a

⁽²⁾ To see in this regard the observations of Henri Guerlac, in Edward Mead Earle (sous la direction de), *Les maîtres de la stratégie*, 1, Flammarion, (1987), p. 43-43.

consequence of the French revolution and of the Napoleon's campaigns. When, under the pressure of external intervention, the National Convention decreed on August 23, 1793 the rising of the mass involving the entire population in the war effort, it induced by that very fact the need of ideology as only the affective commitment around some absolute and non-marketable values was capable to support the mobilization and combativeness of that population in a conflict that was not only of the king, but it concerned it directly. Louis Antoine Saint-Just surprised with acuity the importance of the moral radicalization when he pointed out in a letter to the general Jean-Baptiste Jourdan that the liberty war had to be fought "with anger" (Saint-Just 1946, 253). On this way of ideology the popular feeling has come to make a difference in the campaign developing, while the armies of occupation had reached in the 18th century almost the same level of training and the commanders were using almost the same methods (Clausewitz 1982, 171).

We reach at this point the problem of the link between the social and national or between material and ideology. It might be thought that the adhesion of the French peasant mass to the Revolution cause owed not so much to their adhesion to the democratic principles, but more to the property transfer of which they had benefited from. The importance of selling the lands of the emigrants' nobles as national goods is outright. We believe, however, that the feeling of national solidarity around some values which opposed the citizens of the Republic to the rest of the world must not be neglected, especially because we find it again under a changed sign, within the monarchic patriotism, at the Prussian, Austrian and Russian soldiers who fought against the French occupant without being previously made owners. It is the paradox expressed in the era by Johann Gottlieb Fichte, otherwise identified as a Jacobin of the undetermined self in philosophy which in politics arrived to support the liberation from the "liberty country" through the military power of the monarchies with divine right.

If in the case of the French Revolution the ideology of the citizens' rights and of the national suzerainty supported the military effort, the unification or liberation wars, from those from the Balkans passing through Risorgimento, to the German achievement "through iron and blood", we notice the it was nationalism that lead to war, transforming itself from resort to cause of the conflicts. The 17 French plan, as well as the plan proposed by the general

Constantin Prezan in 1916, were the exemplary strategic developments for the interpenetration between the military operations and the more comprehensive motivation of the national matter. These plans privileged the offensive in the directions imposed by the public feeling in Alsace and Lorena and in Transylvania, although at least in the Romanian case, the defense of the Carpathians and the attack in the south in order to make the junction with Entente's troops from Salonic, seemed more favorable solutions from the military point of view.

The ideology started in the democratic register, but then manifested in all the national wars no matter what their political purpose was. We have already mentioned the campaigns of the absolutist states against Napoleon's France that lead to the creation of the Holy Alliance. Here it was still about an absolute right – the divine right, and to the principle of national suzerainty it opposed the other one – the legitimacy principle. Later, with the progress of scientism and of the positive political thinking, in the center of the ideologies there was not anymore the right but the truth (or at least what was considered truth), correlative to the social or natural necessity from which claimed the communism and the national – socialism, without omitting the liberalism of Spenserian inspiration.

The massive mobilization of the population and the ideological Marxism have configured the specific profile of the national wars, to the extent that from the point of view of the objectives, these became more ambitious than the monarchic wars aiming effectively the territorial recomposition of the Europe, while from the point of view of the means they provided the commanders a great quantity of human resources and materials as never before. The armies were numerous enough and benefited from necessary logistic to forward much beyond their base, fact that increased the importance of the operations lines, exploration and mapping. Now there were possible the infiltration and successive enrolment maneuvers of the enemy forces – strategy in which Napoleon excelled – as well as the encirclement actions. Little practiced in the 18th century, the outflank became the tactical procedure by excellence, recognizable in some of the greatest confrontations, if we remember only the battles of the borders on the western front, in August 1914 (Schlieffen plan) or the counterattack of the Siberian divisions in Moscow, in December 1941. "A battle with the straight front and

without outflanks – observed Carl von Clausewitz – rarely will have such a big success like the one in which the defeated one was returned or constrained to fight with the more or less scattered front” (*Ibidem*, 249). The outflank also allowed cutting the withdrawal ways and following of the enemy, important especially on very big operations fronts, which quite by their spread offered the possibility of strategic withdrawal and retrieval. The failure of the campaigns from 1812 and 1941 from Russia is edifying under this aspect.

Under the circumstances of some long and extended conflagrations when the armies left their national territories, the providing of the communications and camping made that the occupation of other countries become a mutual circumstance. In this situation the ideological factor was again definitive for the modern war, like a communicational symbolic – affective code in the relationship of the foreign troops with the local population. The positive form of the communication was represented by the persuasion in favor of the occupant cause, from the revolutionary slogan “Peace for the huts, war for the palaces!” to the posters from the World War II, with the German soldiers who fought to defend the European civilization. The negative form consisted in the moral conviction of all the opponents, military as well as civilians, in order to undermine the legitimacy and the motivation of their resistance as well. The stake of both procedures was the public feeling, either to win it on the occupant side, presented as a liberator or protector, or to neutralize it by compromise and intimidation.

Taken to the last practical consequences the intimidation was discharged into the tactical theory, destined to annihilate not only the capacity, but also the will of fighting. “The victorious army – remarked at some moment Lev Troțki – destroys in general only an insignificant part of the opponent army; it frightens and destroys the will of those who subsist” (Trotsky 1920, 14). It fits here the treatment of the burn land applied to the South by the general William Sherman in the American Civil War, the mutual massacre of the Greeks and Turks during the conflict from Asia Minor or publishing the images with the humiliated prisoners from Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

Besides the ideology, the phenomenology of the modern war in its national phase was also determined by the mechanization – as an extension of the industrial revolution in the military area. The major

transformations regarded the developing of the railways and of the rolling stock with military destination, the final passing from the driving force of the horses to the one of the machines – adapted in the case of the armored ones to the destructive principle of the fire – and the apparition of the aviation capable to strike targets from behind the front.

Although these technical changes did not initially modify the national essence of the war, they reverberated on its developing. The valorization of the infrastructure allowed the concentric forwarding instead of grouping the whole army in one point – as Helmuth Moltke proposed since 1860 (Mead Earle 1987, 208-209) –, the artillery of big caliber made useless the system of traditional forts, as it was noticed on the Belgium front in 1914, and the binominal operational tank-plane, susceptible to provide the surprise element, allowed the blitz from Gerd von Rundstedt to Moshe Dayan. The bombing industry from behind the front imposed the organizing of the civil defenses and adopting of some inedited administrative measures, for example moving the factories and the workers in protected areas.

All these evolutions introduced in the civic – moral content specific to the national war an element which we would call technical – entrepreneurial, in the sense that the war became more and more a specialized activity and a business. Thus, all the countries started to become preoccupied by the increase of their fight capacity. In France, the military service was extended, in Bulgaria there was commended armament and in the Soviet Union it was appealed to constrained industrialization with the double purpose of supplying the needed material for defense and to accustom the workers with the obligatory technical notions of using the modern armament. But the countries, except the communist ones, were not able anymore to support by themselves the costing arming race, so the budgetary effort was replaced by the investments of some concerns such as Krupp or Schneider – Creusot. In the same logic of the involvement of capital in wars, in Iraq the American army subcontracted specific activities to some private firms quite on the front. As a consequence, in the social imaginary the representation of the patriot soldier was progressively replaced with the one of the professional military and the collective ethic – emotional commitment was substituted with the mercantilism of the private companies. It may be said that the symbolic influence inverse proportionally to the mechanization in

report with the ideology modified dialectically from interior the national character the war acquired in the 19th century. The ideologization of the military system contributed to the accentuation of the international tensions and subsequently to the improving of the armament and the mechanization of the battle which lead in turn to the increasing of the efficient importance of the technique to the detriment of the public feeling. The current tendency is therefore towards the professional army with sophisticated endowments whose performance seems to make useless the general constituency. Beyond efficiency, by their very way of operating, the new weapons imprinted a different mental – attitudinal orientation towards the war, in the sense that alleviated the importance of the moral positioning, of the motivation in terms of good and bad on which had been founded the national mobilization around some values. The bombs of great height and the missiles, killing from distance, created the impression of a surgical, aseptic war. The lack of the visual contact with the mutilated bodies of the victims favored psychologically the concealing of the responsibility matter at the level of the troops so as it was not necessary anymore of the main and ideological justification of the war. The limitation of the ethical content made thus place to the pragmatism justified through engineering performance⁽³⁾.

It is possible that the blurring of the commitment and of the combativeness as ideological support to correspond to the propensity towards comfort of the societies with intense commercial activity – about which Carl von Clausewitz (Clausewitz 1982, 179) reminded – or maybe the result of symbolic ritualization and exorcism of the violence through the sports competitions (Carlton 1990, 4). But culturally, it translates the emergence in the contemporary consciousness of the ethical and gnosiological postmodern relativism because the theoretical disproof of the integration visions on existence is what delegitimizes the universal perspective inherent to the ideologies. If the values are no longer clear, then they are not credible anymore as absolute imperatives for a nation in general. Without the main arguments which give its cause the feeling of justice and motivate it

affectively, this cannot be mobilized anymore for a mutual purpose and its members muster in the materiality of their everyday interests.

Precisely in this regard that it is looming the sense of war belonging to modernity that it is defined culturally through moral freedom and knowledge optimism which means by affirming the ability to choose between right and wrong or truth and falsehood, namely the detection of some ways of certification, speculative or scientific, of good and truth. The Rationalization, ideologization and mechanization suppose the intellectual exercise and the conscious option, either it is about the management and creation of the battle means, or it is about the ethical justification of the war. Giving up to one of them, especially to ideologization, is equivalent to postmodern transgression in which the schematic logic of the computerization inclines to cancel the deliberative individual reason and the estimation of the immediate opportunity replaces the main commitment with general relevance.

We can therefore talk about the apparition of a postmodern war, fought not only by the national countries, but also by some military structures that action having as unique justification the efficiency, abstracted from the context of reasonable and emotional human determinations. It is the way things are lately with the North Atlantic Alliance where the bureaucratized decision does not reflect always the will of the component nations. The war against terrorism materializes on the military level the postmodern narrative strategy by the fact that joins in the same text (conflict) characters (participant) with different qualitative and inhomogeneous identities – on one hand the international coalitions and on the other hand the transnational organizations. Because they are different from the point of view of quality, they are structurally uncommunicative and so incapable to negotiate; because they are inhomogeneous, they are not able to propose a post conflict political project which could offer certain expectations of peace. As a consequence, their only reason is to continuously apply the destructive force on the adversary. They action as simply mechanisms of enforcing the power, analogically to the postmodern context which lacked of the sense giving referential comes to feed from itself.

However, there are still armies based on constituency, for example the Russian army, and the patriotic mobilization is present in all the long confrontation which demand a greater effort from the population as it happens today in

⁽³⁾ This moral problematic was found especially in the Marxist – existentialist criticism of the alienation, very current in the '60s. To see, for example, Herbert 1977, 256.

the United States of America. Also, some military investments, as those from the former Yugoslavia and from Libya are supported by the invocation of humanism and democracy with universal signification which indicates the persistence of the ideological element, although less assumed in the collective mental comparing to the last century.

References

a. Books

- Carlton 1990** Carlton, Eric, *War and Ideology*, Maryland, Savage, (1990).
- Clausewitz 1982** Clausewitz, Carl von, *Despre război* [About war], București, Ed. Militară (1982).
- Grotius 1968** Grotius, Hugo, *Despre dreptul războiului și al păcii* [About the right of the war and peace], București, Ed. Științifică (1968).
- Herbert 1977** Marcuse, Herbert, *Agresivitatea în societatea industrială contemporană* [Aggressiveness in the

War has always happened according to certain strategic – tactical coordinates which refer to valorization of the circumstances, resources and of the land, but the interpretation of these coordinates was done according the preponderant cultural paradigm of that era. The modern war is therefore as current or obsolete as modernity itself because to it belong and contain the preoccupations, assessments and tensions.

contemporary industrial society]. In *Scieri filosofice*, București, Ed. Politică (1977).

Saint-Just 1946 Saint-Just, *Le gouvernement révolutionnaire jusqu'à la paix*, Paris, Raisons d'Être (1946).

Trotsky 1920 Trotsky, Léon, *Le terrorisme*, Paris, Bibliothèque Communiste, 1920.

b. Papers in periodical journals

- Mead Earle 1987** Mead Earle, Edward (sous la direction de), *Les maîtres de la stratégie*. In: *Flammarion*, 1, (1987).

The Antidote of Conflicts. Institutional Dialogues in the Age of Unilateral Claims The 1850 Episode

Laura STANCIU

“1 Decembrie 1918” University of Alba Iulia,
Faculty of History and Philology
E-mail: laurastanciu@hotmail.com

Abstract. The author investigates the institutional history of the Catholic Church of Hungary and Transylvania in the period of 1821-1850. The analysis offers a perspective on how the Catholic Church mediated an institutional dialogue at the top of the two Churches in the time of the unilateral claims, a period culminating with the Revolution of 1848, degenerating in Transylvania as the civil war between Romanians and Hungarians.

The study presents the double institutional mediation of the Catholic Church through the National Synod of Hungary. It analyses the mediation between the State and the Church and the inter-ecclesiastical dialogue between the Catholic Church of Hungary represented by the Archbishopric of Esztergom and the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania represented by the Bishopric of Blaj in the conditions of the State's interference with church matters. The author discusses the role of the Church's official discourse expressed at the Synod in the consolidation of the confessional and cultural identity of the Romanians from Transylvania in the period of the 1848 Revolution.

Keywords: Hungary, Transylvania, national, Synod, culture, identity.

Introduction: The Subordination of Făgăraș Diocese to the Metropolis of Esztergom

The institutional structure of the Uniate Church of Romania remained unaltered (Pirigyi 1990, *passim*) throughout the 18th century, due to bishops like Petru Pavel Aron and Grigore Maier. They managed to maintain the individuality of the Uniate Church in its relations with the Holy See in Rome and the Archbishopric of Esztergom. For instance, the witnesses of the canonical trial of Bishop Aron (October 10-11, 1752) wrongly believed that the Blaj Diocese was directly subordinated to the Holy See and was no suffragan to other Church (Stanciu, Hitchins, Dumitran 2009, 288-293). Also, the diploma of appointment of Bishop Maier (October 27, 1772) made no reference to the Greek Catholic bishop's subordination to the Archbishop of Esztergom, nor to the existence of a Jesuit theologian beside the Greek Catholic bishop. It was not until 1783, with the canonical trial of the new bishop Ioan Bob, that the declarations of the witnesses specified that the Diocese of Făgăraș was canonically

subordinated to the Archbishopric of Esztergom (Dumitran 2007, 183, 185-186).

During the 18th and 19th century, the objective of both Rome and Esztergom was the strengthening of post-Tridentine Catholic confessional identity. Aiming at the consolidation of the Union and the development of Catholicism among Romanians, special attention was given to the education of priests, the support of schools and the improvement of the financial situation of the clergy. These directions were naturally completed by the regular, customary reports of hierarchical subordination usual in the Catholic world to solve the current problems in Church governance. One of these was the discussion connected to the instances of appeal in case of ecclesiastical courts of justice. In the Eastern discipline the first instance courts were the protopopial courts, in the second instance the appeal fell under Episcopal jurisdiction, and the highest instance was the Holy See. Any change to this rule harmed the Eastern church tradition and discipline of the Greek Catholic Church, therefore the Transylvanian Greek Catholics opposed any kind of change (Miron 2004, 172; Dumitran 2007, 116-119; Bocșan, Cârja 2001, 118, 143, 163). With

the introduction of the institution of Episcopal consistory (1807), in the time of Bishop Ioan Bob, this became the first instance court, and the court of appeal was the consistory of the Archbishopric of Esztergom (Dumitran 2007, 269; Ghişa 2008a, 328-329). Although this had also been the case earlier, in the previous periods of the bishopric of Bishops Pataki and Klein (Ghişa 2008a, 329-330), it was most obvious during the trial of Lemeni (1843-1846) (Deteşan 2007, *passim*). On Rome's decision the court of appeal became the consistory of the Archbishopric of Esztergom, a situation maintained also after the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), when the right of third instance became the privilege of the Archbishop of Esztergom, and the second instance appeal of the Bishop of Oradea (Bocşan, Cârja 2001, 112-118, 163, 215). In fact, the competences of the Episcopal consistory in the administration of the Diocese of Făgăraş were established by Joseph II on December 12, 1781. In addition to other regulations, Joseph II's decree also gave the right of jurisdiction and the obligation of instating the vicar to the Archbishopric of Esztergom in case of the vacancy of the Bishopric of Făgăraş (Dumitran 2007, 182), as it happened in 1830 and in 1848.

In order to stabilize and enforce the Union, the Metropolia of Esztergom also had the duty to mediate the solution of situations caused by appeals to the spiritual power (Rome) or secular one (Vienna), for example in the case of the organization of election synods (1830, 1850). Another case was that of April 9, 1831, when Bishop Ioan Lemeni wrote to Archbishop Alexander Rudnay, asking for his support before the County of Hunedoara to solve confessional tensions between Greek Catholics and the Orthodox in Haţeg region (Ghişa 2008a, 328-329). In general, the Archbishopric of Esztergom had to mediate in usual cases of organizing canonical trials or obtaining Papal confirmation. There were special cases as well, related to marriage (Ghişa 2008a, 322) or even extraordinary dispensations, such as in the case of the Lemeni-trial, when Archbishop Kopácsy played an active role in appeasing the situation (December 1843) (Deteşan 2007, *passim*; Ghişa 2008a, 324-325). In addition, the Archbishop of Esztergom also mediated the relations with other suffragan bishoprics of his jurisdiction and took care that the problems of Transylvanian Greek

Catholics be discussed in the Episcopal conferences (1850) or national synods in Hungary (such as in 1822 and the one planned in 1848 which eventually failed to take place).

The functioning of the hierarchical subordination between the Metropolia of Esztergom and the Diocese of Făgăraş is apparently from the General Council of Bratislava (September 8-October 16, 1822), with the participation of representatives of the Churches of Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Transylvania, as well as of religious orders, delegates of schools, 80 people in total (Egyed 1973, 400-406; Bodea 2011, 305-306). Representatives of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania who participated to the synod were: Dimitrie Caian Junior (as a delegate of Bishop Ioan Bob), Samuil Vulcan, Bishop of Oradea, and Mihail Muntean, delegate of the Chapter of Oradea (Dumitran 2007, 290).

Comparing the debates and decisions of the Romanian Diocesan Synod of 1821, organized in order to convoke the Council, it can be seen that the decisions taken at Blaj were compatible with the synodal discussions and the decisions taken in the five committees of the Council of Bratislava of 1822. Aspects covered were those related to the duties of bishops, the morality of the clergy, the renewal of social morality, the organization of schools and theological seminaries, the reform of religious orders and church courts. The improvement of the material situation of the clergy or the need for immediate translations of the Holy Scriptures and the Bible in the vernaculars were other preoccupations of the age, debated in the Council (Bodea 2011, 306-308). Interest in the finances of the clergy was a constant preoccupation of the age, as seen from the memoranda sent to the Archbishop of Esztergom by the vicar forane of Sylvania, Alexandru Şterca Şuluţiu, supported also by Bishop Ioan Lemeni (September 25, 1839, March 3/15, 1840, October 5/17, 1840, February 18/March 2, 1842, March 31/April 12, 1843). The Greek Catholics asked for the Bishop's intercession at the Emperor to improve the vicar's salary, financial support for building a church and the vicar's house (Ghişa 2008a, 195, 218, 331). Also, Bishop Lemeni's request for the translation of liturgical texts into Hungarian in Odorheiul Secuiesc is interesting because Romanians had also kept their own language in church, together with the traditions and the Eastern rite. The Archbishop's response (May 16, 1841) stated that liturgical books would only be translated into Hungarian for those

who were not familiar with the Romanian language, and only for those who lived amidst non-Catholics, in order not to become apostates (Ghişa 2008a, 331-333).

Did the Institutional Subordination between Esztergom and Blaj Have Any Effect on Greek Catholic Identity in Transylvania?

Although the small number of sources for the 18th century prevents us from formulating a clear answer, the increasing number of sources towards the middle of the 19th allows for one. The beginning of the 19th century brought an increasing tendency of the State to interfere with the affairs of the Church. After a long period of instability due to the Napoleonic wars, ended with the peace signed in Vienna in 1815, the Archbishop of Esztergom and Prince Primate of Hungary, Alexander Rudnay (1819-1831) (Nilles 1885, 671-672), proposed to reorganize the Church. For this purpose preparations had been made to organize the General Council of the Kingdom of Hungary. The issues introduced by the Primate to be discussed in the Diocesan or Archdiocesan synods were collected in eight points (Nilles 1885, 671; Bârlea 1948, 233). Consequently, on the order of his superior at Esztergom, the Romanian Greek Catholic Bishop Ioan Bob also called together, by the circular letter of August 21, the Diocesan Synod to Blaj for September 15/27, 1821 (Bălan 1933, 79-80; Dumitran 2007, 284-285). According to the Synod protocols, the assembly that was meant to answer the problems raised by the “Illustrious Prince and Primate” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 1r) was attended by (in order): canons of the chapter, vicars forane, protopopes, inspectors and representatives of the diocesan clergy, seated in the order of their age.

The problems debated in the synod beginning with the second day (September 16) in committees formed of vicars forane and other archdeacons of the diocese aimed in the first place at the *strengthening of the Union*. The contextual analysis proved: “the corruption of morals and church discipline”, both due to ignorance and superstitions which ruled among Romanians in respect to Christian faith (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 3r-4r); the situation was aggravated because of the lack of schools and few educated

priests, endangering the “Holy Union”. The third session discussed the material situation of the Uniate clergy in relation to the material situation of the Catholic clergy, by debating the provisions of Imperial rescript no. 5807 of December 27, 1816, referring to the *congrua*, the canonical ratio and the number of families necessary to establish a Uniate parish. This situation endangered the status of the Union in the province, vulnerable because of the attacks of the Orthodox, for which reason the synod requested His Majesty to modify the points of the rescript (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 5r-8v; Dumitran 2007, 285-286).

The synod debated and responded to the requests formulated by the Hungarian Primate only in the case of points referring to the morals of the clergy, the strengthening of church discipline and the standardization of theological learning. The Romanian members of the synod thought that the moral degradation originated from the poverty and ignorance of the young secular and regular clergy. Therefore, for a better monitoring of morals and the improved training of a clergy that had to be better selected (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 9v-10r), the assembly proposed: 1) the transfer to Cluj of the Catholic seminary of Alba Iulia and the Greek Catholic from Blaj, keeping their distinct institutional organization and rite; 2) reinstating the stipends (scholarships) awarded to the youth by the *Janiana* Foundation in Vienna (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 9r; Dumitran 2007, 287-288); 3) restoration of the Basilian order which “would handle the school youth and help the bishop in the administration of the diocese” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 9v); 4) respecting the discipline in the gymnasium of Blaj, where the teachers had to observe that the students respected the Greek rite and explain the differences between the Greek and Latin rite. (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. neînr. 10/1821, 10v-10r; Dumitran 2007, 289). These decisions were crucial for the persistence of the Uniate members of the synod to keep the individuality of their Church in its relation with Catholicism and the decision of the participants to consolidate the Union (Moldovan 1869, 68-74; Dumitran 2007, 290; Ghişa 2008a, 95) ⁽¹⁾.

In the new political context outlined by the restoration politics following the French Revolution

⁽¹⁾ See the decisions (“canons”) adopted in the synod and consigned by notary Isidor Alpini.

of 1830 and the resurgence of Hungarian nationalism in Hungary, the successor of Bishop Bob, the Greek Catholic Bishop Ioan Lemeni (1832-1850) convened an ordinary synod in 1833 and an extraordinary one in 1838.

In the age of the *Vormärz*, there was a fierce conflict at the top of the Greek Catholic Church hierarchy between the bishop and his opponents, led by Professor Simion Bărnuțiu. The young intellectuals demanded the bishop to overstep his ecclesiastical attributes and turn into a political-national leader (Deteșan 2007, 251-256). The stake of the confrontation was the conversion of the diocesan synod, considered the only representative and deliberative forum of Transylvanian Romanians, into a national congress (Barta 2007, 9-25; Ghișa 2008a, 53). They made reference to the precedent set by Bishop Inochentie Micu Klein (on July 25, 1744) and demanded an assembly to which the clergy and laypeople would equally participate and debate together the ecclesiastical as well as political and national issues of the time (Ghișa 2008b, 50-60). The reaction of the authorities was immediate. The pressing demand to organize a national synod was rejected. Moreover, the absolutist regime of Minister Metternich even delayed the permission for Romanians to organize a diocesan synod. When the convocation of a synod was impending (like in the case of the extraordinary election synods of 1838 and 1850), the tendency of state authorities was to limit the synodal debates to that particular issue for which the extraordinary synod was convened, or at most to discussions strictly connected to internal church organization (1838). The protests of the Romanian clergy against this policy and against the State's interference with church problems were also immediate: promptly, firmly and repeatedly stated at the synods of 1838 and 1850.

Consequently the diocesan synod that assembled to instate the new Bishop Lemeni in Blaj on July 3/15, 1833, followed the line of the previous diocesan synod organized by Bishop Ioan Bob (1821). It was strictly limited to the regulation of church matters and aimed at the improvement of the material, cultural and moral conditions of the clergy. The decisions of the synod continued the tendency of centralizing power in the Church by enforcing Episcopal authority to the detriment of collective governance. Detailed regulations covered the

functioning of church institutions and clerical conduct. The provisions of the "16 canons" referred to the economic status and attributions of priests and auxiliary staff (boys and bellmen), the duties of the protopopes, the bishop, the protopopial assembly and the courts of justice for marriage trials. In the spirit of the Council of Trent, it seems that it was a full programme of raising the cultural standards of the young generation by strengthening the schools, paying special attention to catechization and improving homiletics; it also aimed at disciplining the clergy (by regulating the conduct of the priests and monitoring them by protopopes) and improving the morality of the congregation by regulating marriage issues (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arh. Gen., doc. nr. 1/1833; Moldovan 1872, 63-68; Bălan 1933, 80; Ghișa 2008a, 96-99).

Politics and Catholic Identity in Hungary (1848-1850)

Another important instance of the relations between the Metropolia of Esztergom and the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Blaj was the following period, during the bishopric of Ioan Lemeni, especially between the years 1848 and 1850. The memorial of Bishop Lemeni, prepared to be presented at the national (general) Catholic synod of Hungary in 1848, is worth analyzing against the background of the great political changes brought about by the Revolution of 1848. As the synod failed to be organized because of the revolution, we know that the Bishop's memorial was eventually addressed to the Minister of Cults and Public Instruction, József Eötvös, and presented to him on August 5, 1848, by Lemeni who was in Pest for the proceedings of the Regnicolar Committee (Maior 1998, 160-162). The document raised real interest among the members of the Hungarian government and captured the attention also of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Prince Primate of Hungary, János Hám (Tamasi 2014, *passim*) ⁽²⁾.

The memorial of the Greek Catholic Bishop summarized the main aspects of the institutional history of the Romanian Church of Transylvania (16th-17th century) and emphasized the territorial administrative changes following the promulgation of the administrative legislations of the Diet of Bratislava (March 15, 1848). The administrative

⁽²⁾ Magyar Ország Levéltár, 795, microfilm 4665. Ministrul Cultelor și Instrucțiunii Publice: The memorial of the Greek Catholic Bishop, Ioan Lemeni (05.08. 1848).

restructuring affected the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic dioceses of Transylvania, as the boundaries of the dioceses did not coincide with the boundaries of the districts. In this context Bishop Lemeni underlined the importance of founding new Greek Catholic Bishoprics at Lugoj (Bocșan, Vulea 2003, *passim*) and Baia Mare (Bocșan 1994, 123-124): “Considering the location and the distance from Oradea, now after the union with Hungary I think it is necessary to found a new Bishopric at Șimleu or Baia Mare, which would include Middle Solnoc, the County of Crasna and Țara Chioarului, and if the desiderata of the Romanian nation of Maramureș presented at the Diet of 1802 were treasured, when they asked for a bishop separately from the Russians, and if the Romanians of Satu Mare County would also be added, many large parishes would be comprised in this Bishopric, but there would still be many thousands of parishes in my Diocese, which needs even so much weariness and forced diligence to govern, so that if the County of Zărand would be united with that of Oradea, a new Episcopal See would still be necessary at Făgăraș, and the Bishop of Blaj, who also bears the title of Făgăraș, could be reintroduced in the function of Greek rite Metropolitan of Transylvania, which was lost at the union of faith (Tamasi 2014, *passim*)”.

The most important claim supported by Bishop Lemeni in his memorial, also found among the demands of Romanian revolutionaries of Transylvania during the revolution in Blaj, was about an old wish of Transylvanian Greek Catholics, to elevate the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Făgăraș to the rank of Metropolia: “Not out of vanity, not out of search for dignities, what’s more, I would even ask for my release from where I am now, if the circumstances and my conscience wouldn’t oblige me; but because of the eternal joy and spiritual development of the congregation, for the hope to convert those who go astray, being solicited by the meeting of thousands of the Nation ⁽³⁾, I also wish the reinvestment of the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Transylvania in its old status of Metropolia; which has been required also in the petition to His Majesty in one of the points of the Diet of Transylvania

⁽³⁾ It refers to the Great National Assembly of Blaj on the Field of Liberty, presided by Lemeni together with the Orthodox Bishop of Sibiu, Andrei Șaguna.

(Hitchins 1995, 89; Ghișa 2008b, 268-269, 290-291) ⁽⁴⁾, asking with all due respect its approval and efficient recommendation, and the foundation of new bishoprics (Tamasi 2014, *passim*)”.

The substantiated demand of Bishop Lemeni was also continued by his collaborator, the Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea. In 1850, Vasile Erdelyi supported at the Nunciature of Vienna the necessity to appoint an archbishop for Transylvanian Greek Catholics which would have jurisdiction over all Greek Catholic bishops of Transylvania. The Vienna authorities reacted immediately. On March 9, 1850, a rescript of the Minister of the Interior, Alexander Bach, addressed to the Archbishop of Esztergom, communicated the agreement of Vienna to constitute new Greek Catholic dioceses and on April 8, Bishop Erdelyi informed the Consistory of Blaj on the accord of Emperor Franz Joseph I to constitute the Uniate Metropolia and found two new suffragan bishoprics (Mircea 1996, 187). These initiatives were also known in Rome. As a result of the pressures of the Minister of Cults and Public Instruction Leo Thun, in May 1850, the Apostolic Nuncio Michele Viale Prela asked for the opinion of the Archbishop of Esztergom. Scitovsky founded a committee run by Bishop Vasile Erdelyi, and made up of: Constantin Alutan, Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu, Constantin Papfaldi, Petru Anderco, Ioan Fazsy, Alexandru Dobra and Iosif Popp Szilagyi. The proceedings began in Oradea, in June 1850 (Mircea 1996, 187-188; Bocșan, Sima, 2003, 362). The debates of the committee offered solutions for the organization of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolia and the foundation of two new Uniate dioceses (Mircea 1996, 187-191; Popa-Andrei *et al.* 2013, 78). The propositions of the committee were discussed in the private conference which took part in Esztergom in the period of August 25 to 31, 1850

⁽⁴⁾ On May 29-30, 1848, Lemeni took part at the Diet of Cluj where he voted for the union of Transylvania with Hungary, which compromised him in front of his anti-union contemporaries and caused him his being suspended from the Episcopal See. (November 9, 1848): “Almost alone of all Romanian leaders he continued to sympathize with the union because of the benefits he thought he might bring to his people by including them into a liberal Hungary. Consequently he ordered the people to ignore Puchner’s illegal *capturing* of power and obey only those decrees which came from commissar Vay. The National Romanian Council denounced him immediately and on November 9, Puchner suspended him as a bishop”.

(A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, 25 aprilie, 34r-37r; Ghișa 2008b, 128-129; Popa-Andrei *et al.* 2013, 76-79) ⁽⁵⁾.

The development and importance of the private conference was closely connected to the political events of the Habsburg Empire in the spring of 1849. After the suppression of the revolution, the political leaders in Vienna aimed at the unification of the Empire. The political instrument to achieve this desideratum was the constitution of Olmütz of March 4, 1849, and the ecclesiastical instrument was the Concordat between the Austrians and the Holy See in 1855. This imposed the point of view of the political leaders who thought that the state union could not happen without the implication of the Catholic Church. This led to the episcopal conference in Vienna between May 5 and June 17, 1849 (Seheidgen 2014, 267-293), where the position of the Church was summarized in 14 points. The new Archbishop of Esztergom, Ioannes Scitovsky, convened for the summer of 1850 the conference of bishops from the territory of Hungary by the model of the Viennese conference of 1849, where he proposed to discuss the particular situation of the Hungarian church, the problems caused by the events of 1848-1849, and to analyze the need to synchronize the Hungarian wishes with the Austrian ones formulated in Vienna.

In this context it seems relevant for the evolution of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania to analyze an important source, little known to Romanian historiography to this date (Mircea 1996, 191), and – due to its truncated conservation in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Esztergom – incompletely published in Hungarian historiography (Adrianyi 1963, 57-64). This document is the protocols or minutes of the private conference of archbishops and bishops of Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Transylvania and Voivodina, a

⁽⁵⁾ The letter of the Roman Catholic Primate Archbishop of Esztergom sent to the vicar of Blaj [Constantin Alutan], with the annexed Minutes of the private conference in Esztergom, f. 34r-37r. On the future chapter's vicar of the Bishopric of Făgăraș, Constantin Alutan (1796-1868), a close collaborator, perhaps even relative of the former bishop Ioan Lemeni. For the Romanian version of the text of the private conference of Esztergom (August 25-31, 1850), thanks to my colleague, lecturer Andreea Mârza, Ph.D.

document preserved intact at the Direction of the County Archives of Alba Iulia. It must be mentioned that the conference was also attended by Joseph Strossmayer, future bishop of Bosnia and Smirna, a province that remained under Ottoman rule until 1878. The Roman Catholic Bishopric of Transylvania was represented by Mihail Fogarassy, and the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Oradea [Mare] by Bishop Vasile Erdelyi, a close collaborator of the former Greek Catholic Bishop of Făgăraș, Ioan Lemeni (1832-1850). It was Vasile Erdelyi who a month later, appointed by the Archbishop of Esztergom (Dumitran 2007, 280; Suciuc 2004, 21-22) ⁽⁶⁾, participated to the election synod of the diocese of Făgăraș (September 16-18/28-30, 1850) as royal commissar. He had an important role in the Greek Catholic synod, distinguishing himself through two speeches at the opening and end of the synod of Blaj (Moldovan 1869, 63-103), where the vicar of Silvania, Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu, was appointed the new Greek Catholic Bishop of Făgăraș, becoming Metropolitan in 1853.

It must be said that the discontent caused by the failed national (general) synod of the Catholic Church of Hungary in 1848 and in reaction to the adoption of the Imperial constitution on March 4, 1849, the decisions of the bishops of the archbishopric of Esztergom taken in this conference remained relevant because of the concrete proposals formulated and advanced to Emperor Franz Joseph I. The importance of decisions and the significance of the discussions of the conference outlined the strategy for the modernization of the churches subordinated to the Archbishopric of Esztergom in a period unfavourable for the development of the Church in relation to the State.

The most important decisions that had their effects on the Romanian Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania were connected to the consolidation of post-Tridentine Catholic confessional and cultural identity. Some of the aspects were reiterations of discussions of the diocesan synods, such as the problem raised at the diocesan synod of Făgăraș in 1821 regarding the relation to tradition and its correction through the church, covering areas such as fasting, moral integrity (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B.,

⁽⁶⁾ The Bishop of Oradea, Vasile Erdelyi, is known to have written a Latin memorial in the summer of 1850 demanding the ethnic federalization of the Empire and the organization of all Romanians from the Empire in a Romanian country with its own government, parliament, administration and justice.

Cab. Mitrop., inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 44) ⁽⁷⁾, eradication of poverty, discipline of the clergy (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 9-42) ⁽⁸⁾; the Episcopal conference of 1850 showed special interest in formulating concrete proposals for the improvement of the intellectual training of the minor clergy, by extra attention to schools and school curricula. The standardization of theological studies was debated at the diocesan synod of Blaj in 1821 as well as in the national synod of Bratislava in 1822, and reiterated at the Episcopal conference in 1850. In Esztergom it was proposed for example that “theological disciplines should be divided into four years, at Pest, with 12 professors, every course should have two ordinary teachers and a doctor. Regular studies were: Hebrew with the Biblical study of the Old Testament, church history, Greek with the Biblical study of the New Testament and fundamental, dogmatic and moral Theology, canon law, and pastoral Theology. Extraordinary ones: Oriental dialects, patristics, pedagogy, liturgy and Christian archaeology. Alumni had to learn all these studies at the central seminary with the exception of Oriental languages, of which study the bishop may exempt them if he considered necessary; at the university one and the same professor may propose the same disciplines in two or three languages” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 25-26) ⁽⁹⁾. Even if the proposals of the committee of Oradea regarding the foundation of a theological seminary and a pedagogical institute in the old building of the Jesuits of Baia Mare, as well as the consolidation of the seminary and pedagogical institute of the diocese of Oradea (Mircea 1996, 190) were not discussed, the significance of this proposal was that it involved the entire territory of the Hungarian Catholic Church (Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Transylvania and Voivodina, the academy of Bratislava, the universities of Vienna, Pest, Trnava, the *Pazmaneum* and the *Saint Augustine* institutes in Vienna, the establishment of Košice, the central seminary of Pest) and it was forwarded to the Emperor as a proposal to make compatible the school curriculum in all the centres mentioned.

⁽⁷⁾ Decision at point b presented to the Emperor.

⁽⁸⁾ Problem debated in session ten.

⁽⁹⁾ Decisions f and n advanced to the Emperor.

Moreover, the Episcopal conference treated with special interest the issue of funding for raising the quality of learning, ensuring the necessary supplies for high standard teaching activity in the diocesan seminaries. The debates concentrated on finding solutions for scholarships and stipends for the minor clergy to study theology (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 50) ⁽¹⁰⁾. The situation of the wealth and foundations of the Catholic Church of Hungary (the Religious Fund, the Education Fund, the *Cassa parochorum*) and the problem of church autonomy from the State in regulating institutional organization and the support of Catholic theological learning within the territory of the Archbishopric of Esztergom (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 34-38, 67-68; Adrianyi 2011, 9-21) ⁽¹¹⁾ was also discussed.

Another important aspect is the inter-church dialogue and the hierarchical relation between Hungary (Transylvania was included here), Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia and the promotion of the convergent interests of the churches of these diverse cultural areas, in the condition of the State's interference with the problems of the communities. We make reference to the decisions on institutional aspects advanced to the Emperor: the procedure of electing bishops, discussed both in the synod of Bratislava in 1822 and the conference in 1850. At Esztergom they emphasized the need to “[...] stop to appoint the bishops by the Ministry of the Interior; the right to appoint bishops in the Kingdom of Hungary to be transferred to the Papal delegation (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 23) ⁽¹²⁾”. The debate and the proposal to elevate the Bishopric of Făgăraș to the rank of Metropolia, and found the bishoprics of Baia Mare and Lugoj was formulated both by Bishop Lemeni in his memorial from 1848, reiterated in the proposals of the committee led by Vasile Erdelyi in June 1850, and repeated once more at the Esztergom conference in August 1850. The proposition to occupy the vacant episcopal sees of Vác and Făgăraș was also forwarded: “The Greek rite Bishop of Oradea, out of respect for the Diocese of Făgăraș, said that the Union was not only confirmed, but it must grow day by day. It has been

⁽¹⁰⁾ Decision at point f advanced to the Emperor.

⁽¹¹⁾ Problem debated in session eight and materialized in the decision at point n, letter b, demands 1, 2 and 3 advanced to the Emperor.

⁽¹²⁾ Problem debated in session four, point 24.

established that the gathered bishops decide to find a remedy for this situation if His Majesty would appoint worthy pastors as soon as possible in the churches without bishops. They implore him to guarantee for all vacant dioceses, but especially in Vác and Făgăraș, which have long been without a pastor” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 25) ⁽¹³⁾.

The debates about the spiritual measures to be taken for the Catholics of Wallachia, Serbia, Moravia and Upper Hungary whose faith was endangered were also important for Transylvanian Greek Catholics. In the ninth session of the Episcopal conference (August 30, 1850) the Archbishop of Esztergom spoke about the “slaughter caused by the blind fury of Orthodox Vlachs in several places of Voivodina and Transylvania, directed against the Greek Catholic Church: churches devastated and prayed, schools razed to the ground. There is a committee which counted 1035 parishes in the Diocese of Făgăraș, 227 in that of Oradea, 302 in that of Baia Mare, and 90 in that of Lugoj” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 38) ⁽¹⁴⁾. Consequently the Bishop of Prešov, Jozef Gaganecz (1793-1875), proposed in the meeting the division of the Diocese of Făgăraș in order to enlarge the Bishopric of Lugoj and asked whether “[...] a Metropolitan See could be raised for the Romanians”. The Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea entered the discussion, clarifying that “[...] after the troubled times had passed, the idea came to create new dioceses. 40000 Romanians led by Șaguna, Orthodox bishop, settled that all the Uniates must be estranged from the Union and be united under a schismatic Metropolitan. Therefore His Majesty must be begged to create at least two new bishoprics and order the restitution of Greek Catholic churches in Transylvania as soon as possible” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 38) ⁽¹⁵⁾. Also, it was the continuation of the demand argued by Bishop Lemeni in his memorial from 1848, and the repetition of the conclusions of the committee led by Bishop Erdelyi and formulated by

Constantin Alutan and Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu at Oradea, in June 1850 (Mircea 1996, 190).

Against the background of these discussions, point h) of the “decisions presented to His Majesty after the synod [conference] of the bishops” formulated concrete proposals on the “protection and promotion of the Holy Union” (Adrianyi 1963, 57-64) ⁽¹⁶⁾. It emphasized aspects connected to the need that “[...] the churches and parish houses that the Orthodox have obtained in the period of the Holy Union in the dioceses of Făgăraș and Oradea Mare be restituted; such occupations not to happen again despite article 20 of 1848; the Diocese of Făgăraș has over 1300 parishes which one single bishop can hardly handle; it is desired that the dioceses of Lugoj and Baia Mare be established as soon as possible and the other dioceses be coordinated by the Prince Primate; it is desired that one of the episcopal sees be raised to the rank of Metropolia” (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 52; Bocșan 1994, 161-162; Sima 2003, 16-23) ⁽¹⁷⁾.

These decisions actually only repeated the demands formulated by the Greek Catholic Bishop Ioan Lemeni in his memorial presented to the Minister of Cults and Public Instruction, József Eötvös (August 5, 1848). The project was supported by the entire Uniate clergy in the period of 1848-1850 (Ghișa 2008b, 336), summarized in the conclusions of the committee of Oradea (June 1850) and achieved by the Imperial decision of April 1850. This shows how, in the private conference of Esztergom in August 1850, the Romanian clergy’s desire formulated in the proceedings protocols of the commission led by Bishop Erdelyi, and forwarded to the Archbishop of Esztergom, came into being and the Imperial decision of April 1850 was practically validated, as normal, by the appropriate ecclesiastical forum. With the aim to balance the number of Greek Catholic dioceses in Transylvania with those outside it, after discussions with the Romanian clergy assembled in the election synod of Blaj on September 30, 1850, the

⁽¹³⁾ Problem debated in session five.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Problem debated in session nine.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *Ibidem*.

⁽¹⁶⁾ This part of the document was preserved partially, with deletions and marginal notes, in the Archives of Esztergom.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Decision at point h and demands 2, 3, 4, advanced to the Emperor. The same pretence of subordination of the Romanian Uniate Metropolia and the suffragan bishoprics of Oradea, Gherla and Lugoj was repeatedly formulated by the Primate of Hungary on various occasions with Rome’s reaction to these situations.

ministerial conference of Vienna on November 18, 1850, with the participation of Ioannes Scitovsky, Vasile Erdelyi, Alexander Bach, Leo Thun, Eduard Bach (Imperial civil commissar with full power for Transylvania) and session councillor Pivizer formulated the proposal to reorganize the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania. Consequently, on December 12, 1850, the Imperial Decree was issued to elevate the Bishopric of Blaj to the rank of Metropolia, and found two new bishoprics, one at Gherla, the other at Lugoj (Mircea 1996, 192-193; Bocșan 1994, 160-161). It can be seen thus how, by the consent and insistence of Romanian Greek Catholic prelates, Vienna – with the help of the Holy See, as always – rewarded the loyalty of the Romanians and solved their demands during the 1848 Revolution, imposing the foundation of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolia of Blaj.

From the perspective of the conflict-filled political context of the age, it is interesting to see the shifting emphasis in the relations of confession and ethnicity. In Lemeni's memorial from 1848, the argument for the elevation of the Bishopric of Făgăraș to the rank of Metropolia was the enforcement of Catholicism to the disadvantage of Orthodoxy, especially by making the Romanians faithful to Hungarians and Hungary: "By the achievement of this, not only the Greek Catholics would be reinforced in their faith, but other Romanian co-nationals would have sufficient impulse to enter the union of faith; this would have fruitful effects on the homeland, everyone may admit it; only thus can one hope for secure cooperation with the Hungarians (Tamasi 2014, *passim*)". In 1850, after the upheaval of the revolution, the emphasis changed, therefore Lemeni's collaborator, the Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea, Vasile Erdelyi had the courage to confess that "[...] he did not want to accept the 3000 florins help offered by the Hungarian government in 1848" (A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., *Cab. Mitrop.*, inv. 96, 37/1851, April 25, 12).

Conclusions

Even though the discourse of the 1848 Revolution claims for a nationalist perspective in analyzing the events of that period, another perspective should also be applied for approaching and understanding the history of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church, one with

minor ethnic emphasis. It can be seen, therefore, that the truly successful attempt to pacify the Empire was Rome's pragmatic, institutional one, aiming at the good functioning of the Catholic Church, the security and consolidation of Catholicism in this part of Europe, where the commandments of the Council of Trent were still valid. In this part of Europe the period 1848-1849 tested, once again, the efficiency of cooperation between Vienna and Rome. This is how the Holy See decided, in December 1853, during the treaties for the Concordat between Austria and the Vatican (in 1851-1852 and 1855), the foundation of the Metropolia of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș, despite Rome's concerns regarding the Catholicism of the Romanians, and despite the reluctance of the Archbishop of Esztergom. The Metropolia had in its subordination the suffragan Bishoprics of Oradea, Lugoj and Gherla. The Greek Catholic Church was thus removed from under the jurisdiction of Esztergom and directly subordinated to Rome.

In a period defined by the rule of weapons and interconfessional conflicts between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox, although the year 1848 was satisfactory on the political level of Romanian interconfessional cooperation in Transylvania, the ecclesiastical and political significance of these inter-church debates is evident. They emphasize the cultural mentality of the clerical elite of the time, dominated by the spirit of post-Tridentine Catholic reform. However, despite this, it is obvious that ethnic, national consciousness became increasingly important. Additionally, in the context of blunt interethnic relations between Romanians and Hungarians in 1848, the intercultural dialogue between Romanians, Hungarians, Croats and Slovaks, and the interconfessional dialogue between Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics of the Archbishop of Esztergom must also be emphasized. These contacts must of course be looked at while taking account of the political and confessional constraints of the age. These were connected to the patronage of the Catholic Church of Hungary and were ensured by its leaders, the Slovak Archbishops of Esztergom, Alexander Rudnay (1819-1831) and Ioannes Scitovsky (1849-1866). The holders of the Episcopal See were two well balanced personalities whose aim was to protect and consolidate the Catholic Church, both Roman and Greek, in an exceptional time. For them, their wish to consolidate the institutions was also backed up by the objective of keeping the Catholic Church safe from the danger of Magyarization.

In an age of multiple challenges and various dangers, the problem of the relation between nationalism and the preservation of eastern confessional identity within the Catholic Church was also raised. What could be the decision imposed on the holder of the Episcopal See of Blaj? Could it be his implication, hazardous in that age, in the national political fight, which could damage the Church that it led, or his focusing on institutional consolidation? Contested and compromised in front of anti-Union revolutionaries of 1848, the attitude of the legalistic Greek Catholic Bishop of Transylvania, Ioan Lemeni, can be understood in more nuances from the perspective of the two

documents examined. Both the Bishop's memorial from August 5, 1848, and the decisions of the episcopal conference forwarded to the Emperor two years later (August 1850) respect the direction set by the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Bishop. Even if some of the contemporaries accused him of lack of patriotism, both testimonies stress in fact the realism of Bishop Lemeni in his activity of institutional consolidation and development of the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania by the reinforcement of the Union. This was, essentially, the mission of any responsible prelate exposed at extraordinary times such as the 1848 Revolution.

Translated by Emese Czintos

References

a. Archives

A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arhivele Naționale.
Arh. Gen., doc. Direcția Județeană Alba,
neîn. no. 10/1821 Mitropolia Română Unită
Blaj. Arhiva Generală:
documente neînregistrate
[National Archives. Alba
County Direction,
Romanian Uniate
Metropolia, Blaj, General
Archive: unregistered
documents].

A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arhivele Naționale.
Arh. Gen., doc. Direcția Județeană Alba,
neîn., no. 1/1833 Mitropolia Română Unită
Blaj. Arhiva Generală:
documente neînregistrate
[National Archives. Alba
County Direction,
Romanian Uniate
Metropolia, Blaj, General
Archive: unregistered
documents].

A.N.D.J.A.M.R.U.B., Arhivele Naționale.
Cab. Mitrop., inv. 96, Direcția Județeană Alba,
37/1851 Mitropolia Română Unită
Blaj. Cabinetul
Mitropolitului [National
Archives. Alba County
Direction, Romanian
Uniate Metropolia of
Blaj, Metropolitan's
Cabinet].

b. Books

Bârlea 1948 Bârlea, Octavian, *Ex Historia
Romana: Ioannes Bob Episcopus
Fagarasiensis (1783-1830),*
Frankfurt/Main (1948).

Bocșan, Bocșan, Nicolae, Cârja, Ion,
Cârja 2001 *Biserica Română Unită la
Conciliul Ecumenic Vatican I.*
Translation from Latin by
Alexander Baumgarten, Cluj-
Napoca, Presa Universitară
Clujeană (2001).

Bocșan, Bocșan, Nicolae, Vulea, Camelia,
Vulea 2003 *La începuturile episcopiei
Lugojului. Studii și documente,*
Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară
Clujeană (2003).

Bodea 2011 Bodea, Oana, *Un timp al
schimbărilor. Renașterea
națională a popoarelor din
Europa centrală în Aufklärung și
Vormärz. O istorie comparată,*
București, Rao (2011).

Deteșan Deteșan, Daniela, *Dosarul
2007 procesului lemenian,* vol. I (trans.
Vasile Rus), Cluj-Napoca, Napoca
Star (2007).

Dumitran Dumitran, Daniel, *Un timp al
2007 reformelor. Biserica Greco-
Catolică din Transilvania sub
conducerea episcopului Ioan Bob
(1782-1830),* Cluj-Napoca,
Argonaut (2007).

Ghișa 2008a Ghișa, Ciprian, *Episcopia greco-
catolică de Făgăraș în timpul*

- păstoririi lui Ioan Lemeni: 1832-1850, Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut (2008).
- Ghișa 2008b** Ghișa, Ciprian, *Episcopul Ioan Lemeni și Biserica sa în vârtoarea vremurilor*, Cluj Napoca, Argonaut (2008).
- Hitchins 1995** Hitchins, Keith, *Ortodoxie și naționalitate. Andrei Șaguna și românii din Transilvania (1846-1873)*, Preface: Pompiliu Teodor, Translation: Aurel Jivi, București, Univers Enciclopedic (1995).
- Maior 1998** Maior, Liviu, *1848-1849. Românii și ungurii în revoluție*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică (1998).
- Miron 2004** Miron, Greta Monica, "...Poruncește, scoale-te, du-te, propoveduește..." *Biserica Greco-catolică din Transilvania. Cler și enoriași (1697-1782)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană (2004).
- Moldovan 1869** Moldovan, Ioan Micu, *Acte sinodali ale beserecei romane de Alba Julia si Fagarasiu*. tom I, Blaj (1869).
- Moldovan 1872** Moldovan, Ioan Micu, *Acte sinodali ale beserecei romane de Alba Julia si Fagarasiu*, tom II, Blaj (1872).
- Nilles 1885** Nilles, Nicolaus, *Symbolae ad illustrandam historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in Terris Coronae S. Stephani*, vol. I-II, Innsbruck (1885).
- Pirigyi 1990** Pirigyi, István, *A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története (I-II)*, Nyíregyháza (1990).
- Popa-Andrei 2013** Popa-Andrei, Mirela (et al.), *Canonici, profesori și vicari foranei din Biserica Română Unită (1853-1918)*. Dicționar, Cluj-Napoca, Mega (2013).
- Sima 2003** Sima, Ana Victoria, *Vizitele nunțiilor apostolici vienezi în Transilvania (1855-1868)*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană (2003).
- Stanciu, Hitchins, Dumitran 2009** Stanciu, Laura, Hitchins, Keith, Dumitran, Daniel, *Despre Biserica Românilor din Transilvania. Documente externe (1744-1754)*, Cluj-Napoca, Mega (2009).
- Tamasi 2014** Tamasi, Zsolt, *Mediator între Stat și Biserică: sinodul național din Ungaria de la 1848 și reorganizarea Bisericii greco-catolice din Transilvania*, communication at the National Conference *Petru Maior și prietenii*, Reghin, 28.02 - 01.03 (2014).
- c. Chapter in books**
- Bălan 1933** Bălan, Ioan, "Fontes Iuris Canonici Ecclesiae Rumenae, Roma". In: *Codificazione canonica orientale. Fonti. Fascicolo X. Disciplina bizantina. Rumeni. Testi di diritto particolare dei Rumeni*, Roma, Tipografia Poliglota Vaticana (1933).
- Bocșan 1994** Bocșan, Nicolae, "Națiune și confesiune în Transilvania în secolul al XIX-lea: cazul mitropoliei române". In Nicolae Bocșan, Ioan Lumperdean, Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Etnie și confesiune in Transilvania (secolele XIII-XIX)*, Oradea, Fundația "Cele Trei Crișuri" (1994).
- Bocșan, Sima 2003** Bocșan, Nicolae, Sima, Ana Victoria, "Înființarea și organizarea Mitropoliei greco-catolice românești". In *Biserica Română Unită cu Roma Greco-Catolică: Istorie și Spiritualitate. 150 de ani de la înființarea Mitropoliei Române Unite cu Roma, Greco-Catolică la Blaj, Blaj, "Buna Vestire"* (2003).
- Seheidgen 2014** Seheidgen, Hermann-Josef, "Az 1849 – es osztrák püspökkari konferencia Bécsben". In: Margit Balogh (ed.), *Katolikus zsinatok és nagygyűlések Magyarországon a 16-20. Században*, Budapest – Pécs, Kódex kiadó (2014).
- Suciu 2004** Suciu, Dumitru, "Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu și mișcarea națională românească". In *Studii privind mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-*

lea, Cluj-Napoca, Tribuna (2004).

d. Papers in periodical journals

- Adrianyi 1963** Adrianyi, Gabor, *Die Stellung der ungarischen Kirche zum osterreichischen Konkordat von 1855*. In *Acta Scitovszkyana*, cat. D., fasc. X, no.723-1121, Roma (1963).
- Adrianyi 2011** Adrianyi, Gabor, *Documenta Vaticana historiam autonomiae catholicae in Hungaria illustrantia*. In: *Dissertationes Hungaricae ex historia ecclesiae*, 18, Budapest (2011).
- Barta 2007** Barta, Cristian, *Sinodalitatea Bisericii Române Unite cu Roma între anii 1697-1742: aspecte ecleziologice identitare*. In:

Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica, II/2007, pp. 9-25 (2007).

- Hermann 1973** Hermann, Egyed, *A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig*. In: *Dissertationes Hungaricae ex historia ecclesiae*, 1, Aurora (1973).
- Mircea 1996** Mircea, Ion, *Demersurile prelaților români greco-catolici pentru statutul mitropolitan*. In: *A.I.I.*, Cluj-Napoca, XXXV (1996).

Oriental Representations in Carol Popp De Szathmari's Watercolours: Documents from a Western Perspective?

Roxana-Mihaela COMAN

Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of History

University of Bucharest

E-mail: roxana.coman@rocketmail.com

Abstract. This paper aims to discuss the characteristics of an Oriental thematic approach in the works of the artist Carol Popp de Szathmari by comparing it with the wide spread cultural phenomenon known as Orientalism in order to demonstrate the artist's take on the Oriental image/representation. Can we speak of the same otherness that we can observe in the Orientalist paintings of British or French artists when analyzing Szathmari's watercolours? Is it possible to assert that Szathmari's view on the Orient was more than just an artistic curiosity and became a quest for the ethnographic document? Could it be plausible that his fascination with Eastern customs and views can be related to the vicinity with the Ottoman Empire, and the existence of Oriental cultural products via the Ottoman cultural influence?

Keywords: Orientalism, image, costume, exoticism, ethnic, ethnography.

These are some of the questions raised by a debate over a great part of Szathmari's work, a Romanian artist, originating from Transylvania, one of the most prominent provinces of the Habsburg Empire. This was a province that was still dominated by the Illuminist ideals and the artistic circles were imbued with Neoclassicism that had a significant Biedermeier component.

The Oriental exoticism exerts a certain fascination in Szathmari's works, with its concise sketches, managing to depict an entire view with just a few pencil strokes. His main destinations can be traced back to the Near East (Constantinople and some of the main Turkish cities), and a few regions in the Middle East.

Carol Popp de Szathmari, born in 1812 in Cluj, Transylvania, was one of the most interesting figures of the 19th century Romanian art, a painter, illustrator, photographer, and, first of all, a passionate traveller. Although he spent a short period at the Royal Bavarian Academy, taking courses with Peter Fendi and Johan Trenlil, and made a few stops in various artists' studios, such as Anton Chladek in Budapest, he was a self-taught artist (Arvay 1977).

The cultural ambience of the Academy characterized by Neoclassicism, imbued with a Biedermeier type of Romanticism did not appeal

to the more adventurous type of personality of Carol Popp de Szathmari. He did not have the necessary patience to work in a studio, he much rather preferred to consider the outside world as his studio.

In the interval between 1835 and 1839 he began his travels in the West by visiting France where he came in close contact with the specific of French watercolours, demonstrated by some of Szathmari's own works. He then proceeded to follow the Grand Tour's itinerary, the land of the classics, Florence, Rome and Sorrento, where he began to make copies after the masters and portraits for some of the members of the Hungarian aristocracy (using some of his previous sketches). His journey through Italy had a great impact on Szathmari as proven by the multitude of sketches, drawings and watercolours from that period.

After two months spent in Germany, the artist sought the Oriental exoticism by travelling to Istanbul in 1848. In 1850 he made his most fruitful and longest Oriental voyage, managing to reach the ancient land of Persia followed by the one in 1861 and, of course, the journey to Istanbul from 1864, when he participated as a member of the official envoy led by Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the ruler of United Principalities of

Wallachia and Moldavia. His last Oriental voyage dates back to 1872, after that Szathmari only made a last tour on the Russo-Turkish front (1877-1878) and short city breaks to Berlin and Vienna for art supplies (Oprescu 1940).

If one would try to summarize Szathmari's personality, one would name among his dominant traits the innovative spirit, ready to experiment with new techniques in order to capture the evanescence of the world, and his preference for travelling. And Szathmari's personality determined in a certain way his inclination for art techniques that would allow him to document at a swift rate the image of a traditional world, which was slowly disappearing as a consequence of the progress of modern society.

Due to his adventurous nature, a significant part of Szathmari's artistic career was dedicated to documentary ethnography, a passion that he pursued since his youth, watching and analyzing the costumes of the various ethnic populations of Transylvania. Unlike other Romanian artists, such as Theodor Aman or Nicolae Grigorescu (who were more concerned to depict the simplicity of the peasants' life), Szathmari's preoccupations went in the direction of ethnography, with an attention given to details of the specific pieces of clothing, documenting the differences and similarities between various regions, understanding the importance of folk heritage.

"The picturesque is pursued throughout the 19th century like a form of a peculiarly elusive wildlife, requiring increasingly skilful tracking as the delicate prey-an endangered species- disappears farther and farther into the hinterlands, in France as in the Near East. The same society that was engaged in wiping out local customs and traditional practices was also avid to preserve them in the form of records (...). Yet, surely, the very notion of the picturesque in its 19th-century manifestations is premised on the fact of destruction. Only on the brink of destruction, in the course of incipient modification and cultural dilution are customs, costumes and religious rituals of the dominated finally seen as picturesque. Reinterpreted as the precious remnants of disappearing ways of life, worth hunting down and preserving, they are finally

transformed into subjects of aesthetic delectation in an imagery in which exotic human beings are integrated with a presumably defining and overtly limiting decor" (Nochlin 2004a).

The art historian Linda Nochlin explains this cultural movement as a sign of a certain levelling of the modern society, a standardization of the West, and the artists who attempted to preserve that world were considered as agents of that destruction (by providing evidence of those worlds and preserving it, they allowed their transformation under the spirit of the modern world, they brought the notion of progress to civilizations that existed outside of it).

The image as a document takes up the lead as the main instrument with which foreign, exotic and distant lands were conserved for posterity and were brought closer to the European public. The 19th century saw the spread of an increasing interest to reach unknown, exotic and mysterious destinations. As a result, expeditions in Africa, Asia Minor, Australia, and even the Far East, were organized by diplomats, artists or various individuals who sought spiritual rebirth or, simply, to have an adventure. And the most popular attraction for the European public consisted of Oriental landscapes, people and places. The mysteries thought to envelop this Other part of the world were powerful incentives for persons who lost their sense of magic and mystery.

"The fascination of the East lays in the manner in which it offered an atavistic reaction to modern industrialism, with its urban squalor, moral and physical unhealthiness, mass demoralization, social discontents, and the transfer of loyalties from the individual to the labor organization with its politically explosive potential" (Mackenzie 1995a).

Given this increasing interest for the Oriental picturesque and observing the number of artists, who after graduating from Western academies, seek the new muses and exotic subjects, it is safe to assert that their works of art become a sort of a go-between, a delegate for civilizations that abide by different customs and laws. And also, the literature required auxiliary documents to emphasize a certain mental image of an entire continent generically nominated as the Orient.

The levelling brought by the modern society discussed by Linda Nochlin was quite

familiar to Szathmari who became acquainted with it during his studies and travels throughout Western Europe. And it made him confess in a letter to a close friend that “the object of my studies and travels will be, from now on and for a few years, the East. Over here the people and nature still retain their originality and picturesque that, in the European case, has been all swept off. Or can you imagine something more picturesque than a German or French peasant?” (Arvay 1972a, 142). The letter addressed to Pataki Sandor, his best friend and former colleague from the Reformed College was dated 28 February 1843 at the specific moment when Carol Popp de Szathmari decides to move to Bucharest, because he considered that this city’s mixture of Oriental and Western customs constituted its beauty and originality (Arvay 1972b).

Carol Popp de Szathmari was an artist educated in the Western paradigm, with a set norm of cultural background, who was, such as many other artists of his generations across the continent, drawn to the cultural heritage of a society that had a different set of cultural norms. The Oriental exotic was, as John Mackenzie, the alternative offered to a modern yet savorless type of world, an otherness that still had its share of enigmas and a picturesque sense of “backwardness”.

Szathmari’s sketches and watercolors can be put in a direct line with the works signed by Western artists: Eugene Fromentin, Leon Belly, Gustave Achile Guillaumet, in a manner of a Realist Orientalism, with an inclination towards the ethnographic detail. Being so attached to the swiftness of the watercolour technique that allowed him to capture the moment with only a few pencil and brush strokes, Szathmari became a good reporter, succeeding not only to depict accurately, but to give the feeling of vitality, of here and now.

Szathmari’s works may be analyzed in certain thematic divisions; some of the subjects were turned into *leit-motifs*. The artist’s eye is captivated by the colorful and variations of ethnic costumes, especially when he arrives in the cosmopolite city of Istanbul, by the crowds in the mosque’s markets or shopping in the great bazaars, by the narrow and sinuous streets, that unique oriental light, the vibrant colors, *etc.*

Also, it is interesting to note that he was an avid collector of various Oriental artefacts, which he used in portraits (painted or

photographed), *e.g.* *Portrait of the Artist’s Wife* (Fig. 1). As so many other ladies from the high society, the artist’s wife has adopted the *cepchen* (a short Turkish garment with slit sleeves, heavily embroidered) as a fashion statement.

He uses the same motif in a watercolour named *Woman from Bucharest in Oriental Costume* dressing his model in a similar *cepchen*, placing her on a sketched sofa, with a hookah in her hand. Her physiognomy is, interesting to note, a bit Mediterranean with olive eyes and somewhat brown complexion.

A significant part of Szathmari’s Oriental representations consists of portraits of various ethnicities and members of different social categories: soldiers, military leaders, street vendors, rulers (*e.g.* the portrait of Baalbek’s emir), Turks, Persians, Africans, *etc.* His talent for Romantic portraits can be traced in to some of the watercolours picturing effigies of people from all walks of life. *The Portrait of Nasif Allah* (Fig. 2) rendered in his military attire with a ferocious look, as if Oriental warriors were fierce and ruthless. *Hadji Aali* with his head complete with all the details to be identified as an Oriental and the rest of his body left only as a short sketch, expect for the hookah.

In the portrait of a Turkish captain, captured on the shore, Szathmari uses Arabic to make a notation, but, most importantly, documents the change in Oriental garments produced by recent Ottoman legislation (replacing the turban with a fez).

As his predecessor Delacroix has done so many times, Carol Popp de Szathmari had also drawn the image of a Nubian, with attention to the details of his turban, some of his costume, and, of course, his face. In Ottoman society Nubians were poorly regarded, and were often used as eunuchs. In the fore mentioned portrait of Baalbeck’s Emir, the artist guides the viewer’s gaze towards his model’s costume, richly embroidered, and his posture, reclined on a sofa, smoking a hookah.

His watercolours can be viewed as documents of the chequered Oriental world from the Western perspective.

These portraits demonstrate a keen interest for details of their clothing, attempting to differentiate them ethnically, but also by their facial features. Szathmari also seeks to capture them in their natural “habitat” *e.g.* the watercolour representing the Turkish sea captain, or performing activities quite common for the

Oriental way of life: drinking coffee or gathering beneath a tent or in the mosque's square to talk.

The artist's ethnographic pursuit can be observed when discussing various and numerous watercolours that emphasize just one garment at a time, or the upper part of a costume, writing down the specific colours of the costume he tried to document. We have some works that depict one individual, as seen above, but we also have works that depict people with different costumes, as if he tried to differentiate between the many ethnic communities.

But Szathmari felt more at ease in the street where he could observe the people of the city, its buildings, its customs, colours, and document it all, with precision and swiftness. Among his works, we may still find depictions of street vendors. Inspired by the watercolours of his friend and fellow artist Amedeo Preziosi, Szathmari's works don't have the air of a postcard, as Preziosi, but, rather, he lets the character speak through his clothes, his merchandise, and his posture.

Szathmari also documents the Oriental version of the agora, when he walks in various mosques markets, a place where political, economic issues were debated and where people met and just sat enjoying a hookah with friends. This sort of place was ideal for an artist like Szathmari because he could just sit for hours documenting every figure, costume, and attitude or custom (Fig. 3).

When discussing works like *Baiazid the 2nd Mosque in Istanbul. Inner Courtyard* (Olariu 2012) or *Baiazid Mosque. Courtyard with Portico* (Fig. 4) one could not help to notice the differences in attire or customs from a Christian place of worship. We can observe small stalls with merchandise, or several groups of men discussing. For a Christian this reminds him of the biblical scene when Jesus banishes the merchants from the temple, on the grounds that a place of worship should not be a place for mundane activities such as commerce. But in the Oriental/ Muslim world, the mosque was a place of worship, a place to learn (in the *madrasa*), a community center (soup kitchen for the poor), a place to honour the dead (a cemetery), a place to discuss important matters for the community (agora), *etc.*

Apart from the human element, Szathmari's watercolours comprise a set of Oriental buildings. A special attention is given to various mosques' inner courtyards because of

their important social role and their place within the community. He also depicts ruins, maybe just as a way of registering everything that catches his eye, or a consequence of a Romantic approach.

The architecture of Oriental cities or the details of Oriental streets constitute another interesting part of Szathmari's works. Unlike Amedeo Preziosi or Eugene Delacroix, the Romanian artist doesn't seem so detail oriented. When looking at *Building Notation or Ruins in Turkey* (Fig. 5), one would tend to consider the statements of John Mackenzie. According to the British historian, Oriental representations are meant to outline the features of a decaying world, through images of deteriorated edifices, and to emphasize a world for which the time stood still (Mackenzie 1995b).

But we are soon proven wrong by works, such as *Street from Constantinople* (Olariu 2012b, 13), where the artist means to show us the characteristics of Ottoman architecture (yalı houses made especially from wood, with balconies overseeing the street) or *A Street in Turkey* (Fig. 6), where one could notice the details comprising the mosque's building, basked in sunlight, with colourful patches. More architectural features may be found in *House of Oriental Style* (Olariu 2012c, 36).

Also the bazaars, ever so present in Oriental cities, were filling the air with various spices and the sounds of merchants, inviting anybody who passed them by to sample their products: *Bazaar* or *The Gun Bazaar in Istanbul* (Olariu 2012d).

When discussing Szathmari's take on the image of Oriental women, we ought to take into consideration that it is quite different from the customary Western representations. What comes to our mind when talking about the stereotyped image of the Oriental women are the naked images of lascivious odalisques (who were in fact the harem slaves that looked nothing like that) or the infamous bath scenes, with Oriental women heavily adorned with exquisite jewellery languishing all day (Nochlin 2004b).

And to further emphasize the artistic sense of fantasy in Western art, no European ever set foot in a harem, except when a local pasha pulled a prank on a Westerner by inviting him in the harem, where all the women were, in fact, eunuchs dressed in women's clothes.

Szathmari's watercolours and oil paintings have a more realistic approach,

depicting the women clothed, their garments treated with the same accuracy and detail as the men's clothing, in public (not in the confinement of the harem) shopping or having a little gathering. One could think of Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* when discussing the depictions of Oriental women in Szathmari's works.

Given his friendship with Preziosi, Szathmari also made copies of several of the Maltese artist's works. Among them there is a watercolour *Women in the Bazaar* (Fig. 7) depicted fully clothed, veiled, with colourful garments, their jewellery barely seen through their translucent veils. They are shopping for various items, meaning they are somewhat active, doing chores.

Szathmari also represents Oriental women listening to an imam in *Women Listening to the Sermon of an Imam. Reading the Qur'an* or listening to music *In the Harem. Listening to Music* (Olariu 2012e, 30). Nude scenes are few compared to the majority, dressed in their traditional costumes.

The artist is more inclined to document the status of the Oriental woman as it is, not as the Western imaginary has shown her (sensuous, lavished with jewellery and in an indolent posture).

Among his more complex Oriental watercolours we mention two cityscapes called *Port from Constantinople. The Golden Horn* and *Old Man and Child Leaving Constantinople*. (Olariu 2012f, 22). The nature seems to overpower the man-made structures, and he, most likely, completed them while working in the studio, thus they are more detailed. These works give the impression of a finished Oriental landscape, the equivalent of an oil painting, showing the viewer what an Oriental city looks from a high observation point.

A somewhat peculiar watercolour is the one depicting a *Muslim Cemetery* (Fig. 8), where he chose to represent the figure of an old man, using a cane to walk, in the middle of the composition looking towards the viewer. Maybe Szathmari with his choice of subject and using bright colours tried to make a symbolic statement about the Oriental civilization. The image is captured at sundown.

However, it's not the only cemetery Szathmari wished to capture. The artist also went to the one in Scutari in 1875 and the one in Pera.

As mentioned in the beginning of this article, Carol Popp de Szathmari was a member of official envoys to Constantinople to address the sultan on certain matters. The watercolours and sketches produced during the time Alexandru Ioan Cuza act as mere documents of official meetings. They depict the main actors: Alexandru Ioan Cuza, sultan Abdul Aziz, and Fuad Pasha. Their uniforms and costumes are recorded in detail, and so are their faces. It is most likely that Szathmari was making preliminary sketches for some works that were more complex and complete.

Different from the watercolours representing Cuza's diplomatic visits to Constantinople, the watercolour depicting the reception of Carol Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in 1866, after the referendum, is complete. We are shown the boat used by the Romanian delegation to travel as it unloads its passengers on the small Dolmabache's harbor. We may see the Western styled palace with Ottoman officials waiting to receive their guest, and a series of curious onlookers just a few miles away.

To conclude, in our opinion, Szathmari's take on the Oriental subjects may be ascribed to a personal inclination for documenting traditional societies with their costumes and customs, just as the artist depicts the folk costumes of the Romanian countries, and marking the specific ethnographic they belong to.

As I went through various watercolours and sketches, I was first tempted to discuss Szathmari's works using the Western paradigm. Some of his watercolours can be a result of his self-education in the West, but some of them are a result of his personal view on the Oriental theme. Szathmari's exotic watercolours were poorly received by the Romanian public that compared them with the works of Amedeo Preziosi and found them inferior.

Constantin I Stăncescu, painter and self-appointed art critic, considers Szathmari's work of a lower quality, but good at capturing faces, customs and garments belonging to ethnic groups that face extinction (Ionescu 1990).

Carol Popp de Szathmari is among the few Romanian artists who chose to depict Oriental scenes, his watercolours being the product of a Romantic approach.

And to answer the question in the title; affirmative, Szathmari's works were created by an artist with Western education and cultural norms (the chase after the picturesque is a Western

phenomenon) but with his own mark of originality, a more realistic approach.

References

a. Books

- Arvay 1977** Arvay, Arpad, *Pictorul peregrin* [*The Wandering Painter*], București, Creangă (1977).
- Ionescu 1990** Ionescu, Adrian-Silvan, *Artă și document* [*Art and Document*], București, Meridiane (1990).
- Mackenzie 1995** Mackenzie, John M., *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester University Press (1995).
- Oprescu 1940** Oprescu, George, *Pictorii din familia Szathmari* [*The Painters from Szathmari Family*], Tiparul Institutului Grafic din Sf. Mănăstire Neamțu (1940).

b. Chapters in books

- Nochlin 2004** Nochlin Linda, "The Imaginary Orient". In Vanessa Schwartz (coord.), *The 19th-century Visual Culture Reader*, Routledge (2004).

c. Papers in periodical journals

- Arvay 1972** Arvay Arpad, *Câteva scrieri inedite ale lui Carol Popp de Szathmari* [*A Few Unpublished Writings of Carol Popp de Szathmari*]. In: *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei*, no.1 (1972), p.141-146.

d. Art exhibition catalogues

- Olariu 2012** Olariu, Elena, *Carol Popp de Szathmari (1812-1887) și revelația artistică a Orientului* [*Carol Popp de Szathmari 112-1887 and the Oriental Artistic Revelation*], București, Muzeul Național de Artă al României (2012).

List of illustrations

Fig. 1. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife* [*Portretul soției artistului*], oil painting, National Museum of Art of Romania (1865).

Fig. 2. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Nasif Allah from Bagdad* [*Nasif Allah din Bagdad*], watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.

Fig. 3. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Persian Divan* [*Divan persan*], watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.

Fig. 4. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Baiazid Mosque. Courtyard with Portico*, National Museum of Art of Romania.

Fig. 5. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Ruins in Turkey* [*Ruine în Turcia*], watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.

Fig. 6. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *A Street in Turkey* [*Stradă din Turcia*], watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.

Fig. 7. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Women at the Bazaar-copy after Amendeo Preziosi* [*Femei în bazar-copie după Amedeo Preziosi*], watercolour, National Museum of Art of Romania.

Fig. 8. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Muslim Cemetery* [*Cimitir musulman*], watercolour, National Museum of Art.



Fig. 1. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife*, oil painting, National Museum of Art of Romania (1865).



Fig. 2. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Nasif Allah from Bagdad*, watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.

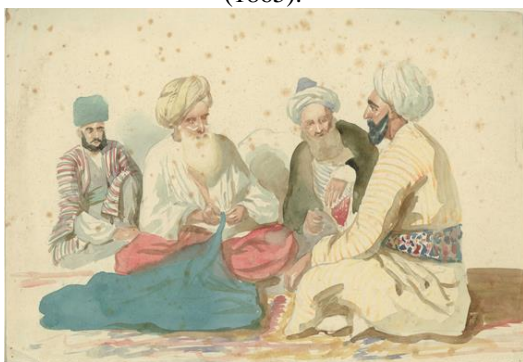


Fig. 3. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Persian Divan*, watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.



Fig. 4. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Baiazid Mosque. Courtyard with portico*, National Museum of Art of Romania.



Fig. 5. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Ruins in Tukey*, watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.



Fig. 6. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *A Street in Turkey*, watercolour, Romanian Academy's Library.



Fig. 7. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Women at the Bazaar* – copy after Amendeo, watercolour, National Museum of Art of Romania



Fig. 8. Carol Popp de Szathmari, *Muslim Cemetery*, watercolour, National Museum of Art.

Ad Patres.

The Modern Ego in the Art of Public Forum Monuments

Andi MIHALACHE

Researcher, "A.D.Xenopol" History Institute, Iași

E-mail: andiax@yahoo.com

Abstract. This study considers being part of a historical culture all those notions that allow themselves to be traversed by time and answer question of the kind: how do people perceive it, with the help of which things or images do they represent it?; what ideas do they have about their own body and especially about perishability?; how do they see the afterlife and what temporality can they extract out of it?; what opinion have they about the truth and how do they relate it to concepts like "authenticity", "continuity", "antiquity", "precedence", "nostalgia"?; with the help of what notions do they represent their identity and what chronological markers do mediate it?; how do they associate space with the progress of time?; do they tell the past, or just symbolize it? As an indirect synonym of *transience*, death was one of those markers by which we have always tried to situate ourselves in the duration. This is the sphere where people became more aware of their individuality, even if for the only reason of summarizing their existence to several essential, defining things that the posterity could identify with the deceased's personality; and, possibly, they could claim to originate in his qualities, recognize themselves in them. The author is not interested in death by itself, but in its instauration as an observation post on a historical culture, on the different definitions and meanings that it gives to "eternity", "immortality", "deathlessness", "everlastingness"; it does not interest us as element of a creed, as danger or as lamentation motif, but as an indicator of a type of historical culture. In our relationship to history, death brings forth the idea of extinction, of end, but also of posthumousness, of continuation, which complicates much the meanings but offers us, at the same time, the chance of a more detailed exploration of the modalities in which people realize the passage of time. Although it could be associated with the idea of *disappearance*, death is interesting because it gets along with any term subjacent to the ideas of "change", "passage", "survival", "metamorphosis", "mourning", "absence". All these are very well set to work when we commemorate a personality, resuming, under this pretext, new complicities with the past. The hero is a pretext to play history again, and the preoccupation for his death is the fastest answer we can give time, concretizing our precariousness in funereal metaphors. They help us make the "passage" more important, to visualize, successively, contrary notions: oblivion and memory, separating and meeting again, absence and presence. The heroes' cult is the poetics of the postponed end. It contains a repertory of the modalities to visualize a turning point and a range of techniques to treasure it up as a great victory. Commemorations are not necrophile: the city honours *death* in the person of a few of its members, in order to exorcize its own *end* as a community. In any case, the important thing is that the former notion should not overlap the latter. The hero gave the others the opportunity to assure themselves that their decease is not the end of all things, that some of them continue in a different level of existence. We foster death because we dislike the idea of end, colonizing our own extinction with flattering meanings, faithful to us.

Keywords: mourning, identity, commemorations, heroes' cult, statues, posterity.

Taming time

Reconstructing the past is the same as finding an *image* of it. And the support of the image is the volume or the form, that surface which is exposed to our look and judgment. This is where art and history become kindred, their aim being the same: to *create* or recreate, in other words, to *give a shape* to our visions or information, and thus to impose a presence and above all a type of *intelligibility*. An image of the past is obtained either by piecing together a story based

on various remains that survived, or by associating the epoch with a work of art which characterizes it. The chance to make a certain period accessible also depends on the coherence of the information about it, this is why to report is sometimes the same as to forget, that is to eliminate the surplus of information which delays the clarification of the important aspects. Thus, if we decide to look at an epoch through a statue, we must take into consideration the time in the life of the hero or his age that his

successors decided to concentrate on, based on the assumption that the hypothesis in question summarizes effectively his activity, that it best represents him for posterity. And, unlike written history, the public monument has the privilege of making palpable the knowledge stored in books, making it possible for a large audience to visualize history.

Some believe that the public monument is a form of sealing the past irrevocably, of setting it in bronze, in a story with no ties to the present, suppressing any polemic. Inaugurating the statue would be, in this case, a separation ritual, a means of atemporalizing the one to whom homage is paid, and a positive form of oblivion. Others think that statues erected in public squares mean that the departed continue to dwell among the living, to be part of their lives. There is also a third category situated somewhere between the previous two, who is of the opinion that the monument marks the end of an epoch, but helps us not to forget our beginnings and to preserve a close connection with those moments ⁽¹⁾.

Thinking of one of Oscar Wilde's characters, who said that details are vulgar, we can ask ourselves: to what extent do statues lie to us? To the extent we allow them, we could answer. In fact, they cannot act as chronicles carved in stone, they cannot record everything. Statues protect no anecdotes and biographical details difficult to remember, but they rather preserve certain general human qualities embodied exemplarily by the individual they represent. In their case, aestheticizing does not translate the will to falsify. They are really schematic and idealized, but this does not stem from a desire to lie by omission, but to capture the essence, what the future will retain of someone's story. *To aestheticize* or *to beautify* is not the same as *to falsify*. Aestheticizing involves looking at the world through the lens of some models that organize reality according to a certain *coherence condition*. This excludes the unelucidated, untranslatable aspects.

Subsequently, it selects the useful empirical data, giving them a meaning, according to a certain logic, generally known under other names: "harmony", "continuity", "proportion", "equilibrium", "unity". It is essential to remember that the opposite of aestheticizing/beautification is not uglification,

but disproportion, contradiction, heterogeneity, disorder, lack of meaning. From here it follows that the purpose of aestheticizing is not the truth, as it can be rather associated to the plausible, the imaginable. Aestheticism, we have to admit, does not represent a full agreement with the real, but more of a truce, a compromise with it. The aim of the aesthete is to make his visions "match", at most, credibility, to cohabitate with it, without visible conflicts (Kirchner 2008, 354-372).

Before the contact with our subjectivity, history can be reduced to a disordered multitude of facts, things, and impressions. We interact with them through logic and sensitivity, both eager to arrange the world. We only exist through this rationalization which forces us to choose, to correlate the facts under analysis according to the "plot", the interpretation matrix through which we look at the world. And the statue, meant to symbolize something, is such a *mise en intrigue*. It should not be directly linked to political, collectivist manipulations, but, first of all, to the "invention of the modern self". With the mention that "invention" is not the same as fiction, but refers to selecting certain representative biographical elements, able to tell something meaningful in the following centuries⁽²⁾.

Returning to the emergence of the modern public monument, we ask ourselves: why were all these detours necessary? Why weren't people appreciated simply for their merits? After a first surge of popularity during the Renaissance, the Enlightenment rediscovered Plutarch and his "illustrious men". This is why, between the 18th and the 19th centuries, the feeling of personal worth did not stem from individual performances, but from the adequacy to a prestigious precedent. Considering that in the education field *to understand* equals *to put into practice*, the aspiration to follow a model was the same as the necessity to empathize, to identify with the persons in question, and their deeds. The appreciation of a hero's biography involved reliving it with pathos. It is not accidental that the "sublime" described by E. Burke and I. Kant seemed a very personal and spontaneous emotion, as intense as it was contradictory, a vacillation between joy and fear, between adversity and admiration, between the hero's

⁽¹⁾ About the various meanings of the public forum monument, see June Hargrove, *Les statues de Paris*, in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, volume II, Paris, Gallimard (1997), p. 1855-1886.

⁽²⁾ For the great dilemma *Empirisme physionomique ou immortalité?* see Willibald Sauerländer, *Essai sur les visages des bustes de Houdon*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme (2005), p. 37-41.

greatness and one's worthlessness, between one's appreciation for him and the aspiration to follow in his footsteps. It supposes the watcher's availability to empathize with the one turned into statue, to experience his trials and to receive, eventually, the same honors.

If in the field of literature, the readers of Jean Jacques Rousseau or Walter Scott identified themselves with the characters of their favorite novels, in the field of sculpture the connoisseur had to inhale or taste the grandeur of a heroic statue. Unlike the Renaissance, characterized by an ecstatic imitation of the Antiquity, in the 18th century it was not the admiration for Achilles that stimulated the cult for heroes: the previous discoveries, both relevant and, at the same time, accessible, are the ones that justify the new attitude towards man and his features. The world was confronted with the emergence of a new type of individuality that the "modernists" imposed to the "classicists", while using the fetishes of the latter (Lièvre-Crosson 2000, 30-31).

Believing in the possibility to change human nature and to obtain happiness through education, the Enlightenment brought another interpretation of the Pantheon – initiated by Louis XV (1764) –, exceeding its primary meaning of necropolis and acquiring a pedagogical role. Thus, the cult of the "great men" suffered certain changes, brought especially by those who wished to offer an alternative to the nobility. The qualities of these chosen ones had to be universal, laic, republican, the power of their mind being opposite to randomness and despotic whims. Unlike the aristocrat, the philosopher, the legislator, the orator and the artist did not inherit their fame and did not owe it to divinity, but to their own talents. The "great man" was admired as a person who succeeded through their own work and personal qualities, being accepted in a pantheon of ideas, in a community of benefactors of humanity (Gaehtgens in Gaehtgens and Wedekind 2009, 135-171).

At the same time, the idea of "posterity" was secularized. In the Christian tradition, death was seen as punishment for the original sin and a possible gate to redemption. But, in the Enlightenment, the death of an important man was just a promise, the antechamber of immortality without transcendence, immortality ensured by his merits in society. The belief in a linear, progressive and cumulative time meant that the worth of a "great man" will be acknowledged not by his contemporaries who failed to appreciate him, but by his more distant

descendants. Although this type of acknowledgement belonged to ages which were to come, the 1789 revolutionaries considered that that future had already come, taking it upon themselves to analyze the merits and commemorate the personalities. In the beginning, the honor of being accepted in the Pantheon was granted not due to a heroic, spontaneous gesture, but to a lifetime in the public service (Scherf in Gaehtgens and Wedekind 2009, 253-274). Later on, self sacrifice became enough, thus a national funeral was accessible to less cultivated spirits. The most interested in this change was the French Directorate: in the absence of personalities, it introduced the cult of military commanders, opening, indirectly, Napoleon's way to power. The military heroes had the advantage of not belonging to any political side and of being able to stir the public opinion through their victories. In fact, the soldier had been turned into a hero starting from 1792, in the context of outside attacks, but the celebration was always dedicated to the collective character, as an *alter ego* of the French people: a popular Hercules, personification of the Nation under arms and hypostatization of a collective body which had risen to defend the country (Poulot 2006, 91-117). After the important victories of the last years of the 18th century, high-ranking officers became, eventually, well individuated characters: whether they died on the battlefield, like general Joubert, or not, like general Hoche, they all became famous as military martyrs (Benoist 1994, 60). The general who died in the prime of his life took the place of anonymous heroes, "conquerors of Bastille" as they were called, or popular heroes like Marat. The new star of the official arts drew his last breath "à la Bayard", tragically and sublimely, innocent and pure, alone or surrounded by a few friends.

Anyway, being buried in the Pantheon was not considered a funeral, but a triumph over death. When given the choice between displaying the body or an effigy placed instead of it, the people of the Enlightenment opted for the latter, concealing the coffin in a hearse and focusing the attention on more or less allegoric statues. Displaying the remains was in contrast to the disinterest in death showed by the Enlightenment, as death lacked the pedagogical dimension of the statue, which was easier to adapt to the requirements of the processions of that time. The statue was the best expression of the faith of the Enlightenment in sight, as the most influential human sense. As compared to painting, it is also more enduring, better fit to

suggest immortality. Because it is tridimensional, it renders life better and, as it can be watched from any angle, it is more suitable for staging, more susceptible to gather people around it.

Consequently, the funerals of French personalities like Voltaire or Mirabeau could not be imagined without the presence of sculptures representing the deceased or some tutelary value of the Republican regime (Freedom, Justice, Reason) ⁽³⁾. After this initial inclusion in the Pantheon, the citizens later encountered them in every public square. Yet, the reemergence of statues in the agora was not that simple, being the effect of the intersection of certain social practices, more precisely the mortuary ones, with the ancient cultural model.

Present and absent

Paradoxically, the body was connected to *memory* and remembering, although it is rather a sign of the ephemeral. For example, in the Middle Ages ⁽⁴⁾, a period of hate against one's own anatomy, people were not associated with their bodies but with their souls, an immaterial entity. By contrast, death would later acquire certain corporality, as the grim reaper. Since the body was only an artifice of the derisory, death was given a quasi-human face: by personifying it, the people of the Middle Ages tried to trace its boundaries, to deny its ubiquity and permanence, to diminish it somehow, giving it a conventional, popular, codified, acceptable, predictable image. It was the way to connect with an inexorable phenomenon that man could rather accept than deny. Consequently, we wonder: when we erect a monument do we *wish* its beneficiary to live long in the common memory or do we *recognize* him/her this privilege, already won due to their celebrity?; is the statue an impulse or an acknowledgement?; why don't we prefer the non-figurative, which may be better suited for the idea of immortality?; if the soul is the one that endures, why is the ephemeral body set in stone (recumbent effigy), wax (royal effigy) or bronze

(hero), to signify everlasting life?; why is the perishable used to symbolize eternity?

Can we say that the statue represents a moment in the history of the relationship that man had with his own body? This moment can be reproduced indefinitely, without an automatic individuation. It sooner makes us similar to others, anonymous. It is not the body that individuates us, but the images we have of it, the range of emotions we attribute to it. Thus, the idea of *representation* evolved in parallel with the way people managed to visualize abstract matters such as the embodiment of divinity, afterlife, the king's immortal body and the perishing one, the posterity of important people. Therefore, everything began with the intention to invoke a preexisting and eternal body, to bring it forward through the Eucharist, and ended with the modern effort to offer the hero that immortality ensured only by our memory, only by the sculpture dedicated to him. In this respect, we can distinguish four ways of preserving a person's "existence" through an object designated to symbolize it: 1) the holy communion which guaranteed the presence (irrefutable, but discontinuous, "on demand") of the divinity in the holy bread and wine; it is an infinite deity, over which man had no power, he could only beg for divine intervention; 2) the relics of Christian martyrs, adored not as remains, but as summaries or metonymies⁵ of the entire body; 3) the recumbent effigies sculpted on graves, starting from the 11th-12th centuries, based on the theory according to which the souls were judged at the moment of death, while the bodies had to wait for the Last Judgment preserving the identity of the Christian until that time; by creating those living images, artists clearly ignored the worldly dimension of time, the interval between death and resurrection, for them those serene and noble images represented the status of an earthly inhabitant of God's Fortress (Chihaiia 1977, 22-23); they did not represent the absence of the deceased from among the living, but the state of passage and wait, of prolonged transition from life to death and, perhaps, to life again; it is precisely this uncertain status that increased the responsibility of the living towards the dead, the relevance of commemoration; 4) the king's effigy was an accessory of the power transfer, a symbolic extension of the old leader through the

⁽³⁾ For instance, Jacques-Louis David planned a huge bronze statue to allegorize the people. The pedestal was to be made up of the remains of royal statues taken down from the frontal of the Notre-Dame cathedral. See Antonio Pinelli, *David*, Milano, Continents Editions srl (2004), p. 24.

⁽⁴⁾ In the early Middle Ages, the person who died became isolated, says Peter Brown, *Trupul și societatea*, translated into Romanian by Ioana Zirra, Bucharest, Rao (1999), p. 449.

⁽⁵⁾ For more details, see David Le Breton, *Antropologia corpului și modernitatea*, translated into Romanian by Doina Lică, Timișoara, Amacord (2002), p. 35.

new own; it hid a “flaw”, preserved the functionality of the royal institution and its legitimacy, born out of the continuity of the dynasty, through the actual exercise of power; dissimulating the empty throne, it is tributary to the secular life, because it attempts to stall for time; to say that the effigy played the role of the king is, however, abusive, because it could be inferred that the organizers of the funeral intended to obtain the king’s participation to his own funeral; although it did not replace the king, but his body, the effigy made the ceremony more triumphant than ascetic; 5) unlike the medieval effigy, the modern statue acknowledges an absence, maintaining the memory of the deceased because it always reminds us of what we lost.

Although they are not actually included in the genealogy of the modern public monument, the recumbent effigy and the wax effigy were, nevertheless, among its most explicit “predecessors”, which accustomed people with the idea that they can have their own “carved idols”. To what extent can we find the recumbent effigy and the wax effigy, as metonyms, “hidden” in the statue? They are certainly not obligatory stages in the history of the modern monument, as none of their features necessarily leads to it. This is why we only take into consideration formal intersections, specific convergences, borrowings from a particular history, without a difficult genesis which we are normally used to imagining. But we are justified in stating that the two funeral fetishes (the recumbent effigy and the wax effigy of the dead king) inspired ethos, a set of practices and the availability to associate body, art and social memory. For instance, the medieval recumbent effigy, a tomb sculpture, represents the incipient stage of individual memory, dominated by eschatology, not by the earthly prestige of the deceased. It represents the deceased sleeping peacefully his last rest, which is not the acknowledgement of a fact but a desideratum, a wish for this to really happen. It does not represent what the deceased experiences, his current condition, but rather a visualization of what his successors wish him to become. As sculpture also depends on the ways in which people have imagined life after death, we cannot help wondering to what extent can recumbent effigies be considered precursors of the modern statue? Régis Debray considered that gothic recumbent effigies do not resemble a corpse, they are represented in glory, with eyes wide open, praying at the Last Judgment. They were perceived as a physical extension of the flesh,

but also encapsulating the body. They were not simple metaphors of the deceased, but his real metonymies (Debray 1992, 32). The ambiguity of these memorial creations also intrigued J.C. Schmitt, who noticed details which could support our assumptions: a) their open eyes, both towards the other world, still invisible for the survivors, and towards the family members gathered around them; b) although they are laid on the grave, the recumbent effigies are represented in such a way as to appear standing; c) the deceased is represented in the clothes he wore during his lifetime, which symbolize his social status for eternity; d) some recumbent effigies are drawing the sword by which the artist wanted to illustrate their fight with death, to eternalize the moment the deceased passed to the other side (Schmitt 1998, 260-261). If the medieval funeral art seems, however, to pay attention to life after death, redemption and not the social earthly memory of the deceased, we believe that the effigy which dominated a king’s funeral during the Renaissance is closer, from the point of view of its usefulness, to the purposes of the public monument erected later.

In the context of the policy of visualizing abstract concepts, the king’s effigy does not represent a dead *person* but the *state* of the kingdom after his passing, the *something else* that we define by imagining it under the shape of a “dummy”. Its mission is to replace the king, to save appearances and to make people forget about its role as “surrogate” (Debray 1992, 30). Taking into consideration the fact that the waxwork is not part of a traditional liturgical script – being an invention serving political purposes –, it is worth highlighting that this ontological change, *i.e.* death, did not concern only the departed but also his close ones. They were those who wanted, through this figure, to symbolize the provisional condition the departed were in. The effigy replaced the monarch, but we cannot say that it represented him, that it *was* the king. It did not signify the dead ruler, but rather his successor. It only hid the absence of the forerunner and announced the immediate coming of the successor, mimicking dynastic continuity and making everything seem a momentary absence. Thus, the effigy was an ad-hoc solution of spontaneous restoration of a genealogy, a social organism in crisis, resembling in a certain way the current technique of restoring historical buildings: where the walls are restored, the specialists clearly mark the place where the original stones were replaced by new ones, although the latter look exactly the same.

The self and the body

The body was perceived as remains, not merely as important as the statue which displays the features of the body, transfiguring them and being the material equivalent of the perpetual memory, a “correction” of our fleeting nature. To make somebody a statue means to situate them and, at the same time, complete them, finding them an enduring, stone “house”, fit for the posterity we wish for them. Nevertheless, the perceptions of our demise are intensely materialized. The first change it brings can be noticed immediately at the level of the body, the representation of death or, better said, of our relationship with it is mediated by the body. Clearly, it is not the body itself that we are preoccupied with, but the notions we can represent through it: presence, absence, immortality, continuity, *etc.* We see in it the primary place of individuality, an observer of the self, a pretext for self-discovery and esthetical projection towards the outside, such as through a sculpture. Especially the idea of death is closely linked to the corporeal, the human body being the place showing the symptoms of demise, giving death visibility and concreteness. This is why from early history the body became the object of operations meant to symbolically eternalize it through art (Comarnescu 1972, 10) ⁽⁶⁾. With the help of sculpture, death itself begins to signify, strangely, not the end or worldliness, but eternity, immutability. And the other way around, the fascination for immovability helps people aestheticize death:

“...the beauty of the corpse is personified especially by the statues lying on the graves and whose sculpture matches the state of the body at the moment of death. When somebody dies we are often fascinated by the strange peace of the bloodless corpse. After preservation, [...] the wrinkles seem to have vanished and the deceased, freed from the suffering that caused his death,

displays a mysterious beauty. All the usual expressions (last rest, the night of time...) represent the corpse as a vision of tranquility. Without being sculpted, without being a model, the body imposes itself as a lying statue, becoming, so to say, its own sculpture. This vision of the corpse is not that of the skeleton, on the contrary, it supposes a denial of the decomposition of the flesh, as if death should remain, first of all, the immutable image of the perfect body. [...] The tortured body, mauled and mutilated, represents a horrible vision because, as a result of the monstrous maltreatment, the dead body was deprived of this moment when it would have become a recumbent effigy. The metamorphosis of the dead body, beyond decomposition, is the recumbent effigy which makes it beautiful” (Jeudy 1998, 69,188).

The 16th century, with its Neo-Platonic orientation, continued to stimulate an ideal, celestial, intangible beauty. The peacefulness of Ancient face lines and the conventionality of gothic sculptures were not threatened in any way. In the following century, scholars gradually removed the corporeal beauty from under the authority of pure and eternal concepts, descending it among worldly things, under the strict control of “good taste”. It moved the accent from the *revealed* ineffable beauty to that *elaborated*, intelligible, legitimizing the correction of nature’s shortcomings, the adjustment, the “taming” of the body (Vigarello 2006, 79-81). This was the transition from *beauty* to *embellishment*, the model itself was not important, but its preservation through self-control, purification and human reasoning. Only in the 18th century the focus will be on the expressiveness specific to each human, the aesthetic of the shapes deriving less from the *intelligible* and more from the *sensitive* (Vigarello 2006, 99). The generic beauty of the body came second, giving priority to originality and the uniqueness of the ego (Hunt 2004, 41-52). The validity of the general human virtues was not kept because of the inertia, the permanence of the great values depending on the individual who knew how to capture them in a particular manner. The search for the physical happiness or irreducible internality of each person is customized and detached from the universalist or theological criteria, boldly approaching the anthropological ones (Hunt 2004, 101-106).

⁽⁶⁾ Petru Comarnescu, *Confluente ale artei universale*, Bucharest, Meridiane (1972), p. 7-13. We were particularly interested in a chapter called *An Inestimably Important Theory on the Origin of the Portrait-Statue and of Other Arts* [our translation], which claims that the Egyptian mummifications were not intended only to preserve the body but also the face, the personal identity of the deceased. In order for the soul to be able to find the body more quickly, a model of the head of the deceased was made of chalkstone or mud and then placed in the death chamber.

The poetics of finitude

The memory of martyrdom or of battles could not have lasted without the glance of empathetic spectators. In this respect, the texts which would later tell their story did not help much, the memory of the sacrifice not being saved by what a reader imagined in his mind. It seemed clear that the memory of the hero survived the best through the language of art ⁽⁷⁾, depending on the skill with which the drama was played or sculptured. Because of the statue, the audience had the chance to put themselves in his shoes, to identify emotionally with his sufferings (Starobinski and Galluci 1983, 305). Paradoxically, he resurrected only if we saw him die one more time: in a theater play, in a painting, in a statuary. How so? The *images* of the body being too many, too fleeting, too easy to forget, art is the one that offers certain stability, transforming them into *representations* (Jeudy 1998, 32). The conflict between images and representations is that between the ephemeral and the perennial, between impression and certainty. The former are spontaneous and fleeting, a metaphor for the fragility of life itself. The latter chase away the anxiety of death, setting passing perceptions in atemporal aesthetic canons and thus guaranteeing the preservation of our impressions transposed in ageless beauty models (Jeudy 1998, 62, 68, 69). The ideal beauty is most often considered in relation to the representation of the motionless body, in sculpture, as if the resting body would inspire a stronger aesthetical reception than the moving one ⁽⁸⁾. In fact, the

⁽⁷⁾ The heroes were not the only ones to benefit from aesthetics, the *en artiste* lifestyle also fascinated apparently regular people. For example, in a sort of 19th century "Love story", Amaury, the main character of Alexandre Dumas' novel, thinks about suicide, transposing perfectly an idea loved by the Romantics, that of death as the best pretext for art: "Tomorrow he will be present at his fiancé's funeral and he will try to maintain his composure. But in the evening, he will listen from his box seat the final act of *Othello* and especially Saul's romance that Madeleine loved so much, this swan song, Rossini's masterpiece. *Art is an austere pleasure and an ideal preparation for death*" [our translation] (Alexandre Dumas, *Amaury*, translated into Romanian by Bogdan Bădulescu, Timișoara, Excelsior (1992), p. 120).

⁽⁸⁾ The stabilizing function of the work of art is also supported by Leonard Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art. The Human Body as Image of the World*, New

attraction comes from the power of the paradox, the interest of the public depending on the way the statue knows how to inspire life, on the extent to which we can see movement under the appearance of immobility. Any inert body imposes a certain distance, being susceptible of becoming an art object. And this can be noticed in the morbid sensitivity of Romantics, in their preoccupation with the idea of the "beautiful dead" ⁽⁹⁾, with the funeral preparations, with the last image of the deceased, painted or even photographed (Héran 2002, 25-93). Everything was due to the modern taste for the Greek Antiquity, the fascination for the way the elder aestheticized death, turning it not into a monument of the ending, but into a paragon of deserving, heroic life. We know that, in a civilization of the Areopagus, *old age* had certainly been an image synonymous with the laws and memory of the fortress, of its permanence. Once the myth of Alexander the Great arose, *youth* became an equivalent of eternity as well. The bust of Alexander symbolized the ideal age for crossing over to the "other side", the hero taking with him and preserving, as a privilege, his last face before death.

By rehabilitating knowledge through sight, modernity was preoccupied from the beginning with man's identity, especially his "personal" side, well reflected in relation with objects and his own body. In this context, the body became a means of communicating the way the self evolved throughout history (Pop 2005, 43, 101). Parting with the contemptuous attitude that Plato and his Middle Ages followers had towards the corruptible nature of the body, the moderns treated it as an object, developing various ways of "preserving" it and of making it "unperishable". Unlike the previous period, the new corporeality was no longer just a

Haven, London, Yale University Press (1975), p. 117.

⁽⁹⁾ Remembering the death of her grandmother, on the 25th of October 1821, Georges Sand later noted "...after she was prepared for the funeral, she looked even more beautiful. Her noble and pure features were not touched by any contradictions. Their expression was of sublime peace" [our translation] (Georges Sand, *Povestea vieții mele*, vol. II, translated into Romanian by Teodora Popa-Mazilu, Bucharest, Minerva (1972), p. 111-112). In the same manner, the poet Alfred de Vigny described the last image of his mother: "...dead, she resembled an angel..." [our translation] (Alfred de Vigny, *Jurnalul unui poet*, translated into Romanian by Ionel Marinescu, Bucharest, Univers (1976), p. 105).

symbol, stylized prototypes, but it became an artistic construct dependant on the resemblance with the original, the palpable shapes (Pop 2005, 45). But, coming back to the public monuments, we realize that the above statement is not entirely valid. The official arts hesitated continuously between the canonized beauty and the individual one: by dying, heroes become beautiful, regaining a sort of archetypal integrity that they would offer posterity as a statue. A moment in life, a certain age of the hero is chosen by his successors, from among many others, because it seems to best represent the ancestor in question, the climax of his life, his appearance for the centuries to come. Starting from the first half of the 19th century, the desire to *set* a certain profile turned what was seen into motionless matter, fossilized in its own significance, the image was not a symptom of life but a graphical sign of death (Pop 2005, 172). This fixation presupposed the denying of time, turning the transitory into the eternal, orienting the viewer towards updating and physical presence. No past or future are needed, the eye can consume it as such, as a story in itself, prompting the viewer to relive the story, to “incorporate” it as personal experience (Pop 2005, 172-173). The statue, a “stable and upright corpse” (Debray 1992, 30), salutes the passersby from afar, abiding by the art of using the dead to serve the interests of the living ⁽¹⁰⁾.

A new aesthetics of suffering

By raising a statue, do we prolong a presence or defeat an absence? In our case, the word *absent* is not at all the perfect antonym of the word *present*. Rather, it would seem that absence is

⁽¹⁰⁾ Debray’s metaphor is not a mere rhetorical artifice, the mentality of the first half of the 19th century using this idea nonchalantly. Describing a monastery in Burgos, Th. Gautier noticed the graves of famous personalities, dug in the thickness of the wall and decorated with coats of arms and sculptures: “[...] *statues as large as life lie on all these graves*, representing armed knights, monks in frock; watching through the grid mesh, one could easily mistake them for the dead they represent due to their natural attitudes and the elaborated details” (Th. Gautier, *Călătorie în Spania*, translated into Romanian by Mioara and Pan Izverna, Bucharest, Sport-Turism (1983), p. 43). Evidently, when they were created, the medieval recumbent effigies had a predominantly eschatological message. Underlining the naturalism of these sculptures, their possible resemblance with the dead, Gautier actually used the reading grid of the 19th century, passionate about portraits and the individuality they preserved.

here an “insufficient”, “dying” presence. The hero is not forgotten the following day after the funeral, but his memory is maintained precisely through preventive “prophylactic” lamentations, meant to fight against amnesia, ingratitude towards him. The source of this sensation is the patrimonial rhetoric which, in its turn, subsumes a *poetics of the evanescence*: a priceless value is in danger of being lost or destroyed, an ancestor is killed once more, symbolically, by the indifference of his followers, a certain tradition is about to be lost, the existence of an essential truth is threatened. In this context, the public monument does not represent, as often repeated, a growth of nationalism, but *an episode in the genesis of the modern ego*, brought to light by the way the individual relates to time and to the experience of death. Because the passage of time and our demise are not independent topics, but pretexts to highlight what they endanger: the qualities that shape a certain individual. It is not accidental that the construction of modern subjectivity was also based on the care to leave an image of oneself for posterity. We see this in a note written by Delacroix, dated the 2nd of February 1824, in which the painter, thinking about a unlikely posterity of the intellectual, felt the need to stress the words “I” and “man”:

“But this grave... Does he rest in this cold hole in the ground? Does his soul wonder around the funeral monument? And when I think about him, is he the one that shakes my memory? Habit places anyone among ordinary people. When the trace he left is about to be erased, the man died and his death no longer torments us. [...] I am a man. What does ‘I’ mean? What does *man* mean? They spent half their life connecting the parts, controlling what was discovered, and the other half laying the foundation for an edifice that is never built” (Delacroix 1977, 42).

The story of the marriage between the modern ego and the human body does not have a *happy ending*. Quite the contrary, leaving for the front with the illusion that the war meant the extension of the parade, the 1914 generation came back home without the certainty of its bravery: it felt that life had been stolen away from it, that it had been denied the chance of a future. The living memory of heaps of rotting bodies and the multitude of mutilated men who protested after the war influenced considerably the aesthetics of monuments as well, discouraging the cult of the “beautiful and sublime” body as described by Edmund Burke,

and favoring instead a more iconoclast, non-figurative imagery. There were many reproaches stemming from common sense observations: without inscriptions and name lists, nobody would be able to tell what the abstract sculpture commemorated. In order to achieve a certain decontextualization, and, at the same time, a universalization of meanings, the nonfigurative prepared the monument to face the passage of time, the change of generations, the amnesia. Thus motivated, the obelisk did not dethrone, but competed fiercely with the narrative sculpture. However, it is difficult to say whether it was the expression of a new aesthetics or it created it. Its omnipresence can be linked, however, with the expressionist fashion, which reached its peak in the 1920s: it stimulated a revolt against things that intentionally diminished, impoverished the shapes to challenge the commodity of the viewers, stimulating their intelligence and sensitivity. Unlike the classical “naturalistic” statues, which told the story of a hero or an event, the non-figurative of the new monuments illustrated a world whose meanings had succumbed, the artist leaving each viewer the freedom to give it a new meaning. In this case, without deconstructing the ideal of a glorious “beautiful death”, WWI relocated the attention from the classical image of the *hero* who lives only in order to die to the idea that any *victim* has the right to become a hero (Prost 1977, 35-51).

The old poetics of the *fragment*, which sparked the imagination and desire to complete in one’s mind the torso of an ancient statue, was replaced after 1918 by the daily reality of a *stump* in which the memory of the former arm twitched. The mutilated bodies, the burnt bodies, the missing bodies, subsequently “found” in the statues of small villages, are not at all inert, passive. Unearthed and buried again, manipulated in all sorts of processions and allegories, they behave like real actors in all the ceremonies of a premature, unwanted posterity (¹¹). Until 1914, the monuments *glorified* the body, after that they tried to *recast* it, at least symbolically, in ossuaries, in the graves of “unknown soldiers”. Although heroism continues to remain a value, the harmonious, neoclassic body will no longer be its preferred home. The body does no longer stand for man’s invincibility, his Promethean quality, the

transgression of all limits, but rather it incorporates all his weaknesses, his inabilities. After its brutal disparagement in the four years of carnage, the human anatomy could no longer signify the climax and the immortality, on the contrary, the body became that place where death defeats us categorically. Taken down from its pedestal, the body was confined to hospitals (¹²). This is why it stimulated a reversal of the traditional priorities, facilitating the medical perspective on death and the aestheticization of life (the 1920s). The statue recovers the individual, it recomposes him, preserving what the successors wish to retain of him. For this reason, we see in it a sort of “treaty” between man and his own demise. Death does not erase man completely anymore, without leaving anything behind. In the modern era, it denotes, first of all, eternity, a “cold” impersonal notion, but connotes, due to the statue, the perpetual memory of the deceased. The modern imagery of death does no longer fetishize the end of the individual and his life in the after-world, but highlights a few aspects of his worldly posterity. Thus, to deal with heroes and the feeling of the heroic means a glimpse of representations which are not visible at any moment. It is an archeology of the implicit whose aim is not to follow the individual as a representative of the collectivity, because the statue is seen as a eulogy primarily to a man’s irreducible personality. The idea of the hero also evolves; the reasons why we bring flowers to his statue

(¹²) Working as a nurse on the Romanian front in Dobrogea, Yvonne Blondel – the daughter of the French ambassador to Bucharest, Camille Blondel (1907-1916) – had the chance to observe this “defeat” of the body by the war. Thus, on September 10/23, 1916, she wrote “In the last two days I have witnessed the most gruesome wounds to see and to bandage. Serbians and Romanians arrive at the hospital so severely mauled that one could cut strips of their flesh with a pair of scissors. [...] Their bodies, bandaged from head to toe, are like mummies. All this atrocity is due to German mortars. I was especially disturbed by the image of a poor Serbian, with broken jaws, which made his face look like skin emptied of bones and teeth. [...] This nightmare image remained with me and follows me everywhere [...] What ghastly imagination this war deity must have to invent so many details of cruelty! Swellings, holes, cuts, mutilations, all this horridness cast by its merciless hand and stuck to the faces and bodies of the poor men [...]” [our translation] (Yvonne Blondel, *Jurnal de război, 1916-1917*, translated into Romanian by Rodica Zagăr, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Institute (2005), p. 196-197).

(¹¹) Luc Capdevilla, Danièle Voldman, *Nos morts. Les sociétés occidentales face aux tués de la guerre (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)*, Paris, Editions Payot (2002), p. 228.

are either as a deliberate *act of bravery*, while being fully aware of the risk of death, or, later, the simple fact of *losing one's life* which often occurs by accident. Life expectancy increased in the 20th century, a child's death is not an *accident* any longer, but an *injustice*. So it seems to be a *sacrifice* relevant enough to remain in the memory of the future generations.

References

a. Books

- Barkan 1975** Barkan, Leonard, *Nature's Work of Art. The Human Body as Image of the World*. New Haven, London, Yale University Press (1975).
- Benoist 1994** Benoist, Luc, *La sculpture romantique*, Paris, Gallimard (1994).
- Blondel 2005** Blondel, Yvonne, *Jurnal de război, 1916-1917*, translated into Romanian by Rodica Zagăr, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Institute (2005).
- Brown 1999** Brown, Peter, *Trupul și societatea*, translated into Romanian by Ioana Zirra. Bucharest, Rao (1999).
- Capdevilla, Voldman 2002** Capdevilla, Luc, Danièle Voldman, *Nos morts. Les sociétés occidentales face aux tués de la guerre (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)*, Paris, Editions Payot (2002).
- Chihaia 1977** Chihaia, Pavel, *Sfârșit și început de ev. Reprezentări de cavaleri la începuturile Renașterii*, Bucharest, Eminescu (1977).
- Comarnescu 1972** Comarnescu, Petru, *Confluente ale artei universale*, Bucharest, Meridiane (1972).
- Debray 1992** Debray, Régis, *Vie et mort de l'image. Une histoire du regard en Occident*, Paris, Gallimard (1992).
- Delacroix 1977** Delacroix, Eugène, *Jurnal*, vol. I, translated into Romanian by Irina Mavrodin, Bucharest, Meridiane (1977).
- Dumas 1992** Dumas, Alexandre, *Amaury*, translated into Romanian by Bogdan Bădulescu, Timișoara, Excelsior (1992).
- Gautier 1983** Gautier, Th., *Călătorie în Spania*, translated into

Romanian by Mioara and Pan Izverna, Bucharest, Sport-Turism (1983).

Jeudy 1998

Jeudy, Henry Pierre, *Corpul ca obiect de artă*, translated into Romanian by Ana Maria Gârleanu, Eurosong & Book (1998).

Kirchner 2008

Kirchner, Thomas, *Le héros épique. Peinture d'histoire et politique artistique dans la France du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme (2008).

Le Breton 2002

Le Breton, David, *Antropologia corpului și modernitatea*, translated into Romanian by Doina Lică, Timișoara, Amacord (2002).

Lièvre-Crosson 2000

Lièvre-Crosson, Élisabeth, *Du baroque au romantisme*, Toulouse, Éditions Milan (2000).

Pinelli 2004

Pinelli, Antonio, *David*, Milano, Continents Editions (2004).

Pop 2005

Pop, Doru, *Ochiul și corpul. Modern și postmodern în filosofia culturii vizuale*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia (2005).

Poulot 2006

Poulot, Dominique, *Une histoire du patrimoine en Occident*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France (2006).

Prost 1977

Prost, Antoine, *Les anciens combattants et la société française, 1914-1939*, vol. III, Paris, Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (1977).

Sand 1972

Sand, Georges, *Povestea vieții mele*, vol. II, translated into Romanian by Teodora Popa-Mazilu, Bucharest, Minerva (1972).

Sauerländer 2005

Sauerländer, Willibald, *Essai sur les visages des bustes de Houdon*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme (2005).

Schmitt 1998

Schmitt, Jean-Claude, *Strigoii. Viii și morții în societatea medievală*, Bucharest, Meridiane (1998).

Vigarello 2006

Vigarello, Georges, *O istorie a frumuseții. Corpul și arta*

- înfrumusețării din Renaștere până în zilele noastre*, translated into Romanian by Luana Stoica, Bucharest, Chișinău, Cartier (2006).
- Vigny, de 1976** Vigny, Alfred de, *Jurnalul unui poet*, translated into Romanian by Ionel Marinescu, Bucharest, Univers (1976).
- b. Chapter in books**
- Gahtgens 2009** Thomas W. Gahtgens, "Du Parnasse au Panthéon: la représentation des hommes illustres et des grands hommes dans la France du XVIII^e siècle". In: Thomas W. Gahtgens, Gregor Wedekind (eds.), *Le culte des grands homes*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme (2009) p. 135-171.
- Hargrove 1997** Hargrove, June, "Les statues de Paris". In Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. II, Paris, Gallimard (1997).
- Héran 2002** Héran, Emmanuelle, "Le dernier portrait ou la belle mort". In Idem (ed.), *Le dernier portrait*, Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux (2002).
- Scherf 2009** Scherf, Guilhem, "L'esprit moral de la sculpture: l'intellectuel statufié en grand homme". In Thomas W. Gahtgens, Gregor Wedekind (eds.), *Le culte des grands homes*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison de Sciences de l'Homme (2009), p. 253-274.
- c. Papers in periodical journals**
- Hunt 2004** Hunt, Lynn, *The 18th-Century Body and the Origins of Humans Rights*. In: *Diogenes*, no. 203 (2004).
- Starobinski, Galluci 1983** Starobinski, Jean, John A. Galluci, *The Body's Moment*. In: *Yale French Studies*, no. 64 (1983).

A Portrait of General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue in the Collection of the Brukenthal National Museum from Sibiu

Alexandru Gh. SONOC

Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu

E-mail: sandysonoc@yahoo.com

Abstract. The portrait of Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue (1801-1884), Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (December 12, 1862 – 1874), was bequeathed to the Brukenthal National Museum in 1982, by Rostislav Kotzebue. The work was made in 1871, perhaps in Odessa, by Horovich, a painter of probable Jewish origin. As the only actually known painted portrait of P. D. von Kotzebue, it has a special documentary value, increased by its realistic rendering of the physiognomy of the sitter and of the artist's skill to catch some elements of his personality, as well as (despite of some licences) in which belongs the orders and the medals which rewarded his merits.

Keywords: Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia, Russian orders and medals, Horovich, Russian painting, Odessa.

In the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum of Sibiu there is a portrait of the Russian general of German origin Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue (1801-1884), known to the Russians as *Павел Евстафьевич Коцебу* (oil on canvas, 123 x 95 cm; unsigned, dated right below with red figures: 1871; inv. 3000). The work (Fig. 1) was brought in 1982 from France, as a donation for the Brukenthal Museum from a descendant of the general's family, Rostislav Kotzebue, who also published a history of his family (Kotzebue 1984), but this work enjoyed only little circulation, mainly among family members.

Originary from Kassebau in the Altmark province (Germany), the Kotzebue family seems to be attested as early as 1420, when are mentioned Henning Kossebu from Stendal and his son Arnd Cassebu (1420-1454), who became a councillor in Neustadt Salzwedel, but its certain lineage is known only beginning with Jakob Kotzebue (1527-1597), chamberlain (treasurer) of the Magdeburg city council. The General P. D. von Kotzebue's father was the playwright August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue (1761-1819), a descendant of a family of German merchants settled in Russia, who was knighted in 1785 by the empress Catherine II when he was an assessor of the High Court of Appeals in Reval (now Tallin, in Estonia). After a temporary withdrawal from public service and a stay in Paris,

Mainz, and Vienna, he was arrested by the Russian authorities on suspicion of Jacobinism and exiled for a short time in Siberia. For his literary merits he managed, however, to be pardoned by the emperor Paul I, who gave him estates in Livonia. After the Emperor's death, the playwright settled in Berlin, but the Napoleonic invasion in Prussia led him to return to Russia, where in 1816 he entered the diplomatic corps. As he was sent in a diplomatic mission to Germany in 1817, as General Consul, he was murdered in 1819 as a traitor, by Karl Ludwig Sand (1795-1820), a nationalist student with liberal views ⁽¹⁾. From several marriages, the playwright had a numerous progeny: 18 children, among whom some had distinguished careers, also mentioned in various biographical lexicons.

Thus, Otto von Kotzebue (1787-1846), who had a military career in the navy, became known as a participant in the first Russian circumnavigation of the Earth (1803-1806), led by Adam Johann von Krusenstern (known in Russia as *Иван Фёдорович Крузенштерн*), a cousin of his step-mother, and, later, as an explorer of the Arctic regions (1815-1818) and commander of the circumnavigation of the globe of 1823-1826 ⁽²⁾. His younger brother,

⁽¹⁾ For August von Kotzebue's biography: ПБС, 347-354.

⁽²⁾ For Otto von Kotzebue's biography: Ibidem, 356-358.

Moritz (*Маврикий*) von Kotzebue (1789-1864), who also took part in the first Russian circumnavigation of the Earth, became a lieutenant general and senator ⁽³⁾. Another brother, Wilhelm (*Вильгельм*) Basilius (*Василий*) von Kotzebue (1813-1887), a member of the State council of Russia and then an Emperor's Private Councillor, is known as a playwright and diplomat (councillor of the Russian Legation in Dresden in 1857, then a minister plenipotentiary in Karlsruhe, Dresden, and Bern). Before 1840, he came for the first time to Moldova, accompanying another brother of his, Karl, who was Russian Consul in Jassy/Iași. In 1842 he married Aspasia Cantacuzino, the daughter of Prince Gheorghe Cantacuzino and Princess Elena Gorchakova and settled as landholder and then (until 1876) as landlord at Bălușești, near Roman (now in Romania), where he lived between 1842 and 1857 (with some later returns). He is also the founder, in 1854, of the local Roman Catholic church. He was close to the 1848 revolutionists Mihail Kogălniceanu and Alecu Russo and made translations from Romanian literature into German, among which also an anthology of folk ballads by Vasile Alecsandri (*Rumänische Volkspoesie*, 1857). Inspired by the sights and the daily life from Moldova, he wrote (in German language) a travelogue (*Aus der Moldau. Bildern und Skizzen*, 1860) and a novel (*Laskar Vioresku. Ein moldauisches Genrebild*, 1863). In 1884 he became a Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy ⁽⁴⁾.

A peculiar evolution had the youngest son of the family, Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm Franz von Kotzebue (1815-1889), who was also initially trained for a military career, but who became known as a battle painter. At the Imperial Academy of Art from St. Petersburg (1838-1844) he was the student of the battle painter Alexander Sauerweid (1783-1844), who was known in Russia as *Александр Иванович Зауервейд*. He was notable for his works, which received medals in 1839, 1840, 1843, and 1844. Already famous, he went to accomplish his studies in Paris, in Belgium, in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Germany, finally

settling in 1850 in Munich. As a Professor of Painting at the Imperial Academy of Art from St. Petersburg and a Honorary Member of the Art Academy of Munich, he periodically returned to Russia, with the goal of achieving and delivering his works ⁽⁵⁾.

Rostislav Kotzebue, the donor of the portrait of Governor-General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, is the son of the Romanian sculptress of Russian origin Lidia Nikolaevna Kotzebue (1885-1944), née Sukhanova. L. N. Sukhanova lost her first husband in the Far East, during the Russian-Japanese War (1904-1905), during which she served as a volunteer nurse. It was there, in the field hospital, that she met her future husband, Count Pavel Ernest von Kotzebue, who had been wounded in action. In 1914 L. N. Sukhanova graduated from the Imperial Academy of Art from St. Petersburg with a sculptor diploma. In 1917, the provisional authorities entrusted her the task of re-opening the theatre in Odessa, where she painted the scenery and also organized the choreography. On October 22, 1918 she married Lieutenant General Pavel von Kotzebue, the commander of the 6th Russian-Romanian Army, whose task was the defence of the Nămolosa-Galați line. He had already divorced his first wife, who abandoned him during the Russo-Japanese War, even though they had four children. On the occasion of this second marriage, the count legitimized his already born son Rostislav. After the outbreak of revolution in Russia and the dissolution of the Russian army from Romania, the count and his family settled as refugees in Romania, in the town Bolgrad (1919). Here, the sculptress opened a toy shop and her husband a brick and ceramics factory. After Pavel Kotzebue obtained his retirement as a Major General, his family moved to Bucharest. Lidia Kotzebue opened a sculpture studio there and took part in the Official Salons of 1924, 1926, and 1930, having also opened in 1926 a personal exhibition in the Mozart Hall. The Monument to the Heroes of the Air in Bucharest (1928-1930) is the work of the sculptor József Fekete (1903-1973), known as *Iosif Fekete Negrulea*, and hers (Georgescu, Cernovodeanu 1966, 130; Argeșanu, Ucrain 1977, 63; Berindei,

⁽³⁾ For Moritz von Kotzebue's biography: Ibidem, 357-358.

⁽⁴⁾ For Wilhelm von Kotzebue's biography and work: Turcu 1942; information offered in autumn 2014 by Father Maricel Medveș (Roman-Catholic parish of Bălușești, Neamț county).

⁽⁵⁾ For Alexander von Kotzebue's biography and work: Vollmer 1927, 356-357; cf. PBC, 354-355.

Bonifaciu 1980, 87), but her name was inscribed only in 1983 on this monument (unveiled on July 20, 1935), because her collaborator claimed that it is exclusively his work, after an unfinished model belonging to the sculptress, who in 1927 obtained the First Prize in the contest for the monument.

In the inventory register of the collection of Romanian painting of the Brukenthal museum (to which the work was assigned, but where are also recorded works by Hungarian, Polish, Czech, and Slovak artists, who worked or not on Romanian territory), the donor's name is recorded as *Ratislav Kotzebue*, and the name of the portrayed general was incorrectly recorded as *Pavel Kotzebui*. As the author of the painting is recorded *Horovici*, neither the initial of his first name, nor that of his possible patronymic actually being known. About the artist's name it can only be said that it could be the transcription in Romanian or French of a name known by its many variants in different languages spoken across central and eastern Europe: in Russian (*Хорович*), in Polish (*Horowicz*), in Czech (*Horovičs*), in Hungarian (*Horovics*), in Serbian (*Хоровић* or *Horović*), or in Croatian (*Horovich*, in the older spelling or *Horović* in the current one). This name, which often occurs both among the Jews from Central and Eastern Europe and in Israel, as well as among the Jewish immigrants in many countries, is spelled in German as *Horowitz*, which in Russian is written *Горовиц*, in Hungarian *Horovicz*, in Croatian *Horovic*, and in Hebrew הורוביץ. In Yiddish, the painter's name can be spelled as האַראָוויטש (for *Horovici*) or האַראָוויץ (for *Horowitz*). Sometimes, in the documents of the Habsburg administration, in those of the Italian, Spanish, English, or Dutch chancelleries, or in different documents of the Catholic Church, these names can be written as *Horovich*, respectively *Horovits*. In Greek, both names are spelled as *Χόροβιτς*. Research made in the archives in Odessa could result in the identification of the artist, who can be a local or an itinerant painter (and possibly a photographer too), acquainted with the models of German and Austrian military portraits without landscape elements in the background, having inscribed on it only the year when it was finished (and sometimes also the name of the portrayed person), generally painted for commanders' galleries and, more seldom, for those from aristocratic families. For this reason, the origin of

the Jewish painter in a Central European country seems to be possible, but not binding.

In our opinion, the painter Horovich's activity in the governorate of New Russia and Bessarabia could be related perhaps to the mission of the Odessa Society for the Progress of the Fine Arts (*Одесское общество изящных искусств*), established in 1865, and which is also connected with the still little known early stages of art education in Odessa (Makolkin 2007, 84), where on May 30, 1865 (under Frederick F. Malman's leadership) the painting school of the above-mentioned society was opened. Among its patrons were S. M. Vorontsov, Governor-General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Mayor N. A. Novoselsky, the princely family Gagarin, the Mirzoyan family (the descendants of Manuk Bey), the Tolstoy family, the General Consul of Italy, the architects Francesco Carlo Boffo, Ludwig Otton, Felix V. Gonsiorovsky, and others. Although troubled by the lack of an adequate building, the school played an important role in the development of local interest in art and contributed to the progress of the local Fine Arts. Due to the connections of Francesco Morandi (1811-1894), known to the Russians as *Франц Осипович Моранди*, the vice-president of the Society for the Progress of the Fine Arts, the school was supported with teaching materials by the Academy of Fine Arts in Milan ⁽⁶⁾. In 1885 only, the painting school received its own building (whose foundation stone was laid on May 22, 1883) and was recognized as an official institution. On December 30, 1899 it was recognized as a State Academy of Art (bearing between 1909 and 1917 the name of the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich, one of its main supporters, and, since 1965, that of the battle painter Mitrofan Borisovich Grekov, a formerly student of it).

The comparison of the portrait from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum with General P. D. von Kotzebue's portrait from an album of lithographs with portraits of Russian personalities distinguished by their merits and command during the Crimean War, published in 1858-1861 (Fig. 2) (*Портреты лиц*, pl. 139), confirms the identity of the character, despite the

⁽⁶⁾ For Francesco Morandi's activity within the Society for the Progress of the Fine Arts in Odessa and the relations of the Italian emigration with this society: Makolkin 2007, 71-84.

fact that the painting from Sibiu was made roughly ten years later.

Born in Berlin on August 10, 1801, P. D. von Kotzebue attended a gymnasium in St. Petersburg. In 1819 he entered the Imperial Guard Corps, as a vanguard soldier (scout). In 1820 he graduated in Moscow from a military school for scouts of the Imperial Guard, with the rank of an ensign (second lieutenant). In September 1821 he was sent to the Caucasus, under the command of Aleksey Petrovich Yermolov (1777-1861), where he distinguished himself in the fighting from the mountain regions, being decorated with the Imperial Order of St. Anna 4th class with the inscription *За храбрость* (for conquering the fort near Katekhi, in Azerbaijan) and then also 3rd class (for mapping Kabardinia) and was promoted lieutenant (*поручик*). In 1826-1828 he took part in the war against Persia, in which he was noted at the occasion of the blockade of Yerevan (in Armenia) and at the siege of the fortress Sardarabad (now Armavir, in Armenia), being awarded with the Imperial Order of St. Vladimir, The Prince Like The Apostles 4th class "with bow-shaped ribbon" (*с бантом*) and with the Order of St. Anna 2nd class with swords and promoted to the rank of a staff captain or a lieutenant captain (*штабс-капитан*). The war with the Ottoman Empire (1828-1829) brought him the rank of a captain and the Imperial Order of St. George, The Great Victory Bearer Martyr 4th class, for his merits in the fighting at Silistra (now in Bulgaria). In connection with the applying of the provisions of the Adrianople Peace Treaty, he was sent by the Emperor to Serbia, as a mediator between the Ottoman commissioners and the Serbian people. During the campaign of repressing the Polish uprising of 1831, P. D. von Kotzebue was awarded with a gold sabre on the occasion of the conquest of Warsaw (which took place on August 25, 1831), and for the siege of the fort Modlin near Warsaw he was promoted to the rank of a colonel. Then, repeatedly, he acted as Chief of Staff and Quartermaster General of the 2nd Army Corps during the absence of his superior. In 1837 he was appointed Commander of the Special Corps of the Caucasus, in 1839 he became a Major General, on January 19, 1843 he entered the suite of Emperor Nicholas I, on March 23, 1847 he was promoted to Lieutenant General and on October 2, 1847 he became the Emperor's Adjutant, due to the fact that he distinguished himself in the assault on

the fortified village or *aul* (*аул*) Salty from Dagestan. During the Crimean War he was the commander of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Army Corps. Crossing the Danube, he led on March 11, 1854 the assault of Brăila (now in Romania), after which the fortress was occupied. In 1854, for the siege of Silistra, he was awarded with the gold sabre with brilliants. In February 1855 he was appointed Chief of Staff of the Southern Army and of all Russian land and navy forces from Crimea. During the siege of Sevastopol, he personally led several breakthrough actions, and for his courage and bravery he was awarded (on September 13, 1855) with the Order of St. George 3rd class. Between 1855 and 1859 he was the commander of the 5th Army Corps and Chief of Staff of the 1st Army. At the same time he also had the command of the 60th Infantry Regiment from Zamość, in the governorate of Lublin. On September 8, 1859 he was promoted General of Infantry. The peak of his career begins with the office of Governor-General (*генерал-губернатор*) of New Russia and Bessarabia (December 12, 1862–1874), which was abolished after the administrative reorganization of these territories (1873), and, simultaneously, with that of Commander of the Odessa military district. In this office, he contributed to the urban and economic development of the governorate, taking the initiative to plan and construct two railways (Odessa-Tiraspol/Тирасполь, in 1867, and Tiraspol-Kishinev/Chişinău/Кишинёв/Kişinöv, finished in 1871) ⁽⁷⁾, to extensively dredge the channel of the Strait of Kerch, to straighten and clean the cataracts and tributaries of Dnieper, to modernize the harbour of Odessa and to improve the port of Mariupol. He began the parcelling of Odessa and the works in order to supply the city with water brought from the Dnister. He also supported the beginnings of the development of the urban banks in New Russia. On October 25, 1863 he became a member of the State Council. On March 12, 1870, on the occasion of the 50th

⁽⁷⁾ Count Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov (1782-1856), Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1823-1854), actually proposed in 1844 the building of a horse railway from Odessa to the village Parcani / Парканы / Паркани on the east bank of the river Dnister, as a starting point for the future development of the local railways.

anniversary of his entry into the officers' corps, he was awarded with the star with diamonds of the Imperial Order of St. Andrew the First Called, which was reserved for the highest imperial officials. On September 7, 1872 he became the patron of the 60th Infantry Regiment from Zamość. After his resignation from the office of Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia, he was appointed Governor-General of Warsaw (January 11, 1874 – May 18, 1880) and Commander of the military district of Warsaw. On June 29/July 8, 1874, Emperor Alexander II bestowed on him with the title of a Count of the Russian Empire (having his coat of arms and diploma confirmed on May 25/June 6, 1876), and, in 1880, as a sign of his particular appraisals, the monarch presented him his portrait adorned with brilliants. In 1881 he was appointed Chairman of the Review Commission for the military administration, which also made a few proposals to re-organize military education, which were implemented. He died in Reval, on April 19, 1884 ⁽⁸⁾. Because P. D. von Kotzebue died without male issue, his son-in-law, Baron Theodor Pilar von Pilchau (1848-1911), Lieutenant General in the Russian army, was authorised on January 12/24, 1878 by Emperor Alexander II to bear the name and title of *Count von Kotzebue* and to call himself in the future Theodor Kotzebue-Pilar von Pilchau, this branch of the family, however, not being granted a particular coat of arms (Klingspor 1882, 79). Subsequently, with the title of a count was also recorded, on January 17, 1906, in the register of the Bavarian aristocracy, the painter Wilhelm Johannes Adolph von Kotzebue (1864-1952), Alexander Friedrich Wilhelm Franz von Kotzebue's son ⁽⁹⁾.

P. D. von Kotzebue's biography, included in *The Russian Biographical Lexicon*, mentions numerous measures taken by him for the development of the governorate of New Russia and Bessarabia, but without actually referring to the results of his administration in Bessarabia. The almanac published by the gazette *Бессарабецъ*, under the redaction of the radical monarchist, ultra-nationalist, and anti-Semitic politician, journalist and publisher Pavel Alexandrovich Krushevan

(Pavel Crușevanu, 1860-1909) and printed in Moscow in 1903, lists the salutary effects of the various reforms of Emperor Alexander II, but (unlike the situation of other governors) does not mention specifically the name of the Governor-General P. D. von Kotzebue. It notes, however, the efforts of the governorate of New Russia and Bessarabia's administration for the development of urban life in Bessarabia by applying (since 1871) of the Regulations of 16 June 1870 concerning the autonomous administration of towns (which led to their rapid increase and to the regulation of buildings) (Krushevan 1903, 133), as well as for organizing the administration of the new governorate of Bessarabia, which was established in 1873 (Krushevan 1903, 135).

In his portrait from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, P. D. von Kotzebue is rendered seen from the front, three quarters, wearing the black uniform of Adjutant General (of Infantry), whose coat has got a red edged, golden collar insignia, aiguillettes, epaulets, and buttons and is mostly covered with orders and awards, more or less correctly depicted, but still identifiable. The general's face is realistically rendered: a head with a high forehead and scanty brown hair turned grey, blue eyes with grey eyebrows, a broad face, moustache, and whiskers arranged according to the model of Emperor Nicholas I, a small mouth with thin lips. The expression of his face is calm, resolute, benevolent, and his gaze is directed upwards, as if waiting for an important message, for an order coming from far away. The general's frail body, in an obvious contrast with his vigorous and expressive face and with the numerous awards, suggesting an energetic, brave, and competent soldier is emphasized by chromatic and light effects, which are specific for the older Russian portraiture, of the reign of Nicholas I. The grey and mauve tones of the brown background, but also the moderate, subtle realism, due to the audacity with which the painter structured the composition, projecting the character against an empty background and apparently too wide for him (as to suggest the optical illusion of reducing the height of the objects as a result of the remoteness, an impression supported also by the character's gaze, whose personality and merits helped him to overcome the handicap of a short and frail body), are elements of modernity, belonging to the means of the impressionist portraiture.

⁽⁸⁾ For P. D. von Kotzebue's biography: PBC, 358-360; cf. Klingspor 1882, 79; Menning 1992, 96-97.

⁽⁹⁾ For Wilhelm von Kotzebue's biography and work: Vollmer 1927, 357-358.

In his right hand, the general holds his cap with reddish top and gold gimped yarn, his gloved left hand resting on the hilt of the gold sabre with brilliants that he was awarded in 1854. Whether there are gold swords and sabres with brilliants (conferred only to generals) or sabres without brilliants (for the other officers), on them was always engraved the inscription *За храбрость* (i.e. "For bravery") (Durov 2006, 10; Durov 2007, 109; cf. Kulinsky 2001, 232) ⁽¹⁰⁾. This inscription is lacking on the crossguard of the sabre depicted in the painting from the Brukenthal National Museum's collection, in which the painter tried, however, to suggest the existence of the brilliants, inlaid in the hilt and in the crossguard (Fig. 3). In terms of typology, the sabre is correctly depicted: it is an infantry sabre, of a very similar (but not identical) model with those which were conferred as a distinction to infantry officers since 1798 (Durov 2007, 96; cf. Durov 2010, 120). It differs quite much from the new models of infantry sabres, from roughly 1826 (*Ibidem*, 160) to roughly 1865 (*Ibidem*, 174 and 180), which are typologically closer to the sabres of dragoons and sailors. As to the crossguard, it differs from sabres awarded to both soldiers who received the Order of St. Anna 4th class (Durov 2007, 102) and who received the Order of St. George (*Ibidem*, 100). The sabre corresponding to the 4th class of the Order of St. Anna (Kulinsky 2001, 233; Gladkov 2003, 61-62 and 82, fig. 21; cf. Durov 2006, 11 and 39, fig. 14), bestowed also upon P. D. von Kotzebue in his youth for the campaign in the Caucasus, has the badge of the order mounted in the sabre hilt, which was adorned with a lanyard in the colours of the order ribbon, with silver tassels. On the gold sabres with lanyard in the colours of the Order of St. George's ribbon (Kulinsky 2001, 232-233; Durov 2006, 10 and 29, fig. 5), which, according to the decree of September 1, 1869 was brought to those to which they were conferred also their registration as knights of the mentioned order (Durov 2007, 106), enamel badge of the order was added only in 1913 (*Ibidem*, 111). The sabre with which P. D. von Kotzebue is rendered in the portrait from Sibiu displays none of these characteristics, because (according to his biography) it is not a weapon

⁽¹⁰⁾ In the question of various types of edged weapons awarded to Russian soldiers: Durov 2010.

corresponding to the 4th class of the Order of St. Anna, nor a sabre of the Order of St. George. The regulations on the wear of the golden weapons were not yet fully codified in the late 1870s and early 1880s (Kulinsky 2001, 232), thus, almost a decade after the General P. D. von Kotzebue's portrait from Sibiu was achieved. As to the full dress of those who were awarded gold sabres, the regulations required to wear these weapons with their distinctive insignia, noting that, unlike the officers, the generals had to wear these sabres without the lanyard in the ribbon's colours and tassels (Durov 2007, 109), which explains also the lack of these sabre accessories in the painting kept in Sibiu.

At his neck the general wears, on a necklet, the cross of the Order of St. George 3rd class (Fig. 4/1) (Durov 2006, 11). Diagonally, over the right shoulder of his coat, but under the epaulet on it, then under the aiguillettes on his chest passes the light blue sash of the Order of St. Andrew (Fig. 6/1) (Gladkov 2003, 82), on which there is the cross of the Imperial Order of St. Prince Alexander Nevsky (Fig. 6/2) (Durov 2006, 23, fig. 3), and, below, the badge of the Page Corps (Fig. 6/3) (Spassky 2009, fig. 57/4). On the left hip, above the white belt in which are braided three red strips, the sash of the Order of St. Andrew overlaps the black-red-black ribbon of the Order of St. Vladimir, with its badge hanging on it (Fig. 5/1) (Durov 2006, 34, fig. 2).

On the left side of his chest are strung several awards, among which could be easier identified (from left to right): the cross of the Order of St. George 4th class (Fig. 7/1) (*Ibidem*, 28, fig. 3), the Imperial and Royal Order of the White Eagle (Fig. 7/2) (*Ibidem*, 42, fig. 3; cf. Filipow 1995, 38), the cross of the Order of St. Anna 2nd class, with the imperial crown and swords (Fig. 7/3) (Durov 2006, fig. 12). This version of the Order of St. Anna proves the Emperor's high appreciation for the military deeds for which the decoration was conferred (*Ibidem*, 11). The identification of these three awards (although depicted with less details) is confirmed by the colours of their ribbons: yellow with three black stripes for the Order of St. George, blue for the Order of the White Eagle and red with narrow yellow borders for the Order of St. Anna (Gladkov 2003, 82). Three yellowish grey medals follow (Fig. 7/4-6), whose ribbons are in the colours of three different orders (of St. Vladimir, of St. George and of St. Andrew). They could be the medals "In Memory of the War of 1853-1856", all

made of bronze (*Ibidem*, 331). Among them, that with the ribbon in the Order of St. Andrew's colours was awarded to all soldiers who had not received the medal with the ribbon in the Order of St. George's colours, as well as to the fighters from the irregular forces, to the Cossack regiments of Malorussia and to the nurses who worked even in the conflict zone, while that with the ribbon in the Order of St. Vladimir's colours was awarded to all military ranks, as well as to the oldest members of each aristocratic family, and not to be worn, but to be bequeathed to the descendants (*Ibidem*, 331). Unlike the medals awarded to the civilians, whose bronze was of a darker colour, those for soldiers were made of a bronze of lighter colour (Durov 2006, 14), that in chromatic terms their depiction is quite realistic, if compared with the tone used for the brass buttons. Obviously, the medal with the ribbon in the colours of the Order of St. George (Fig. 7/5) cannot be granted "In Memory of the War of 1853-1856", else P. D. von Kotzebue could not have also the medal whose ribbon has the colour of the Order of St. Andrew. For this reason, I believe that it is another medal, granted also for the Crimean War, namely "For the Defense of Sevastopol", but which was of silver (Gladkov 2003, 327; cf. Durov 2006, 14). Just after these three medals follows the black cross on a blue ribbon with two navy blue stripes (Fig. 7/7) of the Order "Virtuti Militari" 3rd class (Durov 2006, 42, fig. 6), belonging to the Polish crown and officially called "The Polish Military Medal" (*Medal Wojskowy Polski*) between 1815-1831. This order is not actually depicted in the painting, which was removed in 1832 from system of imperial and royal orders of the Russian Empire (as a consequence of the Polish uprising which broke out on November 29, 1830), but the Polish Sign of Honour (*Polski Znak Honorowy*), established on December 31, 1831, instead of this award (which it imitates), and which was granted to the Russian soldiers who fought during the suppression of the uprising (Lobkowicz 1999, 120-121; Gladkov 2003, 75; Durov 2007, 190), and between 1834 and 1837 also to the ones who did not take part in these operations, but who belonged to the manpower of the involved units (Potrashkov 2009, 141). Considering that in this campaign P. D. von Kotzebue was awarded with the gold sabre (but without brilliants) and the rank of a colonel (PĖC, 359), he was awarded with the 3rd class of this

award (Gladkov 2003, 75), corresponding to the rank of a knight, which was granted to Chief Staff officers and was worn on the chest (Potrashkov 2009, 141), in the manner in which it is actually depicted in the painting from Sibiu. The two medals following the Polish Sign of Honour (respectively, the silver one, whose ribbon is in the colours of the Order of St. George and the golden one, whose ribbon is in the colours of the Order of St. Andrew) are more difficult to identify: the first (Fig. 7/8) should be "For Service and Bravery" (1869), issued for the anniversary of the Order of St. George, but which had to be of golden metal (Gladkov 2003, 350-351, fig. 230), and the second (Fig. 7/9) "For the Toil of Releasing the Peasants" (1861) (*Ibidem*, 344, fig. 221). The licence regarding the colour of the anniversary medal "For Service and Bravery" can be explained by the fact that both the following medal, "For the Toil of Releasing the Peasants" and the metal button from its immediate proximity and partially overlapped by it are of golden colour.

Below these awards, but on the vertical, are some others: the star of the Order of St. Andrew (Fig. 8/1) (Durov 2006, 18, fig. 3), the star of the Order St. Vladimir, the variant "with swords on the order" (*с мечами над орденом*) (Fig. 8/2) (*Ibidem*, 35, fig. 8), and most likely, the cross of the Order St. Vladimir 4th class (Fig. 8/3) (*Ibidem*, 35, fig. 18), the latter being easily confused with the cross "For Service in Caucasus" (*Ibidem*, 46, fig. 1), granted to all those who between 1859-1864 took part actively in the fights in this region and which was worn, indeed, on the left side of the chest, below all other orders and awards. The cross of the Order of St. Vladimir 4th class could have arms of red or even dark burgundy enamel, with golden swords, while the cross "For Service in Caucasus" is black with silver swords. Because both awards would be hard to see on the black background of the general's uniform coat, the artist appealed to the licence of depicting a golden cross with golden swords. The peculiar position of this supposed badge of the Order of St. Vladimir 4th class, which is not worn on the chest, but below the star of the Order of St. Andrew and the star of the Order of St. Vladimir, surprises only apparently. The Order of St. Vladimir had to be worn all the time, and if a superior order (like the Order of St. Andrew, for example) was conferred, the first only changed its place on the uniform coat (Durov 2007, 133-137). The variant with swords of the order was conferred, after

August 5, 1855, for military merits, but if the class granted for military merits was inferior to that which was awarded for civil merits, until the late 1870s (when the permission to also simultaneously wear the badge of the inferior class was generalized), over the superior ray of the superior class badge were applied the so-called “swords on the order” (*Ibidem*, 139; cf. Shishkov 2003, 272). P. D. von Kotzebue received, therefore, the star of the order of St. Vladimir with “swords on the order” for military merits, which he wears (maybe as a privilege) simultaneously with the badge of the 4th class of the order, which he received as known also for military merits, during the campaign of 1826-1828 against Persia (P&C, 359). Just under the inferior end of the Order of St. Andrew’s sash can be seen the tips of two rays of the star of an order, which could not at all be easily identified (Fig. 8/4), but which is certainly not that of St. Anna, because among all stars of the Russian orders this is the single one which is worn on the right side, according to the tradition of the House of Hollstein-Gottorp, the founder of this order (Durov 2007, 149). That is why it is difficult to say if it could be the star of the Order of the White Eagle or of the Order of St. Stanislaus. Regardless of which order it would be, this detail is an additional argument that the award above it cannot be the cross “For Service in Caucasus”, which, according to the statutes, had to be worn on the left side of the chest, below the orders and the medals (Gladkov 2003, 346). Our hypothesis is also supported by the fact that, being known that P. D. von Kotzebue was awarded with the Order of St. Vladimir 4th class for fighting against the Persians in Caucasus (P&C, 359), there is actually no proof that he actively took part also in the Caucasus campaign of 1859-1864. It should be mentioned that, according to an order of March 17, 1835, the Order of the White Eagle was put just after the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky in the general precedence order of the Russian orders and that only in 1899 it was forbidden to the receivers of the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky to wear the star of the Order of the White Eagle, settling that the receivers of the Order of St. Andrew have to wear the cross (the badge) of the Order of the White Eagle on the chest, to the left of the Order of St. George and of the Order of St. Vladimir 4th class (Shishkov 2003, 272). It should be noted that, although P. D. von Kotzebue’s portrait was painted in 1871 (i.e. before these regulations), for the Order

of the White Eagle the precedence order is observed, both in relation to the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky and to the Order of St. George. Covering the most part of a star with the sash of the Order of St. Andrew could be an interesting and clever licence of the painter, who had not enough place to depict both the star of the Order of the White Eagle and that of the Order of St. Stanislaus, which are not mentioned in P. D. von Kotzebue’s biography from the Russian Biographical Lexicon, but which the general certainly received, according to the valid regulations, how I will demonstrate below.

Near to the star of the Order of St. Vladimir, to the right, seems to be a small Maltese cross of white enamel (Fig. 8/5), which (for chronological reasons, as well as considering the military rank of the portrayed character) cannot be identified, however, with the cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, usually awarded to soldiers (Durov 2006, 40, fig. 5), because in 1810 this order ceased to be conferred (Gladkov 2003, 67; cf. Potrashkov 2009, 93). In 1811 this order’s wealth was moved to the Treasury and the documents of its priories to the archives (*Ibidem*, 93), which led to the widespread opinion that the wear of its insignia was forbidden to Russian subjects (Durov 2006, 11). Such an interdiction seems possible, however, between 1810/1811-1817, because in 1817 it was announced that the wear of the order’s insignia is allowed to those who were already awarded with them (Gladkov 2003, 67), although according to a decision of the government the activity of the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John ceased in Russia the same year (Potrashkov 2009, 93). After the death of its Russian hereditary commanders, their descendants lost the right to wear this title and the insignia of the order (Durov 2007, 175) and only in the early twentieth century, by special approvals (granted usually on the occasion of certain anniversaries), a Maltese cross of white enamel became the badge of some prestigious military units, whose existence is related to Emperor Paul I, the Great Master of the Order (1798-1801): the 2nd Guard Hussars Officer Corps from Pavlograd (on October 21, 1908, on the occasion of the battle of Preussisch-Eylau’s centenary) (Sheveleva 1993, 10, pl. 19/2), the 4th Battery of the 1st Artillery Brigade (in 1912) (Gladkov 2003, 504, fig. 527) and the 4th Battery of the 27th Artillery Brigade (in 1911) (*Ibidem*, 505,

fig. 531). During the same period, badges with this symbol were appointed also for various military units, which generally had no direct or obvious relation with Paul I: in 1908 for the 93rd Infantry Regiment of Irkutsk, of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich (*Ibidem*, 493-494, fig. 500), in 1909 for the 14th Infantry Regiment of Olonetsk, of King Peter I of Serbia (*Ibidem*, 491, fig. 491), in 1911 for the Cossacks of the Imperial Guard (*Ibidem*, 487, fig. 481) as well as for the 3rd Guard Artillery Brigade (*Ibidem*, 488, fig. 484), and in 1912 for the 116th Infantry Regiment of Maloyaroslavsk (*Ibidem*, 494, fig. 504). Of course, the most known badge in the shape of a Maltese cross belongs to the Page Corps, founded in 1759 and reorganized in 1802 into an educational establishment: it is not only the old badge of this corps (Spassky 2009, fig. 57/4), which in P. D. von Kotzebue's portrait from Sibiu is worn over the sash of the Order of St. Andrew, but also the new badge of the students and graduates of the mentioned corps, inspired by the older one and appointed on March 18, 1902, on the occasion of the centenary of this institution (Sheveleva 1993, 107, pl. 36/2; Gladkov 2003, 511, fig. 539-540). Other two prestigious corps, also established before the reign of Paul I, got too a Maltese cross as badge: the Navy Cadet Corps, in 1910 (*Ibidem*, 511-512 and 541) and the 1st Muscovite Cadet Corps of Empress Catherine I, in 1909 (*Ibidem*, 514-515, fig. 547). Because of the impact that the example of the Page Corps and his ethic values had on the whole Russian military education system, in the early twentieth century the Maltese cross was also adopted as their badge by other institutions of military education (usually bearing the name of the founding emperors or of the heir to the throne), like the Paul I Military School (on December 7, 1898, on the occasion of the institution's centenary) (Sheveleva 1993, 99, pl. 33/5), the Nicholas I School of Military Engineering of St. Petersburg (on June 14, 1866) (*Ibidem*, 90, pl. 33/6; Gladkov 2003, 520, fig. 562) and the Aleksey Military Engineering School of Kiev (in 1916) (*Ibidem*, 521, fig. 563).

As to the date of the painting, but also P. D. von Kotzebue's biography, the other award in the shape of a Maltese cross depicted on the general's portrait from Sibiu (Fig. 8/5) cannot be identified with any of these badges, which led me to believe that it could be rather the special silver badge of April 17, 1863, conferred for achieving the

peasants' releasing from serfdom (*Ibidem*, 345, fig. 226), which the painter depicted incorrectly and less minutely, without the circle rendering a wreath. Considering also that P. D. von Kotzebue became Governor General of New Russia and Bessarabia on December 12, 1862, i.e. around two years after Emperor Alexander II's edict (February 19, 1861), which was read in the cathedral of Kishinev on March 5, 1861 (Krushevan 1903, 133), it is difficult to say if both awards for releasing the peasants from serfdom are related to the activity that he deployed in this aim as a landowner, in Livonia or also as Governor General of New Russia and Bessarabia. Anyway, in Bessarabia this reform had a smaller impact than in other regions of the Empire, because only roughly 12,000 persons, of whom most had been brought from Russia, and generally for non-agricultural activities, took advantage of it (Hitchins 1994, 242-243).

It should be noted that some of P. D. von Kotzebue's awards depicted in the painting from Sibiu are not mentioned in the general's biography published in 1903 in the Russian Biographical Lexicon edited by Alexander Alexandrovich Polovtsov (PBC, 358-360). These are: the Order of the White Eagle, the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky, the Polish Sign of Honour, the medals awarded for the Crimean War, the medal "For Service and Bravery", and the awards related to the peasants' releasing from serfdom. The failure to mention some of the depicted awards in P. D. von Kotzebue's biography, which emphasizes his military merits, could be explained by the fact that some of them were awarded to him either at the same time with the Order of St. Andrew (1870) or even earlier, after the moment when he was awarded with the gold sabre with brilliants (1854) or at the same occasion. Indeed, according to a regulation of March 28, 1861, upon the persons who were awarded with gold sabres the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky was also bestowed (Durov 2007, 45). Even if before they were not awarded with any of Russian orders, since August 16, 1805 those who were awarded with the Order of St. Andrew were also conferred the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky and the Order of St. Anna 1st class, and since December 13, 1831 they also received, simultaneously, the Order of the White Eagle and the Order of St. Stanislaus 1st class (Shishkov 2003, 98). But, how I shall point later, P. D. von Kotzebue may also have received the Order of the White

Eagle on the occasion of the repression of the Polish uprising of 1831; in my opinion, this is very likely. As a consequence, he was awarded with the Order of St. Stanislaus 1st class only in 1870. The failing to mention the medals awarded for the Crimean War could be explained by the fact that they were granted to numerous soldiers and civilians, as well as to nurses (Durov 2006, 13-14; cf. Gladkov 2003, 331). The awards for releasing the peasants from serfdom were also bestowed to numerous persons, either landowners or civil servants, and they were also not mentioned, therefore, in the general's biography. The Polish Sign of Honour was awarded to many people too (Lobkowicz 1999, 120-121; Gladkov 2003, 75; Durov 2007, 190; Potrashkov 2009, 141) and is not mentioned in the Russian Biographical Lexicon along the bestowing of a gold sabre on P. D. von Kotzebue and his promoting in rank, on the occasion of the campaign to repress the Polish uprising of 1831. Another award which is not mentioned in the biography published in the said lexicon, namely the anniversary medal "For Service and Bravery", was also conferred to a large number of soldiers.

Official sources confirm the date of the awarding of the Order of St. George 3rd class to P. D. von Kotzebue (Военной Ордень Св. Георгия, 90), as well as the receiving of the gold sabre with brilliants, but on November 10, 1854 (Ismailov 2007, 234) and, although for the siege of Silistra, not in April 1854 (when it took place), how is mentioned in the said Russian Biographical Lexicon edited by A. A. Polovtsov (РБС, 359), but later. Instead, in the official lists of those who were awarded with golden weapons for the repression of the Polish uprising of 1831, P. D. von Kotzebue's name is not mentioned at all (Ismailov 2007, 194-199), only that of his relative, Alexander Karlovich Kruzenstern, to whom it was awarded on August 28, 1831 (*Ibidem*, 196). Instead, in the list of those awarded with the Order of St. Andrew compiled by Sergey Stanislavovich Shishkov is stated that this order was granted to P. D. von Kotzebue on June 28, 1866, and that in 1870 he received the order's star with diamonds (Shishkov 2003, 140, crt. no. 372), reserved for the highest officials. The awarding of the highest Russian order at a such early date (1866) would be very hard to explain only by P. D. von Kotzebue's military merits, especially if considering that the Order of St. Andrew was granted to province governors for

"valuable and loyal services" after at least ten years of exercising their mandate (*Ibidem*, 48).

Considering the regulations concerning the wear of the awards by the knights of the Order of St. Andrew (Kvadri, Konarzhevsky 1901, 55), it appears also that in P. D. von Kotzebue's portrait certain awards (the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky and the Order of St. Anna 2nd class) are not worn on a necklet, according to them, but on the left side of the chest. An exception is the Order of the White Eagle, which the knights of the Order of St. Andrew had to wear on the chest, to the left of the Order of St. George and of St. Vladimir 4th class, which required the adaptation of the dimensions of the collar insignia (Potrashkov 2009, 136-137). The painter's licences are all the more obvious as the general, as a knight of the Order of St. Andrew, simultaneously received (according to the regulations) also the Order of St. Anna 1st class, which is not depicted and had to be worn on a necklet too. But because the general had previously received the Order of St. Anna 4th class, he had the right to simultaneously wear the badges of all classes of the order, as an exception from the rule which settled that otherwise only the badge of the highest class had to be worn. Instead, the cross of the Order of St. Anna 2nd class had to be worn on a necklet and not on the chest, on the left side, as it is depicted in the painting. The cross of the order of St. Vladimir 4th class has to be worn on the chest, on the left side, not a little above the belt (like in the painting from Sibiu), but (how already said) here this could be a privilege, due to the general's awarding with the star "with swords on the order" ⁽¹¹⁾. Over the sash of the Order of St. Andrew, P. D. von Kotzebue also wears the badge of the Page Corps, perhaps in order to emphasize two important and, at the same time, symbolic moments of his career (namely, its beginning and its peak), this hypothesis being supported by the fact that the Order of St. Andrew was conferred to him on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his entry into the officer corps (РБС, 359). As he failed to observe the official regulations concerning the wear of the awards, the painter's intention (who may have

⁽¹¹⁾ For the laws governing the wear of the orders, as well as the pensions, duties and privileges pertaining to the awarded persons: Zamyslovsky, Petrov 1891; Kvadri, Konarzhevsky 1901, 47-77.

actually been answered to a request of the commissioner) seems to have been rather to depict all the orders (even of a lower class) and medals bestowed upon the general as much as possible, as an expression of the official recognition of his merits, especially since it is a private portrait, intended to remain as a souvenir of the family of the portrayed character. This is also the explanation why the Order of the White Eagle is so vaguely drawn, that, although it can be easily identified, it is impossible to specify whether it is the military variant, with swords (Filipow 1995, 38), or the civil variant, without swords (Durov 2006, 42, fig. 3). A detailed examination shows, however, that the painter certainly drew the civil variant initially, without swords, but subsequently he undertook a retouch by applying a patch of blue (in the colour of the correctly depicted ribbon of the order), suggesting a bow which covers the heads of the Russian double-headed eagle and the space below the imperial crown (where the swords should have been). Although the variant with swords of the Order of the White Eagle began to be conferred, specifically for military merits, since 1855 (Potrashkov 2009, 136), this intervention of the painter, obviously required just by P. D. von Kotzebue, is quite difficult to explain. Considering P. D. von Kotzebue's biography, which does not mention his awarding with the order of the White Eagle and with the Polish Sign of Honour in the rank of a knight on the occasion of the repression of the Polish uprising in 1831, it seems more likely that he must have been awarded with the Order of the White Eagle also in 1831 and not later, between 1855-1859, when he was the commander of the 5th Army Corps and Chief of Staff of the 1st Army and, at the same time, the commander of the 60th Infantry Regiment of Zamość (PBC, 359). Indeed, being awarded with the Order of the White Eagle for his participation in the repression of the mentioned Polish uprising, he could *only get the older variant* of the order, *without swords*, while his military ranks from 1855-1859 (*i. e. after the creation of the military variant of the order*) does not justify his awarding for civil merits. It can be concluded, therefore, that the painter's intervention was a compromise, required to clear up any suspicion of the ill-willed persons, who did not know that the general was awarded with the Order of the White Eagle *before 1855* (*i.e. most likely for his involvement in the repression of the Polish*

uprising of 1831) and in order to avoid the distorting of reality, by depicting the military variant of the order, then still non-existent, but well-known to younger viewers, contemporaries with the achieving of his portrait.

In the current state of the research, this painting dated in 1871 from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum is the only painted portrait of General P. D. von Kotzebue, who, at that time, resided in Odessa, as Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia and Commander of the Odessa military district. Therefore, it is likely that the portrait was also painted in Odessa. From the stylistic point of view, it is marked by the tradition of the German and Austrian military portraits of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, with a simple background, without landscape elements, generally made rather for military galleries than for those of aristocratic families. But perhaps just because the portrait was not intended for a public display, in a Russian military or administrative institution, the name of the portrayed character is not written, and the year when the painting was made is written very clearly, bottom right, with red figures, but without being accompanied by the customary abbreviation *z.* (from *zoda*), as it would have been proper according to the rules of the Russian spelling of the dates.

P. D. von Kotzebue used to use German, his mother tongue, in speech, and for the Russian government this may have been considered an advantage, as suggested by his appointment (1881) as Chairman of the Review Commission for military administration, which had to inquire the advantages of the German model over the extant Russian system, due to Dmitry Alekseyevich Milyutin (Menning 1992, 96). On the contrary, his Russian contemporaries (Menkov 1898; Parensov 1901) generally regarded him unfavourably in their memories, as a careerist and arrogant foreigner, having got an ugly appearance. Thus, Pyotr Kononovich Menkov (1814-1875), an officer praised for his intellect (Curtiss 1965, 295), who was Chief of Staff of the 2nd Infantry Corps towards the end of the Crimean War, but as a consequence of his tense relations with P. D. von Kotzebue (at that time, Chief of Staff of the 1st Army) was dismissed and appointed Quartermaster General at the General Headquarter in 1857, describes the latter as being of a short height, measuring just 2 *аршины* without 1 *вершок* (*i. e. 2 ells without 1/16,*

respectively 138 cm) and always having a clean, shaved, smooth face, with lifeless but ceaselessly smiling eyes, adding that in the Caucasus he would bought his “reputation” and favoured the Germans. Of course, these rumours concerning the Caucasus campaign were known to P. D. von Kotzebue too, which also explains his request of retouching the Order of the White Eagle on his portrait, the general being aware that there were gossips afloat concerning his career, especially among the young officers, who did not know his military deeds from campaigns fought together. The description of the of P. D. von Kotzebue’s appearance is also almost fully supported by a careful examination of the portrait from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum. In his memories, General Pyotr Dmitrievich Parensov (1843-1914), who describes him in 1876 as “*pretty sharp and healthy, but very ugly*” (Parensov 1901, 9), recounts an anecdote afloat at that time among ill-willed Russian officers, according to which P. D. von Kotzebue’s short stature led to him being compared with an ape in Berlin, where he arrived as a member of a Russian delegation sent there after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 (*Ibidem*, 10), i.e. not earlier as May 10, 1871, thus in the very same year when the portrait now kept in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum was painted.

P. K. Menkov’s allegations of concerning the Caucasus campaign seem to be contradicted by P. D. von Kotzebue’s entire career, and in the Russian military memories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century conclusive evidence could hardly be found to substantiate the existence of an inequitable attitude of the latter towards Russians in relation to Germans. Thus, in 1845 P. D. von Kotzebue heard from Field Marshal Ivan Fyodorovich Paskevich (1782-1856) ⁽¹²⁾ that Emperor Nicholas I was going to appoint General Mikhail Dmitrievich Gorchakov (1793-1861) as his adjutant and stated (quite justifiably) that the latter

⁽¹²⁾ Field Marshal Ivan Fyodorovich Paskevich, an iconic figure during the reign of Emperor Nicholas I, is especially known as namiestnik (deputy) of the Tsar in the Kingdom of Poland (1831-1855) and as commander of the Russian army sent against the Hungarian Revolution (1849). He became the archetype of the rigid, unimaginative type of Russian officer of Nicholas I (Mollo 1979, 33-34), himself a good organizer, but unimaginative in military matters (Mollo 1979, 32).

was a puppet and a dunce, which is useless to him, because the prince (although known as a brave, honest, generous, calm, and patient man) had no initiative, and that his long and stultifying service under the command of the mentioned field marshal made the latter even more sensitive and timid and accustomed to see his subordinates intimidated, tortured, and degraded (Curtiss 1965, 296). As at the beginning of the Crimean War, when the Russian army occupied the principalities of Moldova and Walachia, P. D. von Kotzebue was subordinated to Prince M. D. Gorchakov, who in 1855 became the Supreme Commander of Russian forces in Crimea, again having P. D. von Kotzebue as a subordinate (as his Chief of Staff), the old opinion of the latter about the Prince could not been forgotten, by his opponents or friends either. A precise assessment of the role of each of these two commanders in the conduct of the operations in Crimea and, in particular, in the resistance of Sevastopol is extremely difficult and subjective, especially because the particular importance of these moments of the war and their strong emotional impact in the collective conscience of the Russian people. Despite some doubtless evidence of his effective action in the Caucasus (1820) (Barker 1970, 72) and of his personal bravery during the Crimean War as well (Barker 1970, 109 and 112; cf. Sweetman 2001, 42-43), for the Western historians of the Crimean War, Prince M. D. Gorchakov usually has a very bad image: he is described as an extremely near-sighted aristocrat, who usually spoke French, could barely make himself understood when speaking Russian, and is considered as an incompetent commander, absent if not even feeble-minded (Edgerton 1999, 61), lacking initiative (Curtiss 1965, 296; Schroeder 1972, 138; Barker 1970, 11-12 and 287), coward, and vain, but obedient towards Emperor Nicholas I (Edgerton 1999, 210). However, in the late nineteenth century Prince M. D. Gorchakov had remained in the Russian collective memory as one of the greatest military personalities and as an example of heroism and patriotism ⁽¹³⁾ and who, according to Pyotr Vladimirovich Alabin’s memories (1824-1896), at the end of the repression campaign against the Hungarian revolution (1849)

⁽¹³⁾ For Prince Mikhail Dmitrievich Gorchakov’s perception in Russia, in the late 19th century: Krasovsky 1874; Князь М. Д. Горчаковъ.

was praised by the Emperor as an energetic and able commander, as a reliable collaborator of Field Marshal I. F. Paskevich (Alabin 1888, 138-139). Although, in a record in his diary (March 23, 1855) Brigadier Charles Ashe Windham (1810-1870), the commander of the 4th Division, considered the Prince as a “new man”, as a commander without enough experience (Mansfield 1973, 109).

Although P. D. von Kotzebue’s military merits opened to him the possibility of a rapid advancement, unusual at that time, because of the mistrust that Emperor Nicholas I kept throughout his reign towards staff officers after the Decembrist revolt (1825) (Thomas, Scollins 1991, 11), P. D. von Kotzebue was perceived rather negatively by the younger officers, with caricatured accents, as an upstart, arrogant, and vain stranger. Thus, relating his mission in Warsaw (1876), General P. D. Parensov let to know how slanderers said that P. D. von Kotzebue’s arrogant attitude (who, continuously moving a document from one hand to the other, refused to shake his hand) was due to the fact that, approaching to him, the Governor-General of Warsaw noticed that the officer was awarded with the Prussian Order of the Crown (Parensov 1901, 9-10). The gossips mentioned by P. D. Parensov could insinuate that P. D. von Kotzebue’s arrogant behaviour could be due to his envy for that, even being a member of the delegation sent to Berlin, he was not awarded with this order which, although established just in 1861, was seen as the equivalent of the Order of the Red Eagle (established in 1792), second in importance only after the Order of the Black Eagle (established in 1701). Altmark, the “cradle of Prussia” and home of P. D. von Kotzebue’s ancestors, also is Otto von Bismark’s homeland, as he was born in Schönhausen near Stendal, and this may have been the reason why P. D. von Kotzebue expected to be awarded with a high Prussian order, such an unfriendly reaction of P. D. von Kotzebue seeing the cross of the Prussian Order of the Crown on P. D. Parensov’s chest seems, therefore, fully credible, even if it is only supported by the passing mention of these opinions of ill-willed persons. Yet, just because P. D. Parensov’s sayings (who was awarded with the Prussian Order of the Crown 2nd class in 1873) relate to events of 1876, thus not much later than the time when the painting from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum was made, they acquire a very particular significance,

even though the said officer wrongly states about P. D. von Kotzebue, whom he met in those residence in the Royal Palace of Warsaw (*Ibidem*, 8-9), that the latter had the rank of a Lieutenant General at that time (*Ibidem*, 9). These remarks are extremely important to understand the hostility which P. D. von Kotzebue had to face from some Russian officers, who envied him for the trust he enjoyed from the emperors Nicholas I and Alexander II, tendentiously perceived by them as a consequence of the traditional favouring of Germans by the Imperial Court at the expense of Russians, especially in the army ⁽¹⁴⁾.

An important event in P. D. von Kotzebue’s life, the battle of Silistra (June 13, 1854), after which he was awarded with the gold sabre with brilliants (PBC, 359), but which was both reflected in some French artists’ work and correspondence of, emphasizes the honest way in which he build his career, with bravery and tenacity. Even if there is no direct connection between P. D. von Kotzebue and the perception of these events by the French artists, its analyse is although significant for highlighting how, lacking any collaboration of its representatives in the war theatre, respectively of immediate witnesses of the events, the French press reflected them with extreme subjectivity, as a consequence of the involvement of France in this new phase of the Russian-Ottoman war faring. The battle of Silistra (fought while the Franco-British forces concentrated in Varna in order to intervene in Dobroudja) inspired a sketch due to Henry Valentin (1820-1855), published in the Parisian magazine *L'Illustration* (nº. 593/July 8, 1854), but the artist (intensely sought for the most diversified commissions, from parades and imperial receptions to fashion design and caricatures) was not present on the battle field, as an eye witness of the events. For this reason, as in the situation of an anonymous representation of the battle of Oltenița (October 23, 1854), also due to a French artist, who depicted the Wallachian town as a Muslim city, with many minarets and domes of mosques and bazaars (Ionescu 2001, 24-25), any relation with the topographical reality is lacking, the landscape details which could allow the identification of the place of the battle being replaced by the clouds of smoke produced by discharging firearms. In the

⁽¹⁴⁾ For the perception of the German officers of the Russian army in the mid-19th c.: Seaton, Roffe 1973, 12.

mentioned sketch of the battle of Silistra, on the right, a battery of Ottoman artillery is rendered on a hill, while, in the foreground, the cavalry, followed by the infantry, strongly attacks the Russian infantry, which hardly resists, despite the mobilizing presence of a few officers (Ionescu 2001, 35-36). Even if they were made for a magazine which, obviously, supported the anti-Russian foreign policy of Napoleon III, this sketch allows the understanding of the context in which the Emperor and the headquarters of the Russian army so highly appreciated P. D. von Kotzebue's military deeds, an emerging infantry officer, appointing him Chief of Staff of the Southern Army and of all Russian land and navy forces from Crimea in February 1855 (PBC, 359), when the war was fought on Russian soil, in Crimea, and for this reason was seen as a patriotic fight for the country's defence. For the same French magazine (n^o. 595/July 22, 1854) the defeat of the Russian army at Silistra (which the boldness of officers such as P. D.

von Kotzebue could not prevent, however) was narrated by Dr. Ferdinand Quesnoy, a military physician who, coming to Varna in order to organize the healthcare for the French expeditionary corps, sent from there to Paris not only drawings, but also notes concerning the campaign in Dobroudja (Ionescu 2001, 36).

Despite some licences regarding the wear and the appearance of certain orders and medals, P. D. von Kotzebue's portrait from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum has got, therefore, a great documentary value, enhanced by the realistic character of the work, both in terms of the artist's ability to render the physiognomy of the portrayed character (and even to capture some elements of his personality) and in terms of depicting the awards bestowed upon him by the emperors Nicholas I and Alexander II for his merits, despite the disparagement and envy of ill-willed persons.

References

a. Books

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Alabin 1888</p> <p>Argeșanu, Ucrain 1977</p> <p>Berindei, Bonifaciu 1980</p> <p>Barker 1970</p> <p>Curtiss 1965</p> | <p>Alabin, P., <i>Походныя записки въ 1849, 1853, 1854-56, 1877-78 годахъ</i>, vol. I, Samara, Тип. И. П. Новикова (1888).</p> <p>Argeșanu, Florian T., Ucrain, Constantin, <i>Tripticul vitejiei românești: 1877-1878, 1916-1918, 1944-1945. Monumente, obeliscuri, plăci memoriale și busturi înălțate în România, Bulgaria, Ungaria și Cehoslovacia</i>. Ghid, București, Sport-Turism (1977).</p> <p>Berindei, Dan, Bonifaciu, Sebastian, <i>București: Ghid turistic</i>, București, Sport-Turism (1980).</p> <p>Barker A. J., <i>The War Against Russia, 1854-1856</i>, New York – Chicago – San Francisco, Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1970).</p> <p>Curtiss, John Shelton, <i>The</i></p> | <p><i>Russian Army under Nicholas I, 1825-1855</i>, Durham, Duke University Press (1965).</p> <p>Durov 2006 Durov, V. A., <i>Ruská a sovětská vojenská vyznamenání / Russian and Soviet Military Awards</i>, Praha, Naše Vojsko (2006).</p> <p>Durov 2007 Durov, Valery, <i>Ордена Российской империи</i>, 6th ed., Moskva, Белый Город (2007).</p> <p>Durov 2010 Durov, Valery, <i>Русское наградное оружие</i>, Moskva, Фонд «Русские Витязи» (2010).</p> <p>Edgerton 1999 Edgerton, Robert B., <i>Death or Glory: The Legacy of the Crimean War</i>, Oxford, Westview Press (1999).</p> <p>Filipow 1995 Filipow, Krzysztof, <i>Order Orła Białego</i>, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Łuk" (1995).</p> <p>Georgescu, Cernovodeanu 1966 Georgescu, Florian, Cernovodeanu, Paul, <i>Monumente din București</i>, București, Meridiane (1966).</p> <p>Gladkov 2003 Gladkov, N. N., <i>История</i></p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- государства Российского в наградах и знаках, vol. I, Sankt-Peterburg, ООО Издательство «Полигон» (2003).
- Hitchins 1994** Hitchins, Keith, *Rumania: 1866-1947*, Oxford, Clarendon Press (1994).
- Ionescu 2001** Ionescu, Adrian-Silvan, *Cruce și Semilună. Războiul rusoturc din 1853-1854 în chipuri și imagini*, București, Biblioteca Bucureștilor (2001).
- Ismailov 2007** Ismailov, E. E., *Золотое оружие с надписью «За храбрость». Списки кавалеров, 1788-1913*, Москва, Старая Басманная (2007).
- Klingspor 1882** Klingspor, Carl Arvid von (ed.), *Baltisches Wappenbuch. Wappen sämtlicher, den Ritterschaften von Livland, Estland, Kurland und Oesel zugehöriger Adelsgeschlechter*, Stockholm, F. & G. Beijer (1882).
- Kotzebue 1984** Kotzebue, Rostislav von, *History and Genealogy of the Kotzebue Family*, Paris, Hervas (1984).
- Krushevan 1903** Krushevan, P. A. (red.), *Бессарабія. Графіческій, историческій, статистическій, экономическій, этнографическій, литературный и справочный сборникъ*, Москва, Типографія А. В. Васильева (1903).
- Kulinsky 2001** Kulinsky, A. N., *Russian Edged Weapons, Polearms and Bayonets 18-20th c. / Русское холодное оружие XVIII-XX вв.*, vol. I, St. Petersburg, Atlant (2001).
- Kvadri, Konarzhevsky** Kvadri, V., Konarzhevsky, K., *Российские императорские и царские ордена. Краткій историческій очеркъ, выдержки изъ орденскихъ статутовъ и правила ношенія орденовъ*, Sankt-Peterburg, Типографія П. П. Сойкина (1901).
- Lobkowicz 1999** Lobkowicz, František, *Encyklopedie řádů a vyznamenání*, Praha, Nakladatelství Libri (1999).
- Makolkin 2007** Makolkin, Anna, *The Nineteenth Century in Odessa: One Hundred Years of Italian Culture on the Shores of the Black Sea (1794-1894)*, Lewiston, Edwin Melwin Press (2007).
- Mansfield 1973** Mansfield, H. O., *Charles Ashe Windham: A Norfolk Soldier (1810-1870)*, Lavenham, Terence Dalton Limited (1973).
- Menning 1992** Menning, Bruce W., *Bayonets Before Bullets: The Imperial Russian Army, 1861-1914*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press (1992).
- Menkov 1898** Menkov, P. K., *Записки*, Sankt-Peterburg (1898).
- Mollo 1979** Boris Mollo, *Uniforms of the Imperial Russian Army*, Poole (1979).
- Parensov 1901** Parensov, P. D., *Изъ прошлого. Воспоминанія офицера Генеральнаго штаба*, vol. I, Sankt-Peterburg, В. Березовский (1901).
- Potrashkov 2009** Potrashkov, S. V., *Награды России*, Москва, Издательство «Эксмо» (2009).
- Schroeder 1972** Schroeder, Paul W., *Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert*, Ithaca – London, Cornell University Press (1972).
- Seaton, Roffe** Seaton, Albert, Roffe,

- 1973** Michael, *The Russian Army of the Crimea*, Reading, Osprey Publishing Limited (1973).
- Sheveleva 1993** Sheveleva, E. N., *Нагрудные знаки русской армии*, Sankt-Peterburg, Издательство «Фарн» (1993).
- Shishkov 2003** Shishkov, Serghei Stanislavovici, *Награды России 1698-1917 / Awards of Russia 1698-1917*, vol. 1, Vladivostok, Фотостудия «Роллфильм» (2003).
- Spassky 2009** Spassky, I. G., *Иностранные и русские ордена до 1917 года*, Moskva, Вече (2009).
- Sweetman 2001** John Sweetman, *The Crimean War*, Oxford, Osprey Publishing Limited (2001).
- Thomas, Scollins 1991** Thomas, Robert H. G., Scollins, Richard, *The Russian Army of the Crimean War 1854-56*, London, Osprey Publishing Ltd. (1991).
- Turcu 1942** Turcu, Constantin, *Un călător german, acum un veac, prin județul Neamț: Wilhelm von Kotzebue*, s. l. (1942).
- Vollmer 1927** Vollmer, Hans (ed.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. XXI, Leipzig, Verlag von E. A. Seemann (1927).
- Zamyslovsky, Petrov 1891** Zamyslovsky, E. E., Petrov, I. I., *Исторический очеркъ российских орденовъ и сборниковъ статutowъ*, Sankt-Peterburg, Типографія В. С. Валашева (1891).

b. Papers in periodical journals

- Krasovsky 1984** Krasovsky, I. I., 'Изъ воспоминаній о войнѣ 1853-1856 годовъ. Дѣло на Черной рѣчкѣ 4 Августа 1855 года и князь Михаилъ Дмитріевич Горчаковъ'. In: *Русскій архивъ* (Sankt-Peterburg), 2/7, 1874, p. 207-222.

Literature abbreviations

a. Books

- Военной Ордень Георгія** * * *, *Военной Ордень Святаго Великомученика и Побѣдоносца Георгія*, Sankt-Peterburg, Военная Типографія (1869).
- Портреты лиц** * * *, *Портреты лиц, отличившихся заслугами и командовавших действующими частями в войне 1853 – 1856 годов*, 3 vol., Sankt-Peterburg (1858-1861).
- РБС** А. А. Polovtsov (ed.), *Русскій біографическій словарь*, vol. IX, Sankt-Peterburg, Типографія Главнаго Управленія Удѣловъ (1903).

b. Chapters in books

- Князь М. Д. Горчаковъ** * * *, 'Князь Михаилъ Дмитріевичъ Горчаковъ 1792-1861'. In: * * *, *Русскіе дѣтели въ портретахъ, изданныхъ редакціею историческаго журнала "Русская старина"*, второе собраніе (Sankt-Peterburg: Типографія М. М. Стасюлевича, 1886), p. 65-68.

List of illustrations

- Fig. 1** Horovici, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, *Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871).
- Fig. 2** Adjutant General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue. Lithography (1858-1861). After: *Портреты лиц, отличившихся заслугами и командовавших действующими частями в войне 1853 – 1856 годов*. 3 vol. Sankt-Peterburg, 1858-1861.
- Fig. 3** Horovici, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, *Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: the sabre with brilliants.
- Fig. 4** Horovici, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, *Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: 1. The Order of

- St. George 3rd class.
- Fig. 5** Horovici, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1871). Detail: 1. The sash of the Order of St. Vladimir with its badge.
- Fig. 6** Horovich, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1871). Detail: 1. The sash of the Order of St. Andrew; 2. The badge of the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky; 3. The Badge of the Page Corps.
- Fig. 7** Horovich, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1871). Detail: 1. The Order of St. George 4th class; 2. The Order of the White Eagle; 3. The Order of St. Anna 2nd



Fig. 1 – Horovici, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1871).

class with imperial crown and swords; 4-6. The three military medals for the Crimean War; 7. The Polish Sign of Honour; 8. The medal “For Service and Bravery”; 9. The medal “For the Toil of Releasing the Peasants”.

- Fig. 8** Horovich, Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia (1871). Detail: 1. The star of the Order of St. Andrew; 2. The star of the Order of St. Vladimir with swords “on the Order”; 3. The cross of the Order of St. Vladimir 4th class; 4. The star of the Order of St. Stanislaus (?); 5. The special silver badge of April 17, 1863 for achieving the releasing of the peasants (?).



Fig. 2 – Adjutant General Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue. Lithography (1858-1861). After: *Портреты лиц, отличившихся заслугами и командовавших действующими частями в войне 1853 – 1856 годов*. 3 vol. Sankt-Peterburg, 1858-1861

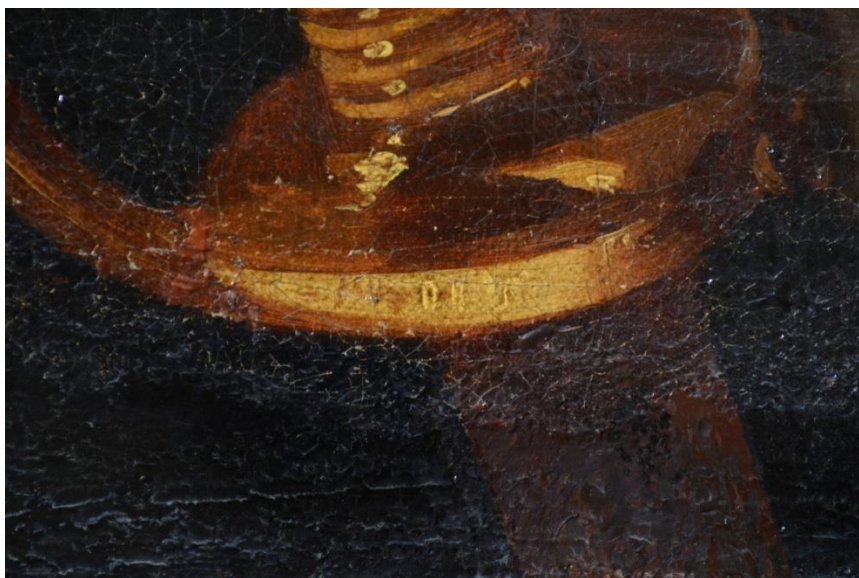


Fig. 3 – Horovici, *Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: the sabre with brilliants



Fig. 4 – Horovici, *Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: 1. The Order of St. George 3rd class.



Fig. 5 – Horovici, *Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: 1. The sash of the Order of St. Vladimir with its badge.



Fig. 6 – Horovich, *Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: 1. The sash of the Order of St. Andrew; 2. The badge of the Order of St. Alexander Nevsky; 3. The Badge of the Page Corps.



Fig. 7 – Horovich, *Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: 1. The Order of St. George 4th class; 2. The Order of the White Eagle; 3. The Order of St. Anna 2nd class with imperial crown and swords; 4-6. The three military medals for the Crimean War; 7. The Polish Sign of Honour; 8. The medal “For Service and Bravery”; 9. The medal “For the Toil of Releasing the Peasants”.



Fig. 8 – Horovich, *Paul Demetrius von Kotzebue, Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia* (1871). Detail: 1. The star of the Order of St. Andrew; 2. The star of the Order of St. Vladimir with swords “on the Order”; 3. The cross of the Order of St. Vladimir 4th class; 4. The star of the Order of St. Stanislaus (?); 5. The special silver badge of April 17, 1863 for achieving the releasing of the peasants (?).

The Russians' Portrait in the Romanian Imaginary. Transylvania, 19th Century

Elena Andreea TRIF-BOIA

Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

E-mail: boia_andreea@yahoo.com

Abstract. The present paper aims at analyzing the Russian's image in the Romanian 19th century culture from Transylvania. It relies on several categories of historical sources, of which one of the most significant roles is represented by the periodicals of that age and by educational literature. While examining these sources, what one learns is the existence of several outlooks of the Russian, beginning with that of the hospitable man, or that of the alcoholic reveller, and ending with that of the authoritarian and intolerant individual. Obviously, in the framing of these clichés and stereotypes, an important task has been performed by the information sources available to the Transylvanian Romanians and by their equally important political aspirations. Their religious creeds and, above all, the nature of the contacts that have been established between the inhabitants outside the Carpathian Arc and the Russian Empire have also played an important part in this imagological framing.

Keywords: the Russians, ethnic imagery, Romanian culture, Transylvania, 19th Century.

While being an important character on the European political setting of the 19th century, Russia also played then a privileged part in the reactions of the Transylvanian public opinion. Certainly, most sources presented Russia precisely as an active member of international politics, having an important and determining influence in the policies regarding the alteration of the frontiers and relations among nations. Hence the contradictory facets that were ascribed to her: seen either as an expansionist state, eager to extend its domination over the entire Europe, either as a liberating nation, defender of the true Christian faith, and the initiator of a massive crusade aiming at the ousting of the "heathens" from the Balkans (Sularea 1998, 262-269). The climax was reached during the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, when the immediate involvement of the Romanian state with the purpose of gaining its national independence, kept the Romanian Transylvanians breathless with anticipation and, better than that, mobilized them in offering substantial relief to the Romanians from outside the Carpathian Arc (Roz 1998) ⁽¹⁾.

Alongside political or military data, the province has also known the dissemination of the narratives that have grasped several features

regarding the social sphere. They mostly emphasized the impressive figure of the population of the Russian Empire, but also the commoners' appalling living standards – degraded poverty, ruthless epidemics, harsh climate, complete deprivation of rights, and so on (Unirea 1891 e1, 389; Unirea 1891 e2, 285; Unirea 1891 g, 348; Foaia Poporului 1893, 55 *etc.*) – thus framing from the very start the image of a severely afflicted nation, often demoted down to extreme anguish. But the narratives did not miss the Russians' religious beliefs, their industries, customs, or physical and moral traits either.

In the following pages we propose to indicate the grasping of the Russians' main features in relation to Romanian Transylvanian public opinion. The examined age, the 19th century, is the preferred period, because it represents the instance when, under the influence of the philosophy of the Enlightenment, the population of the province furthered their national deliverance, in order to gain their rights and liberties corresponding to the paragon represented by the other neighbouring peoples, a facet that significantly influenced their relating approach towards the nations with which the Transylvanians were in contact. From the standpoint of the historical sources used, the most important are the periodicals which made up the most important channel for the diffusion of written text in the Transylvania of that period. Other narratives are

⁽¹⁾ Sections of this article have been published in Elena Andreea Trif-Boia, *Imaginea Celuilalt în cultura românească din Transilvania. Secolul al XIX-lea* (Cluj-Napoca, PUC, 2012).

equally examined, such as those circulated through the vehicle of educational literature, specifically that of history and geography school textbooks, or that of the accounts recorded by several travellers across the territory of the Russian Empire.

The Ethnonym and the Main Facets of the Russian People

Before any outline of the imaginary projections of the Russians we have to say that there are a few brief concerns related to the names used by Transylvanian sources to designate the Russian people. Thus, the most frequent term addressed in the period is that of “Russians”, a term which labelled all the individuals who formed part of the ethnic group of the eastern Slavs, who lived scattered across the imperial territory which was called by the same name. In educational textbooks they were usually sub-classified in the following branches: “the Great Russians”, the proper populace of Russia itself, who were the most numerous; “the Little Russians”, who were the populace settled in the Ukrainian areas controlled by the Russian Empire; and, finally, the “Cossacks”, who were members of several military autonomous communities. Less circulated is the term of “Moskals”, a term which in its origin designated the inhabitants of Moscow or of the neighbouring areas, thus having got a geographical connotation (Ivanov 2004, 15-16). In Transylvania, however, this last term is chiefly used as a synonym for the term “Russian”.

In resuming the main theme of our paper, we intend to emphasize that the portrait of the typical Russian has been laid out in that period on the basis of certain characteristics which were considered dominant and encompassed several ones such as their particular sensitiveness in the sound perception, the pious demeanour, even though this latter trait is questioned once in a while (Rus 2011, 2nd tome), the submissive conduct, and the very remarkable handiness, no matter how difficult the addressed industry might be. Nevertheless, other traits which were accounted for are the kind friendliness in relation to foreigners (Drăgușanu 2009, 177-189), the jauntiness, and his jolly, high spirits, emphasizing that, even though a good soldier, he loves quietude and appreciates peaceful relations (Rus 2011, 2nd tome, 226). Among his industries, herding and agriculture seem to be best fit for the Russian character, although he is able with little effort to excel in commerce too, in the crafts, in the arts, or in sciences (*Ibidem*). The greatest “flaw” that

was identified in the Russian is the bondage, the total dependence of the peasant on his master and all the negative consequences that are derived from this relation of power: the deprivation of freedom of the first and even the apparent imprint of a “slave spirit” within his character (Rus 2011, 2nd tome, 184-185). But this is not the Russian’s only fault, as school textbooks depicted him as a treacherous, double-faced, and abusive individual, a heavy drinker, “a little bit too long-armed” (*Idem*, 185) ⁽²⁾, and a benighted person, features that characterized priests too, even if it was admitted that the Empire had given many notable figures to the world, specifically, great authors of literary masterpieces (Marki 1899, 104).

Alongside the portrait presented above and which has been outlined on account of several data usually obtained by way of indirect sources, another portrait was also framed in that period, which was built by direct observation. For example, Ion Codru Drăgușanu (Grancea 2009, 101-103) arrived in Sankt Petersburg in 1843, but he also had the opportunity to encounter Russians during his other European travels (1835-1848). The above-mentioned themes of discourse can also be found, in general, in his narrations, too. The references to the Russians’ religiosity are upheld by details that suggest that a great number of churches and of monasteries may be found on the territory of the Russian Empire. Not only their propensity to tippling is mentioned, but also the generosity that the Russians displayed towards strangers. Remarkable are the descriptions that the Transylvanian traveller is outlining, regarding the Russians’ proclivity to luxury, a trait that was considered just as accurate as for descriptions of the entire society. The example that the author offered to endorse these data is that of merchants, who, regardless of their level of welfare, being prone to boasting, had the habit of decorating the facades of their shops with golden letters of “horrendous” proportions (Drăgușanu 2009, 181). Finally, the obedient attitude that the Russian population revealed towards the Tsar did not go unnoticed either; this demeanour was explained by their faith, and not by some form of coercion (Drăgușanu 2009, 92, 183).

The history of the relations that marked the interactions between the two peoples is also one of the elements with a significant role in the framing of the Russian’s image. The seizing of

⁽²⁾ See also *Statistica beșivilor*. In: *Familia*, no. 21, 15/27 June (1868), p. 251.

Bessarabia by the Russian Empire unavoidably led to a degradation of the diplomatic relations, even though they were also several moments of reconciliation, such as the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, when Romania joined Russia in the combat against the Ottomans, from which the Romanian state wanted to gain its independence. Of course, the Transylvanian Romanians were not directly involved in the events, but they contemplated with a decided interest the relations between the two states, either saluting the moments of cooperation or chiding their ensuing conflicts or violation of their preliminary accords. The Treaty of Bucharest, which allowed imperial troops to cross Romania towards the Balkans, as well as the address of a proclamation of the Tsar to the Romanians, a document which assured the latter of the good intentions of the Moskals, led to a very positive image of the collaboration ⁽³⁾. Further on, the beginning of the hostilities and the victories won bestowed plainly to the propagation of several clichés that placed the Russian soldiers in the position of very brave fighters, full of impetus, contemptuous against any danger and defiant against the idea of death, well organized, and very swift in offering help to the comrades wounded on the battlefield (Familia 1877 c, 322). Yet, the battle of Plevna was going to change that perception entirely, culminating in the San Stefano agreement and the change in attitude which Russia manifested with respect to Bessarabia. While the first event demonstrated to the Transylvanians that Russians soldiers were too haughty to recognize the vigour of their Romanian comrades and their decisive part in the siege of Plevna (Telegraful român 1877 b, 332; Familia 1877 b, 479), the latter confirmed them that the Russians are able to breach their own given word without hesitation (Familia 1878 a, 140). Already since March 1878, around the date of the signing of the preliminary agreement of San Stefano, the magazines inserted fables which depicted the Moskal as a cunning and dishonest individual. Such one is, for example, the dialogue between two inhabitants of Bucharest, where one of them, when asked about the “souvenirs” left behind by the Russians in their passing, hastily answers that “they only entertain the custom of taking, and not that of relinquishing” (Familia 1878 b, 107). Likewise, the disclosures regarding Russia’s “inappropriate” and entirely contemptuous attitude towards her own ally,

⁽³⁾ See, for example, *Familia*, no. 23, 5/17 June (1877), pp. 273-277.

appear all in nearly every newspaper of that period, regardless of its variety, most of them insistently tackling the dismay that her gesture arose all around the so-called “civilized world” (Roz 1998, 323; Familia 1877 a, 215; Familia 1878 c, 156).

The substantial number of paper columns which either drew attention on the revolutionary movements in Russia, ending in the arrest and deportation of their members, either gave notice about anticipated attempts on the Tsar’s life, or on the lives of several public notables ⁽⁴⁾, contributed to the forging of certain portrayals both related to the revolting Russian spirit, and to the eagerness which animates them in their fight for freedom against an autocratic rule. The members of such factions are usually evoked in extreme situations: victims of an unjust system, who pay the price for their freedom of expression with their own lives; or, on the contrary, assailants against the lives of several leaders and their families. Whereas, in the first case, the Transylvanians’ attitude is one of sympathy, of compassion, in the second case they tend to manifest neutrality, or, on the contrary, a tacit approval, the latter’s actions being seldom precisely justified by the tyrannical policies of Tsarist rule. The example of Siberia and that of the numerous deportations done in this territory is one of the most meaningful. A symbol of injustice, of terror, or even death, Siberia represented, according to Transylvanian journalists, the living embodiment of the “old-time barbarism”, the clearest proof of the erosion of the Russian political system. We shall remind, accordingly, the column published in *Albina Carpaților*, a text that was accompanied by a drawing representing a group of condemned people and by a few suggestive comments that the editor from Sibiu inserted precisely to draw attention on the injustice of such a system.

“The young student, the fervent nationalist, the fanatic nihilist suddenly wake up one morning with the secret

⁽⁴⁾ See *Studenții ruși*. In: *Familia*, no. 3, 11/23 January (1879), p. 22; *Plaga socială în Rusia*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 15 May (1879), p. 236; *Eroine revoluționare ruse*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 15 May (1879), p. 236; *Din țara atentatelor*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 30 November (1879), p. 64; *Nou atentat contra țarului*. In: *Familia*, 10/22 February (1880), p. 74; *La Siberia*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 30 November (1879), p. 63; *Atentat la viața țarului și a țarinei*. In: *Tribuna Poporului*, 13/25 June (1898), p. 547; *Conspirație contra țarului*. In: *Tribuna Poporului*, no. 110, 11/23 June (1898), p. 538.

police knocking on the door, kidnapping them unawares from the midst of their intimate peace and throws them all in jail. They are only suspects, but that is enough today. After some time, these people condemned to exile are led under armed escort across the centre of the town, and, silently, without even being given the opportunity to embrace their parents, their friends, or any other dear fellow for the last time, passing on the dumb streets, they vanish away on their road to the frostland. Sometimes it happens that some sorrowful father or some pathetic mother may see their child escorted in line with the criminals. What excruciating pain!"

(Albina Carpașilor 1879 b, 63).

We have indicated above that the piety of population of the Russian Empire was usually called in question, even though, as a rule, Russians are associated with the Orthodoxy and with securing Byzantine religious tradition. This theme can be found as much in schoolbook texts, as in columns written by journalists, or in the texts of individuals who had some relations with Russians (Familia 1898, 396). Besides, periodicals were constantly editing columns regarding the extremely high number of the church sects, a situation which was attributed as much to the efforts made by the Tsars to establish the Orthodoxy as the official religion (Familia 1891, 334), as to a reality which was related to the peculiarities or to the features of the inhabitants' vein: the high fervent proportion of their spiritual... by comparison to the rational one (Familia 1870, 108). In 1878 only, no less than 137 of this kind of sects arose (Familia 1879 b, 24), with practices that were often verging on derision, if not even madness. "In Russia, a plethora of religious sects have been established and all of these are made up of people who have a screw loose", was written in the *Familia* magazine. "The Shtundists", the magazine continued, "worshipping at the dead of night from the height of the trees", those from the "pashkurist" sect walking about the city "almost naked... their feet and hands carved with knives", while the members of the "saluting" group isolated themselves for days to worship and burn all kinds of "badly smelling" substances (Familia 1891, 334). Certainly, such proclivities were regarded as suspicious by Romanian journals, but also as a positive proof of ignorance and of a serious lack of education in the true religious spirit (Familia 1870, 108).

Closely related to the image of the "religious" Russian, the hypostasis of the intolerant individual towards ethnical or religious otherness was also outlined. The case of the Jews is the most widely known, as the journals were constantly publishing columns related to the anti-Semitic measures promoted by the Russian Empire: the destruction of the Jew houses and shops and the slaughter of any resisting individuals, the expropriation and the expulsion of the Jews, the prohibition on selling certain real estates to the Jews and so on (Unirea 1891 d, 187; Unirea 1891 a, 4; Unirea 1891 h, 357). But that of the Jews is not the only case, since the same publications exposed articles that were depicting the Russians' hostility towards the Poles or the inhabitants of the Baltic countries, an attitude made obvious by legislative measures which compelled the these ones' conversion to Christian Orthodoxy, and, concurrently, the enforcement of the Russian language upon their institutions and culture (Unirea 1891 d, 187; Unirea 1891 b, 100; Unirea 1892 i, 147; Unirea 1893 j, 251). Everything went so far, that Transylvanian journalists expressed their staunch conviction that, despite all the multiple interpretations regarding the grounds for the assassination attempt in Ōtsu, Japan, against Tsarevich Nicholas, who was travelling in the Orient, it was all motivated by the opposition stirred by the attempt of Russian authorities to convert the Far East Japanese subjects to Orthodoxy (Unirea 1891 c, 164).

The 19th century was also the thrust period of the feminist movements. Among the plenty of news regarding their progress in Europe or in the US, the press also published columns which analyzed the status of ladies in Russia. The journalists would mostly spread the image of inferior beings, subdued by man, physically assaulted, and having no chance to defend themselves against the numerous abuses committed by the representatives of the opposite sex (Familia 1887, 213; Telegraful Român 1877 a, 4). The textbooks were in turn adding up to this side. For example, Ioan Rus, a teacher in the town Blaj and author of the textbook that was used by several generations of pupils, *Icoana Pământului* (The Icon of the Earth), was showing that the woman's inferior status was symbolically consecrated at the wedding itself, when a wormwood crown was placed on her head, precisely indicating the ordeal and the disgrace that was to befall on her, according to the local old sally "I'll beat the living daylight out of you and love you with my heart" (Rus 2011, 185). Nevertheless, one may also find

clear statements about Russian women joining the movement of emancipation, one of their main objectives being to gain the right to go to college. But a real progress in realm of the relations between the two sexes is out of the question. In the year 1870, for example, women were only granted the right to join several classes that were conceived as public lectures, and until 1875 the number of those who had frequented these meetings reached 2,500 (Familia 1887, 212; Familia 1869, 251). The Russian woman was mainly portrayed in favorable terms, the most appreciated trait being her staunch character (Familia 1882, 193).

As to physical aspect, the textbook authors use to do dissociation of “the Great Russians”, meaning the inhabitants of the Great Russia, and “the Small Russians”, meaning the Ukrainian populace: the first were depicted as having middle to high height, “dark-reddish” hair, “dark” eyes, “ruddy” face, and a “stiffed, bonny” body, “able to bear great labors, hunger and thirst for a long while, great heat, and frosts” (Rus 2011, 184); the latter were seen as having a small height, “dark eyes and hair”, “a more swift and a more feverish temper” (*Ibidem*). Yet, the portrayal of the Ukrainians is much better framed within the pages of Transylvanian Romanian periodical magazines. Depicted as the Russians’ supply providers, they display traits worthy of this status: bodily vigour and a sinewy, “bonny” build. Valiance or dauntlessness is also a specific peculiarity, and, at the same time, they are distinguished as “good warriors” and perfect riders (Familia 1889, 185; Familia 1884, 21). As to the women in the Ukraine, the authors take care to ensure everyone that they have only got beautiful virtues: beginning with their harmonious physical aspect and the excellent tastes exhibited in their attire, and ending with the devotion and industry that they prove in all they undertake (Rus 2011, 184).

Conclusions

The shaping of the Russian’s image in the Transylvanian Romanians’ frame of mind in the 19th century was rather due to indirect, mediated knowledge, as the data have been taken either from the press or from papers published in European states or from similar works that were published in the Romanian provinces outside the Carpathian arc. Needless to say, it is pointless to speak about an uncritical appropriation of these materials. Their selection, but also the joining comments suggest that the relation with the otherness suffered multiple influences from

multiple factors: from the involvement of the Transylvanian Romanians in the movement that aimed at gaining political freedoms and rights in the midst of the other peoples who inhabited the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, from the close relations between the first and the other Romanians from the other two provinces, and, last but not least, from their religious faith. Thus, as an example, the first issue determined them to condemn every form of authoritarianism, intolerance, and, implicitly, the Russian authorities’ attitude regarding several categories of the populace. On the other hand, the solidarity with the rest of the Romanians had the effect of condemning the obstructions that stalled the Romanian-Russian relations in the first stages of the Romanian War of Independence, or, on the contrary, of saluting the moments of co-operation. Eventually, as to the last mentioned factor, one may notice the negative demeanour of the Greco-Catholic papers, which were extremely cautious against any display of intolerance related to ethnic or religious otherness, contrary to the moderate demeanour of the Orthodox papers, much more lenient towards such measures, which were considered justified from the missionary standpoint of Orthodoxy, for example the need to establish the “true faith”.

Besides what has already been mentioned above, the average Russian’s portrait in the Romanian Transylvanian’s mind exhibits traits which are obviously positive, just as much as negative. The Transylvanian Romanians broadly praised the hospitality that the Russians displayed towards the foreigners, their religiosity, their industry, and the skills that they exhibited in some crafts, just as much as the striking contributions that several Russian writers had made to world culture. But there was a less pleasantly felt effect when one happened to hear about their authoritarian political system, their lack of tolerance, and their weakness, the propensity to alcoholism.

References

a. Books

- Boia 2000** Boia, Lucian, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarii* [For a history of the imaginary], București, Humanitas (2000).
- Boiu 1869** Boiu, Zaharia, *Elemente de geografie pentru scolele populare romane greco-orientale* [Elements of universal and patriotic history

- for Popular Romanian Greek-Oriental Schools], Sibiu, Ed. și Tiparul Tipografiei Archiepiscopale (1869).
- Dariu 1891** Dariu, Ion, *Geografia Patriei și elemente din geografia universale* [National and Universal Elements of Geography], Brașov (1891).
- Diaconovici 1904** Diaconovici, Constantin, *Enciclopedia română* [Romanian Encyclopedia], III, Sibiu, Tipografia W. Krafft (1904).
- Drăgușanu 2009** Drăgușanu, Ion Codru, *Peregrinul transilvan* [Transylvanian Pilgrim], Cluj-Napoca, Pergamon (2009).
- Isopescul 1886** Isopescul, Samuil, *Manualu de Istorie universală pentru clasele inferioare de scole secundare* [Universal History Textbook for Secondary Schools], Cernăuți, Tipografia Archiepiscopale (1886).
- Ivanov 2004** Ivanov, Leonte, *Imaginea rusului și a Rusiei în literatura română. 1840-1948* [The Image of Russian's and Russia in Romanian literature], București, Cartier (2004).
- Marki 1899** Marki, Alexandru, *Geografia pentru scolele civile și superioare de fete* [Geography for civil and for girls schools], Sibiu, Tipografia Archiepiscopale (1899).
- Mitu 2008** Mitu, Sorin, *Europa centrală, Răsăritul și Balcanii: geografii simbolice comparate* [Central Europe, the East and the Balkans: compared symbolic geographies], Cluj-Napoca, International Book Access (2008).
- Popu 1897** Popu, Nicolae, *Geografia Ungariei și elemente din geografia generale* [Geography of Hungary and General Geography], Brașov (1897).
- Roz 1998** Roz, Alexandru, *Războiul neahtării din 1877-1878. Acte și documente arădene* [The Independence War of 1877-1878. Acts and Documents from Arad], Arad, Ed. Universității "Vasile Goldiș" (1998).
- Rus 2011** Rus, Ioan, *Icoana Pământului sau carte de geografie* [The Icon of the Earth or Geography Book]. Blaj, Galaxia Gutenberg (2011).
- b. Chapter in books**
- Grancea 2009** Grancea, Mihaela, "Ubi patria. Călătorii români din prima parte a secolului XIX, între patria originală și cea virtuală" ["Ubi patria. Romanian travellers in the first half of the 19th Century, between virtual and original homeland"]. In Mihaela Grancea (ed.), *Trecutul de astăzi*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință (2009), p. 101-117.
- Sularea 1998** Sularea, Daniel, "Imaginea Rusiei în presa română din Transilvania în timpul Războiului Crimeii. ["The Image of Russia in Transylvanian Romanian Press During the Crimean War"]. In Sorin Mitu, Toader Nicoară Nicolae Bocșan (eds.), *Identitate și alteritate*, II, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, (1998), p. 262-269.
- c. Papers in periodical journals**
- Albina Carpaților 1879 a** *Plaga socială în Rusia*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 15 May (1879), 236.
- Albina Carpaților 1879 b** *La Siberia*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 30 November (1879), 63.
- Albina Carpaților 1879 c** *Eroine revoluționare ruse*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 30 November (1879), 63.
- Albina Carpaților 1879 d** *Din țara atentatelor*. In: *Albina Carpaților*, 30 November (1879), 64.
- Familia 1869** *Damele din Rusia*. In: *Familia*, 25/6 May/June (1869), 251.
- Familia 1870** *Fanaticii din Rusia*. In: *Familia*, 1/13 March (1870), 108.
- Familia 1877 a** *Proclamația către poporul român*. In: *Familia*, 01/13 May (1877), 215.
- Familia 1877 b** *Românii și rușii*. In: *Familia*, 2/14 October (1877), 479.
- Familia 1877 c** "Zimnicea. 1 Iunie". In: *Familia*, 3/15 July (1877), 322.
- Familia 1878 a** *Chestiunea Orientală; În contra încorporării Basarabiei la Rusia*. In: *Familia*, 19/31 March (1878), 140.

Familia 1878 b	<i>Rușii la București</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 2/14 March (1878), 107.	Telegraful Român 1877 b	<i>Părerea despre românii dinaintea Plevnei</i> . In: <i>Telegraful Român</i> , 20/01 October/November (1877), 332.
Familia 1878 c	<i>"Portarea Rusiei facia de România"</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 30 March/11 April (1878), 156.	Tribuna Poporului 1898 a	<i>Conspirație contra țarului</i> . In: <i>Tribuna Poporului</i> , 11/23 June (1898), 538.
Familia 1879 a	<i>"Studenți ruși"</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 11/23 January (1879), 22.	Tribuna Poporului 1898 b	<i>Atentat la viața țarului și a țarinei</i> . In: <i>Tribuna Poporului</i> , 13/25 June (1898), 547.
Familia 1879 b	<i>"O curioasă sectă"</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 11/23 January (1879), 24.	Unirea 1891 a	<i>Rusia</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 03 January (1891), 4.
Familia 1880	<i>"Nou atentat contra țarului"</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 10/22 February (1880), 74.	Unirea 1891 b	<i>Limba poponă</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 28 May (1891), 100.
Familia 1882	<i>Eroinele revoluționare ruse</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 18/30 April (1882), 193.	Unirea 1891 c	<i>Principele Nicolae</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 23 May (1891), 164.
Familia 1884	<i>Familia</i> , 8/20 January (1884), 21.	Unirea 1891 d	<i>Expulzarea evreilor</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 13 iunie (1891), 187.
Familia 1887	<i>Din lumea femeilor</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 3/15 May (1887), 213.	Unirea 1891 e 1	<i>Foamete în Rusia 1</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , (1891), 389.
Familia 1889	<i>Logodiți în Rusia mică</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 16/28 April (1889), 185.	Unirea 1891 e 2	<i>Foamete în Rusia 2</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 5 September (1891), 285.
Familia 1891	<i>Secte religioase în Rusia</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 14/16 July (1891), 334.	Unirea 1891 g	<i>Rusia</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 31 October (1891), 348.
Familia 1898	<i>"Iosif Vulcan, Scrisoare din Franzensbad"</i> . In: <i>Familia</i> , 21 July/2 August (1898), 396.	Unirea 1891 h	<i>Persecutarea evreilor în Rusia</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 7 November (1891), 357.
Foaia Poporului 1893	<i>Foamete în Rusia</i> . In: <i>Foaia Poporului</i> , 14/26 February (1893), 55.	Unirea 1892 i	<i>Kuryer Poznanski</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 7 May (1892), 147.
Telegraful Român 1877 a	<i>Drepturile bărbatului în Rusia</i> . In: <i>Telegraful Român</i> , 2/14 January (1877), 4.	Unirea 1893 j	<i>Guvernul rus</i> . In: <i>Unirea</i> , 5 August (1893), 251.

List of illustrations

Fig. 1. *Noua Chartă comică a Europei pe anul 1870 (fragment)*. In: *Gura Satului* (1870).

Fig. 2. *La Siberia*. In: *Albina Carpaților* (1879).

Fig. 3. *Logodiți în Rusia mică*. In: *Familia* (1889).

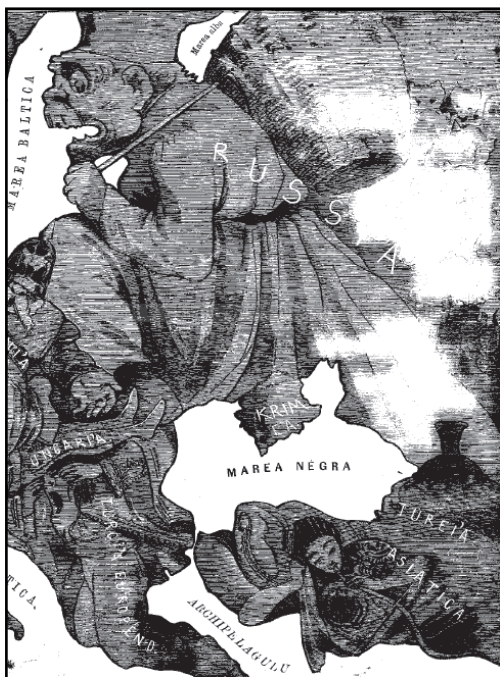


Fig. 1. *Noua Chartă comică a Europei pe anul 1870 (fragment).* In: *Gura Satului* (1870).

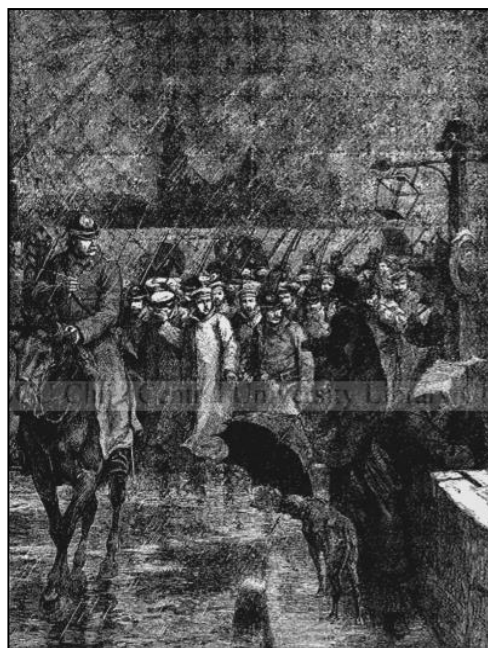


Fig. 2. *La Siberia.* In: *Albina Carpaților* (1879).



Fig. 3. *Logodiți în Russia mică.* In: *Familia* (1889).

“Nationalists and Pacifists with the Pen” European Writers between War Euphoria and Depression

Marc STEGHERR, Ph.D., M.A.
Ludwig Maximilians University, München
Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
E-mail: marcstegherr@hotmail.com

Abstract. One hundred years after the First World War, after the end of the European empires, it seems as if the advent of a new time, a new social and political order was unanimously welcomed. The prudent and politically progress would have to consider the end of the traditional order as unavoidable. The victims of the battlefields were a terrible loss, but in the end, a loss not in vain. Still, there were quite a number of authors who lamented the end of the old world of security (Stefan Zweig) and feared the coming of a world of insecurity, cold mechanisms and a radical revolution of the traditional order. Among them there were authors as different as Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Joseph Roth, Georges Bernanos, Heimito von Doderer, Thomas Mann or the Bavarian Ludwig Thoma.

Keywords: culture, civilization, conservatism, nihilism, Austrian monarchy, nationalism.

Introduction

The atrocities on the fronts of the First World War, the seemingly pointless death of millions of soldiers dominate the discourse, the numerous books, novels and poems about the so-called Great War ⁽¹⁾. In Germany the thesis that it was a war of defense against the Western powers wishing Germany's downfall, a war between German culture and Western civilization, as Thomas Mann put it in his famous *Reflections of an Unpolitical Man* [*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*] (1918) made way for the complete condemnation of German war-mongering (Fritz Fischer) ⁽²⁾, especially in the

years after the other, far greater German catastrophe, the Second World War.

Nevertheless, if you take Germany, France, Italy or Romania – the First World War might today be generally considered a thundering waste of human lives, it went down in common perception as the start of a new, better era. As the end of the aristocratic world which was being replaced by republics, general suffrage, equality. The terrible carnage is somehow accepted as the price Europe had to pay for progress, progress in society, literature, architecture, the arts. The German author Ernst Jünger who fought on the Western front and survived the war is one of the few who embodied the paradox and was therefore sharply criticized. Jünger in his autobiographical novel *Storms of Steel* [*In Stahlgewittern*] described in gruesome detail how this new world was being born out of blood, anger and steel.

War in the Intellectuals' Consciousness

-Steel as a symbol of the victory of technology, the foremost characteristic of the era to come- Jünger hailed the industrialization of the war which would leave an indelible imprint on the

⁽¹⁾ In the German and Austrian armies were famous authors and poets like Kurt Tucholsky, Hans Carossa, Ernst Jünger, Rainer Maria Rilke or Stefan Zweig (cf. *Wie deutsche Armeeangehörige den Ersten Weltkrieg in Rumänien erlebten*. In: *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter*, München, Folge 4, 1996). In the French, British and American armies were Jean Giraudoux, Guillaume Apollinaire, Rupert Brooke, Jean Giono, Roger Martin du Gard, Blaise Cendrars, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Henry de Montherlant, Charles Peguy, Romain Rolland, Louis Aragon, Georges Duhamel, Robert Graves, Maurice Genevoix, Georges Bernanos, Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Jules Romains, Roland Dorgelès, Henri Barbusse, Jean Cocteau.

⁽²⁾ Fischer has been described by *The Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* as the most important German historian of the 20th century, mainly because of his book *Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegzielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914-1918* (1961) [published in English

as *Germany's Aims in the First World War*], in which he argued that Germany had deliberately instigated World War I in an attempt to become a world power. This *Fischer Thesis* did dominate the German academic and public discourse on the First World War, to be relativized by others and revised recently by Christopher Clark's *The Sleepwalkers*.

future society, while others took it only for the labour pains of a new era. The general attitude was – see Fischer and other German historians and philosophers – that the war and its increasingly violent character was rather a consequence of the old system's imperialism and inhumanity than a foreboding of the new era. Conservative intellectuals in post-war Germany and Austria, the defeated nations of the “Great war”, would sense the apologetic, self-satisfied trait of modernism and would contradict. Martin Heidegger's critique of the “Gestell”, of the dominance of technology is one reflex, also the desperate comment of the Catholic turned agnostic that only a God might save us in the end; the lament of theologians and philosophers alike about the modern demystification of our world, even Adorno's exposure of the dark side of enlightenment which led to the atrocities committed by a mankind no longer bound by taboos and moral obligations (Adorno, Horkheimer 1998). The Austrian poet and playwright Hugo von Hofmannsthal, his compatriots Stefan Zweig and Joseph Roth deplored the war as the end of a time of harmony and security, and, more importantly, condemned the war because they detested the senseless violence, the primitive nationalism that was one of the ideologies used in order to destroy the old multinational order. The more modernist minded Catholic intelligentsia wishing to adapt Catholic teaching to the zeitgeist, theologians like Romano Guardini, rather looked upon the war as a terrible but necessary instrument to achieve a necessary change. In a letter to his friend Josef Weiger from January 24th 1915 Guardini wrote that “these times are severe probes for the strength of one's nerves! The war will last longer than one thought, that is for sure. But I am also sure that an awful lot of good will come out of it” (Gerl-Falkovitz 2008, 155).

Guardini was convinced that the war would make more people think of God and that the common endeavour would foster solidarity and teach the wealthy to share. This was the common positive idea shared by many, hailed by idealistic intellectuals, writers, philosophers and poets alike, that in these times of hardship, of pressure from all sides the nation would learn again what is worth living for. Thomas Mann, the author of *Buddenbrooks* (published in 1901), provided the most elaborate analysis of what would be lost if Germany was defeated. After the First World War he would become a passionate advocate of democracy and reconciliation with the former Western enemy,

while he was a staunch defender of what he called the irreconcilable opposition between German culture and Western or French civilization while the war was raging. In his *Betrachtungen* Mann argued that Germany had been attacked because it had a natural, God given mission to defend culture, the idea of values not spontaneously created but evolved in a long historical process amid the German nation. His brother Heinrich Mann was at the same time speaking and writing in favour of France and thus causing a rift with his brother which lasted until 1922 when Thomas made his peace with the Weimar republic, especially in his speech *The German Republic* [*Von deutscher Republik*] (1922). In the war years Thomas Mann together with Richard Dehmel, Ernst Troeltsch, Ludwig Thoma and others was sure that Germany had to win the war because mentally, technically and first of all culturally the German nation was superior to her rivals. Should Germany lose the war, not only the triumph of the materialistic over the idealistic would be the outcome, but absolute destruction of what had been considered fundamental to European culture. After defeat the popular Bavarian novelist and satirist Ludwig Thoma was not the only one who was lost in utter desperation. His anger and depression in the face of disaster, defeat and the mass of futile victims was vented in numerous articles he wrote for the newspaper *Miesbacher Anzeiger* (Thumser 1966, 198-201). When his articles were published in an annotated volume in 1989 his editor wrote that already contemporaries wondered why the once liberal Thoma had mutated into a reactionary (Thoma 1990).

Reviewers in the 1990s and politicians dismissed any exculpations and explanations on a personal basis and declared Thoma an anti-Semite and his articles an early form of Nazi propaganda. But when in 1920 a nationalist party (*Deutsche Vaterlandspartei*) had asked him to act as a figurehead he had refused. In a letter from April 28th 1920 to his friend Maidi von Liebermann he wrote: “I should now agitate for that party. I can't. 1. I do not approve of the anti-Semitic program. 2. I want to be left in peace. I am definitely no anti-Semite...” (Thumser 1966, 201). Why Thoma had written the articles was mainly due to his personal situation. The woman he had wished to marry, Maidi von Liebermann, snubbed him. Though already in his late forties he had volunteered for front line duty, was allotted to a Red Cross unit and saw more suffering at the front than he could bear. Returned home, Thoma was enraged

by what he considered to be profiteering and treason. The French author Louis-Ferdinand Céline who would become a real die-hard anti-Semite had been at the front for three months only, styled himself a war hero afterwards, allegedly suffering from shell shock, and argued in his first instantly successful novel *Mort à crédit* [*Death on the Installment Plan*] (1936) that the war had only uncovered what everyone already knew, that the world was an inhuman place populated by greedy, selfish people devoid of any higher ideals. The critique considered Céline's depiction of a violent, hard, unjust and sick world he had endured in the ditches of the War to be correct. Céline's novel *Mort à crédit* surprised with its undisguised descriptions of brutality and human depravity and the strange mixture of argot and a highly elaborate style (Frémeaux 2012, 289). The Catholic author Georges Bernanos was shocked by that "derelict universe without God". Later, in the years of occupation during the Second World War, Ernst Jünger visited Céline who was already infamous for his undisguised anti-Semitism. Jünger noticed in him "the monstrous power of nihilism" (Jünger 2008, 73). The Bavarian Thoma might have written himself into a fury over the lunacies of post-war German politics. But unlike Céline he never gave himself up to an ideological anti-Semitism and moral nihilism. What he fought for was the world he grew up in and which seemed to be ultimately lost in 1918.

Writing the War Down

This is what Catholic authors like Bernanos or the conservative intellectuals like the Austrian aristocratic playwright and poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal feared the most, a world which had cut off all ties with the past, with tradition and refinement, a world where money and technology would be the new Gods. Hofmannsthal, feeling perfectly at home in the multinational Catholic Danubian monarchy, was quite pessimistic that anything good would await him and his sons. In a letter to Eberhard von Bodenhausen he wrote in 1913:

"The external situation is not the worst. If we were a state like others we could act – or could postpone the action to another date...Everything could only get worse, that is my feeling. The Internal is the terrible problem. The southern Slavs within the Monarchy, not only the Serbs, the Croats as well, in half rebellion...the Czechs maliciously lurking with clenched teeth – Galicia, the Ruthenian part, undermined by

Russian agitators – Italy enemy as well as ally, Russia – drooling over the next contention with us – and within, half indolence, half heedlessness, the problems too intricate, a Gordian knot...We are marching towards dark times...from one step to the next all could be lost – and – this is the worst – even where we win we cannot win anything proper but embarrassment" (Volke 1967, 137).

Quite opposed to the enthusiasm for the unlimited possibilities of technological progress common among younger war participants who would become war heroes, poets and intellectuals after the war – Ernst Jünger is the foremost example (Schwilk 2007) – Hofmannsthal dismissed the euphoria for military machinery, the dawn of a new age where the machine would be the embodiment of everything man is able of and not his spiritual potential. For Hofmannsthal the euphoria was nothing but a proof of human impotence to emancipate himself from his own creation, the technological. Beneath an enchanting, but already rapidly dissolving surface absolute emptiness was gaping, he wrote in the essay *Das alte Spiel vom Jedermann*. Dreading the end, in a state of horror vacuity, man abandons himself to the *douceur de vivre*:

"We are in constriction and darkness in a way different from the medieval man, but not in a minor degree; we oversee a lot, we apprehend some things, and still the true spiritual power of apprehension is weak in us; a lot is at our disposal but we are no arbiters; what we should possess possesses us, and what is the means of all means, money, in demoniac contortion becomes purpose of purposes..." (Hofmannsthal 1953, 115f).

This "demoniac" new world was also foreign to the successful Austrian biographer and novelist Stefan Zweig who would commit suicide in the 1940s because he could not overcome the end of a world he called a "world of security" in his memoirs. His friend Joseph Roth, a Galician Jew and author of the colourful, linguistically brilliant novel *Radetzkymarsch*, a funeral love song to the vanished Danubian Monarchy, literally became a human wreck, a heavy drinker but still kept writing wonderful texts. A friend, the film tycoon Geza von Cziffra, tried to save him and asked the son of the last Austrian Emperor, Otto von Habsburg, to go and see Joseph Roth. It is said that Otto commanded

Roth, an ardent monarchist, to stop drinking. The poet obeyed but he was already lost.

War and the Monarchy

That the Monarchy itself was lost, even if the heir apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, had not been shot by a Serbian student in Sarajevo, is a claim not only supported by politicians and historians but also by writers. Ludwig Winder who was born in 1889 in Southern Moravia described the assassination of the Archduke as unavoidable, even if the mistakes which led to the ultimate shots on him and his wife, Sophie von Chotek, had not been made. In his novel, *Der Thronfolger. Ein Franz-Ferdinand-Roman* [*The Heir Apparent. A Novel about Franz Ferdinand*], the assassination appears to be predetermined. The date was already symbolic. On June 28th, 1900 the Archduke had signed the document declaring that his children would never inherit the throne. On June 28th, 1914 his Bohemian wife Sophie von Chotek who had been shunned by Viennese court circles because of her “inferior” birth – she came from higher Czech aristocracy, but not high enough – had her first chance to be part of an official state act alongside her husband, thereby eradicating the humbling renunciation of the throne from 1900. Therefore, says Winder, they could not cancel the visit. Winder describes the attempts to hinder Franz Ferdinand from going to Sarajevo, as if the Archduke premeditated the catastrophe. The irrational fear which befell Sophie and Franz Ferdinand on the day before the attempt, the nightmare of Sophie’s confessor, Archbishop Lanyi, who sees the assassination in a dream, all that makes the fatal state visit, the assassination and the triumph of Serbian radical circles part of a higher, even mythical order. The assassination might be the logical consequence of the errors and mistakes committed by a stubborn Austrian bureaucracy. But even a change of plan and schedule would not have changed anything, Winder writes, simply because Franz Ferdinand did not embody hope and future of the monarchy which was too sick, condemned to decline (Reichmann 2000, 135-147). Bruno Brehm who in his novel *Apis und Este. Ein Franz Ferdinand-Roman* [*Apis and Este. A Novel about Franz Ferdinand*] from 1931 shows deep sympathy for the Serbian assassins – untypical of an Austrian but typical of someone who went from veteran of the Austrian Imperial Army to enthusiastic member of the Nazi party – states that the mistakes which led to the attempt might have been avoidable. But he depicts Franz Ferdinand as a

despicable, choleric character who was anything but a figure of hope for the terminally ill monarchy. Brehm refuses to accept the mixture of fate and historical necessity which Winder insinuates.

The historian and novelist Emil Franzel, born in the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, is deeply outraged about the coincidences and the unparalleled slackness which made the “knavery” possible. It would have betrayed the monarchy and Europe of a great chance:

“If Franz Ferdinand had left on the evening before the Vidovdan, if he had waited in the [Sarajevo] town hall until the streets had been cleaned, had he driven directly to the Konak, had the car kept the prescribed route or had it at least kept its speed and not turned around, had someone in the crowd fallen into the murderer’s arm – Franz Ferdinand would not have had to die such a miserable death, Austria would not have had to disappear, the First World War would not have taken place” (Franzel 1964, 137).

All those “ifs” depriving the tragedy of Sarajevo of every sense force to suppose that the fiend himself took a decisive part. Serbian literati like Ivo Andrić who himself was involved in the Sarajevo plot celebrated the assassins as liberators from Austrian oppression, as saints ready to die for their fatherland. For the Serbian nationalists the Archduke was no living person but the embodiment of everything they hated – though Franz Ferdinand was the one who tried to improve the legal status of the South Slavs. For Austrian war prone military circles his death was the welcomed pretext for a war they longed for. Both sides were soaked with nationalist hatred, something Franz Ferdinand wanted to overcome by reform, the deeper reason why his death was mutually accepted, Franzel writes, and he explicitly calls Hitler a bedfellow, a partner in crime of the assassins and instigators of the assassination (Franzel 1964, 105).

The Austrian satirist Karl Kraus thought the same. In the issue of 10th July 1914 of his satirical magazine *Fackel* [*Torch*] he wrote:

“Not that he was the hope of the so-called reaction but the fear of progress, and that his life was like a shadow on the disgusting serenity of this state, ensures his memory something of the respect which the obligation to open-mindedness and civility will always bestow” (Kraus 1914).

Franz Ferdinand was the first victim of progress, in his case of the nationalist lunacy whose millions would follow. The highest principle of the dynastic world which died with Sarajevo was the fact that the Emperor owing his office to God stood above the peoples. The Emperor was the state's living symbol quite contrary to the cold, inhuman and murderous political and state ideologies of the 20th centuries. Joseph Roth who was standing guard in the funeral cortege of the old Emperor cited Grillparzer:

"Nobody saw it clearer what was coming than the one who wrote the word. *From humanity via nationality to bestiality*. No bon mot but a cry of fear in the face of the oncoming breakup of the monarchy, of the final victory of the awakening nationalist barbarism" (Roth 1969, 58).

On the eve of the European catastrophe, right on the day when the Archduke and his wife were shot dead in Sarajevo, the Serbian author Tibor Ilić from Tuzla wrote:

"Sons of Yugoslavia, don't you feel that our life is stifled in blood, that only the assassination attempt is the highest of

all Gods for it demonstrates that the Young Bosnia is alive, that there are men who are ready for martyrdom. Live of a race consists in blood, blood is the God of a nation, death replaces the insurrection, and the assassination is the sedition of the nation".

Conclusions

The delusion to victimize people for the sake of an ideology, whether nationalist, fascist or communist, is what was going to contaminate the 20th century, a cry of fear one can find in the diaries, sketches and essays of Stefan Zweig, Joseph Roth, Georges Bernanos, Charles Peguy, Rupert Brooke and many more writers and poets who witnessed or even fought in the ditches of the First World War. The Austrian Heimitor von Doderer wrote in his bulky novel *Die Dämonen* [*The Demons*] that one tends to think of "grandeur and courage: but these were the first the modern war destroyed". Doderer soon realized that the mechanised war in the ditches made the war between gentlemen he had anticipated a relic of an irretrievably lost past.

References

a. Books

- Adorno, Horkheimer 1998** Adorno, Theodor W., Horkheimer, Max, *Dialektik der Aufklärung. Philosophische Fragmente. Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, Darmstadt (1998).
- Boia 2005** Boia, Lucian, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească*, Bucharest, Humanitas (2005).
- Boia 2009** Boia, Lucian, "Germanofilii". *Elita intelectuală românească în anii primului război mondial*, Bucharest, Humanitas (2009).
- Bornemann 1978** Bornemann, Elke, *Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang (1978).
- Clement 1964** Clement, Alfred, *Die k.u.k. Feldpost während des Ersten Weltkriegs. 1914-1918*, Handbuch der Feld- und Militärpost in Österreich, Graz (1964).
- Cristescu 2005** Cristescu, Sorin (ed.), *Carol I. Corespondența privată, 1878-1912*, Bucharest, Tritonic (2005).

- Doderer 2008** Doderer, Heimitor von, *Frühe Prosa: Die Sibirische Klarheit. Die Bresche/Jutta Bamberger. Das Geheimnis des Reichs*, München, C. H. Beck (2008).
- Doderer 2010** Doderer, Heimitor von, *Der Grenzwald*, München, C. H. Beck (2010).
- Franzel 1964** Franzel, Emil, *Franz Ferdinand d'Este. Leitbild einer konservativen Revolution*, Wien, Verlag Herold (1964).
- Frémeaux 2012** Frémeaux, France Marie, *Écrivains dans la Grande Guerre. De Guillaume Apollinaire à Stefan Zweig*, Paris, L'Express (2012).
- Gerl-Falkovitz 2008** Gerl-Falkovitz, Hanna-Barbara (ed.), "Ich fühle, daß Großes im Kommen ist". *Romano Guardinis Briefe an Josef Weiger 1908-1962*, Ostfildern (2008).
- Hitchins 1994** Hitchins, Keith, 1994. *Rumania. 1866-1947*, Oxford History of Modern Europe, Oxford (1994).
- Hofmannsthal** Hofmannsthal, Hugo von,

- 1953** *Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, 15 vol., Herbert Steiner (ed.), Bermann-Fischer, Stockholm, 1945-1959, Prosa III (1953).
- Jünger 2008** Jünger, Ernst, *Journal 1941-1943*, Bibliothèque de la Paris, Pléiade (2008).
- Mayerhofer 2010** Mayerhofer, Lisa, *Zwischen Freund und Feind. Deutsche Besatzung in Rumänien 1916-1918*, München, Peter Lang (2010).
- Meindl 2008** Meindl, Karl, *Rumänische Front 1916-1918*, Luftsiege der k.u.k. Luftfahrtruppe, Informationsblatt der österreichischen Flugzeughistoriker, Sonderheft no. 27 (2006).
- Prochasson, Țurcanu 2010** Prochasson, Christophe, Țurcanu, Florin (eds.), *La Grande Guerre. Histoire et mémoire collective en France et en Roumanie*, New Europe College – Institut d'études avancées, Bucharest (2010).
- Riegel 1978** Riegel, Léon, *Guerre et Littérature. Le bouleversement des consciences dans la littérature romanesque inspirée par la Grande Guerre, littératures française, anglaise, anglosaxonne et allemande, 1910-1930*, Klincksieck, coll. "Bibliothèque du XXe siècle" (1978).
- Rieneau 1974** Rieneau, Maurice, *Guerre et révolution dans le roman français de 1919 à 1939*, Klincksieck, coll. "Bibliothèque du XXe siècle" (1974).
- Roth 1969** Roth, Joseph, *Die Büste des Kaisers. Kleine Prosa*, Stuttgart, P. Reclam (1969).
- Schwilk 2007** Schwilk, Heimo, *Ernst Jünger. Ein Jahrhundertleben. Die Biografie*, München/Zürich, Piper (2007).
- Thoma 1990** Thoma, Ludwig, *Sämtliche Beiträge aus dem "Miesbacher Anzeiger" 1920/21*, Kritisch ediert und kommentiert von Wilhelm Volkert. München/Zürich, Piper (1990).
- Thmuser 1966** Thumser, Gerd, *Ludwig Thoma und seine Welt*. München, Desch (1966).
- Tismăneanu 2003** Tismăneanu, Vladimir, *Stalinism for All Seasons*, University of California Press (2003).
- Volke 1967** Volke, Werner, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten dargestellt von Werner Volke*. Rowohlt's Monographien, begründet v. Kurt Kusenberg, hrsg. v. Klaus Schröter, Reinbek bei Hamburg (1967).
- Williamson 1991** Williamson, Samuel R., *Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War*, London, St. Martin's Press (1991).
- Zecha 2000** Zecha, Wolfgang, *"Unter die Masken!" Giftgas auf den Kriegsschauplätzen Österreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Militärgeschichtliche Dissertationen österreichischer Universitäten, Wien (2000).
- Zweig 1970** Zweig, Stefan, *Die Welt von Gestern. Erinnerungen eines Europäers*, Fischer Taschenbuch (1970).
- b. Chapter in books**
- Dinu 2009** Dinu, Rudolf, "King Carol I and Decision Making Process in the Romanian Foreign Policy before the First World War". In Rudolf Dinu, *Studi Italo-Romeni. Diplomazia e societă, 1879-1914*, Bucharest, Ed. Militară (2009), p. 185-210.
- Dinu 2010** Dinu, Rudolf, "Romania's way from neutrality to war. An analysis regarding the evolution of Romanian foreign policy, 1912-1916". In Christophe Prochasson, Florin Țurcanu (eds.), *La Grande Guerre. Histoire et mémoire collective en France et en Roumanie*, New Europe College-Institut d'études avancées, Bucharest (2010), p.

- 9-17.
- Maciu 1978** Maciu, Vasile, "Die rumänische Armee im Ersten Weltkrieg (1916-1918)". In Al. Gh. Savu (ed.), *Aus der Geschichte der rumänischen Armee*, Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Monographien, no. 15, Bucharest (1978), p. 175-186.
- Mayerhofer 2008** Mayerhofer, Lisa, "Making Friends and Foes. Occupiers and Occupied in First World War Romania, 1916-1918". In: Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien, Christoph Schmidt-Suprian (eds.), *Untold War. New Perspectives in First World War Studies*. History of Warfare, no. 49, Leiden-Boston (2008), p. 119-149.
- Țurcanu 2008** Țurcanu, Florin, "Roumanie, 1917-1920. Les ambiguïtés d'une sortie de guerre". In: Audoin-Rouzeau, Christophe Prochasson (eds.), *Sortir de la Grande Guerre. le monde et l'après-1918*, Paris (2008).
- c. Papers in periodical journals**
- Dinu 2008** Dinu, Rudolf, *Modernité et tradition dans la politique étrangère du Vieux Royaume: Structures et mécanismes de decision*. In: *Transilvanian Review*, XVII, no. 1 (2008), p. 62-78.
- Kraus 1914** Kraus, K., *Franz Ferdinand und die Talente*. In: *Die Fackel*, no. 400-403, XVI, Wien, 10. Juli (1914).
- Reichmann 2000** Reichmann, Eva, *Franz Ferdinand als literarische Figur*. In: *Studia austriaca*, VIII (2000), p. 135-147.

Destinies in a Time of War: Mircea Russu Șirianu*

Andreea DĂNCILĂ INEOAN

Postdoctoral Researcher at West University of Timișoara, Romania

E-mail: andreea.dancila@yahoo.com

Abstract. Our work attempts to submit to analysis an unpublished source represented by the notes of Mircea Russu Șirianu, a young journalist from Bucharest who was involved before the WWI in organizing the national movement in Transylvania. Making himself known by his bold and uncompromising stances, enjoying a rich journalist activity from the very beginning of the 20th century, Mircea Russu Șirianu was arrested in the spring of 1916 on the territory of Austro-Hungary at a time when Romania was still maintaining its neutrality. He was considered by the Viennese authorities as a dangerous individual through the ideas he conveyed, concerning Romania's close position to the Entente. Although he managed to escape many times from the Austrian concentration camps, he was also caught every time, yet eventually freed through numerous diplomatic efforts. Back to Bucharest, he joined the Romanian army and was killed shortly after that, while fighting on the southern front. His notes during the fateful year 1916 are relevant for the meditations of the intellectual found in a limited context, such as the war, as well as for the survival strategies which he assumed.

Key words: First World War, cultural history, war diary, Romanian intellectual, Katzenau camp.

In the context of the centennial anniversary of the events pertaining to World War I, there has occurred an increasingly visible detachment from the harsh military horizon of the conflagration and an ever more consistent retrieval of cultural perspectives thereupon. This shift of perspective has long been practiced in the western historiography, for which the Great War has become the pretext of investigations undertaken by a cultural history that is accustomed to reading the experience of the years 1914-1918 through lenses that can revitalize the subject at the very point when its trivialization seemed final. From this point of view, memoirs may serve as a particularly attractive niche of analysis, enabling, despite the manifold cautions required by these sources, a series of recalibrated viewpoints on various aspects of the Great War.

Our study aims to introduce in the circuit of historical research the imprisonment journal of a young Romanian journalist, Mircea Russu Șirianu, from the time of World War I. Preserved in the Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives, these notes have never been published in full, except for small fragments that appeared in the magazine *Transilvania* during the interwar period (¹).

The form in which this testimony, the journal, is presented to us allows us to retrieve the experience of World War I not from the official perspective of statistics or monumental history, but from the human vantage point of an individual, whose personal time overlaps with the great time of history.

Mircea Russu Șirianu was the son of Ioan Russu Șirianu, a prominent Transylvanian journalist from the turn of the century. His name was linked to a series of foundational moments that were relevant for the effervescence of the pre-war Transylvanian press. Although he had acquired sufficient image capital as the editor of *Tribuna*, a daily newspaper from Sibiu that marked an era in the cultural-political thinking and writing of the Romanians from Transylvania, Ioan Russu Șirianu established *Foaia Poporului* in 1893, alongside Eugen Brode and Septimiu Albini, and in 1907 he founded *Tribuna Poporului* in Arad, a broadsheet that he brought to a higher level of popularity. Ioan Russu Șirianu also achieved recognition as a man of letters (he wrote short stories), but also as the leader of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania, winning, in the 1905 elections, a seat as Member of Parliament in Budapest. The

(*) This work was supported by the strategic grant POSDRU/159/1.5/S/140863, Project ID 140863 (2014), co-financed by the European Social

Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007 – 2013.

(¹) Three pages from the diary were edited in *Transilvania* magazine (LII, 1921, no. 1-2, 51-53).

intransigence of his political views often made him a target of the Hungarian authorities, which filed a series of lawsuits against him for his nationalist agitation campaigns in the newspapers whose editor he was.

The mother of Mircea Russu Șirianu was Constanța Hodoș, a formidable representative of feminine literature from the early 20th century, a recognized cultural entertainer who, although born in Arad, settled and asserted herself in the Romanian Kingdom. These biographical asides are relevant for the evolution of Mircea Russu Șirianu, as well as for the way in which, as we shall see, his writing was structured in the pages of the aforementioned journal.

Mircea Russu Șirianu, the author of these testimonies, was born in Bucharest on 10 May 1889 ⁽²⁾. Having obtained a degree in Law at the University of Bucharest, he was employed as a clerk of the Ilfov Tribunal. His approach to the written word and, in particular, to the journalistic act happened, in his case, as a biological fatalism, if we consider the family background already outlined above. At the age of only 20 years, in 1909, he was already followed by the State Security as a close collaborator of Nicolae Iorga's, whom he helped recruit Transylvanian students from the "Petru Maior" Society for the summer courses in Vălenii de Munte (Bodea, Vergatti 2013, 180). At the age of 23, he became editor of the Bucharest-based *Universul* broadsheet and a competent political analyst of the Romanians' situation in Transylvania. He was a close collaborator of the strategists of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania, especially of Alexandru Vaida Voevod and Aurel C. Popovici, from whom he received direct information on any matter regarding the R.N.P.'s tactics. His correspondence with them revealed a young man who was well acquainted with the interpretation of political matters and not only. In fact, Mircea Russu Șirianu represented the transmission vector of the R.N.P.'s policy in the press from the Old Kingdom, his permanent editorial from the *Universul* newspaper being elaborated and always endorsed by the Transylvanian leaders ⁽³⁾. In 1912, when Mircea Russu Șirianu decided

to pursue his doctoral studies in Paris, he was before long included in the editorial board of *Românul* from Arad, the official mouthpiece of the R.N.P., as an external collaborator, the journalist promising to internationalize the Transylvanian matter in the Parisian press. He adopted the same stance when he continued to write for the Bucharest-based newspaper *Universul*.

Arriving in Paris in the summer of 1912, Mircea Russu Șirianu held a series of conferences in the French capital in which he tackled the question of Transylvania, expressing on many occasions his belief as a politically engaged intellectual: "Although cautiousness must be the slogan of our foreign policy, still, we should know how to make this cautiousness compatible with our national dignity and with the higher interests of Romanianism" ⁽⁴⁾.

In February 1914, a group of Romanian students in Paris, the supporters of a Romanian-French rapprochement predicated on nationalist stakes, formed the "Vasile Alecsandri" Society and the *La Tribune Roumaine* periodical, whose purpose was to spread "knowledge of Romanianism in France" by insisting on the difficult fate of the Romanians in Hungary. In this atmosphere, the Romanian Political Intelligence Bureau was set up in Paris. Mircea Russu Șirianu, who was elected as its director, turned out to be an increasingly important factor in ensuring Romania's political and cultural proximity to France. A genuine propaganda machine, the bureau was intended to work "for providing the main European newspapers and the foreign ministries of the various states with accurate information about the Romanian political issue" ⁽⁵⁾.

In addition to these constant assertions in the public space, Mircea Russu Șirianu worked on his doctoral thesis, which also addressed a sensitive topic: the question of Transylvania and Romanian political unity. In 1916, the conclusions of the thesis recently defended in Paris saw the light of print at a

⁽²⁾ The Archives of Romanian Foreign Ministry, Fond 71-1914 E1, Diverse 1914-1924, vol. 149, f. 103.

⁽³⁾ The George Barițiu Public Library Brașov, Special Collection Department, Ms. 3856, Ms. 3859, Ms. 3862, Ms. 3863, Ms. 3864.

⁽⁴⁾ *The Transylvanian matter discussed in Paris*. In: *Românul*, 4 February 1914, p. 4. "Deși deviza politicii noastre externe trebuie să fie prudența, totuși trebuie să știm să facem compatibilă această prudență cu demnitatea noastră națională și marile interese ale românismului".

⁽⁵⁾ *Bureau roumain d'informations politiques*, In: *Românul*, 27 February 1914, no. 36, p. 3. "pentru informarea exactă a principalelor ziare europene precum și a ministerelor de externe ale diferitelor state despre chestiunea politică românească".

publishing house in France, under the title *La Question de Transylvanie et l'unité politique roumaine. Histoire. Situation actuelle. La Roumanie et la guerre européenne. Les revendications roumaines*.

The volume examines the juridical evolution of Transylvania since the Roman conquest, insisting, in an extensive general chapter, on the present of this region, but also on the political decisions that were to be taken in the context of the current war. Summed up, the conclusions reached by Mircea Russu Șirianu impress through the trenchant and categorical way in which they are formulated: Austria-Hungary is “another sick man of Europe”, and as regards the question of Transylvania, there can be only one legally satisfactory solution for Romania: annexation (Russu-Șirianu 1916, 22-23). The work actually focuses around this demonstration, aiming to support the legitimacy of the Romanian claims over Transylvania. Mircea Russu Șirianu combines arguments inspired from historical law and the modern law of the nationalities principle in order to justify the ideal of the Romanians’ political unity. Its pages also express his admiration for Ionel Brătianu, the one whose policy the author qualifies as “hesitant” in 1914, but becomes ‘conscious and intelligent’ in 1915 and, a year later, ‘energetic and full of initiative’ (Russu-Șirianu 1916, 426).

The plea to which Mircea Russu Șirianu resorts to show the naturalness of siding with the Entente respects the arguments of the cultural war underlying the political war: the two blocks confronting one another actually represent civilization and barbarism, the principle of law and the principle of force (Russu-Șirianu 1916, 430). Visibly marked by the rhetoric of the French intellectual circles, Mircea Russu Șirianu considers that in this struggle Romania could not remain indifferent to the invitations of the civilized world, which promised the “freedom of nations” at the end of the conflict (Russu-Șirianu 1916, 408, 430).

The work of Mircea Russu Șirianu constitutes thus one of the firmest publicly assumed and well-argued solutions of the Transylvanian question from the years of the Great War. Moreover, the few details about the formative path of the young Mircea Russu Șirianu reconstruct a typology that was common at the time, with strong touches borrowed from the Transylvanian milieu, as the politically engaged intellectual who could easily convert his cultural expertise into acts of political militancy.

Returning to the historical source which is the subject of our presentation, Mircea Russu Șirianu’s journal is entitled *Notes and memories from the spring of 1916* and begins on 16 March 1916, exactly one month after the publication of his doctoral thesis.

In a tense situation of war, Mircea Russu Șirianu prepares to return home to Bucharest, after his lengthy stay in Paris. Although he is warned that a return path through Russia would be safer for him, he nonetheless chooses, for pecuniary reasons, to return through Austria-Hungary. He travels across Switzerland and the moment he crosses the border to Austria, he is arrested by the authorities on the spot and, after a brief interrogation, he is sent to prison in Feldkirch. The pro-Entente propagandistic activity carried out hitherto seems to be a sufficient count of indictment: “I spent a disconcerted evening, especially since I know what I will be charged with and what my fate will be” ⁽⁶⁾. Notwithstanding all this, at the over three-day long interrogation before a lieutenant, Mircea Russu Șirianu confesses: “I am not accused of espionage, a stone has been lifted from my heart, but I still do not know why they arrested me. The lieutenant in question told me to make a statement outlining my entire life and especially my activity during the war. I am still not at peace, but I seem to have made a breakthrough. I feared more” ⁽⁷⁾. Without any explanation, he was moved after only a few days into the camp of civilian prisoners of war (“interned”) in Katzenau, near Linz, the order being that his arrest should last as long as the war continued.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war, in the Austro-Hungarian military structures that were increasingly interested in countering the propaganda of the Entente there appeared a circle of suspects, a category of “untrustworthy” civilians, suspected even of counter-espionage (Cornwall 2000, 18-19). According to this line of approach, the elites of the national groups across the monarchy were suspected of lacking attachment to the imperial values, placed under surveillance and interned from the very first

⁽⁶⁾ “Am petrecut o seară agitată, mai ales că știu de ce voi fi acuzat și care îmi va fi soarta”.

⁽⁷⁾ “Nu sunt acuzat de spionaj, mi-a căzut o piatră de pe inimă, dar tot nu știu de ce m-au arestat. Locotenentul în chestiune mi-a spus să fac un memoriu în care să expun toată viața mea și mai ales activitatea mea în timpul războiului. Nu sunt încă liniștit, dar totuși mi se pare că am făcut un progres. Mă temeam de mai mult”.

days of the war (Galántai 1989, 95). Although he was the subject of a still neutral country, in the case of Mircea Russu Șirianu his connections with the movement of the intellectuals in Transylvania were taken into account, as were the frequent pro-Entente articles he published in the newspaper *Românul*. His proximity to the French official circles outlined the profile of a dangerous agitator, with a mission to destabilize the traditional political line of Bucharest.

Although initially the camp from Katzenau, where Mircea Russu Șirianu was incarcerated, had been prepared by the military strategists of the dual monarchy to accommodate the war refugees from Galicia and Poland, this place became a concentration field for all the Italians considered by the Austrian police as “politisch unverlässlich”. During wartime, the category was quite generous, including, besides persons with irredentist proclivities, also moderates whose sole guilt was that of being ordinary members of Italian cultural or sporting associations. In the camp at Katzenau, on an area that was 400 m long and 300 m wide, there were housed around 3,000 individuals in wooden barracks, supervised by 800 guards ⁽⁸⁾. Italian historiography speaks of this concentration camp as representing one of the most horrendous pages in the history of the Dual Monarchy ⁽⁹⁾.

Returning to the pages of the journal, after receiving the disarming verdict, Mircea Russu Șirianu nonetheless found solace at the thought that he was interned in a camp designed strictly for Italian civilian prisoners: “I arrived, thus, among brothers and this consoled me. They are compassionate types, as Italians, our brothers, generally are. They are Italians from the Kingdom, from Trient and from Trieste. A very poor social quality, because the good ones left on time, before the ultimatum, to do their duty to the motherland. However, common sufferings draw me closer to these unfortunates. We all have the same fate and the same hopes. Everyone is inquiring about me, wondering how

come I am interned when Romania is still neutral ...” ⁽¹⁰⁾.

The initial uncertainty turned, in time, into a relative acceptance of the situation and he was integrated into the camp of detainees, which became a place where a series of survival solidarities developed. Even if the camp regime was semi-open, this did not cancel the harsh conditions of imprisonment: in the camp, there were the so-called “barakengeld”, some special tickets available only inside the camp, with which food could be purchased at huge prices, as ensuring one’s nourishment remained the daily concern of all those imprisoned. Despite these shortcomings, the inmates did not give up a social life that was often translated into *joie de vivre*: fencing classes, competitions, games, opera performances were organized, *etc.* In the Italians’ company, Mircea Russu Șirianu built a space for political debates, waiting, every day, for news about Romania’s entry into war on the side of the Allies, in which case the war was to be over, he believed, by the end of 1916.

Waiting in vain for a motivation of his arrest, Mircea Russu Șirianu decided to escape, desperately thinking that the postponement of a verdict in the case of his detention could only entail a complication of the situation. Moreover, as he himself confessed, he saw his stay in camp from the very beginning as a brief existential aside, as a provisional experience, constantly devising with the other inmates feverish escape projects.

The first escape plan was designed along with another Italian interned prisoner and its final point was the Romanian Legation in Vienna, where Mircea Russu Șirianu was to procure a passport necessary for his return to Romania. The night chosen for this escape, 2 to 3 May 1916, the two managed to leave the camp, but were spotted by the sentinel and were forced to return. However, they made the mistake of forgetting the lunch packets with their names on them in the place names prepared for the escape. The next day, the camp authorities summoned them to report. While

⁽⁸⁾ The information on the history and organization of the camp in Katzenau were taken over from Alessandro Ferioli, *Il lager di Katzenau*, consulted on www.storiaXXIsecolo.it, 20.04.2015.

⁽⁹⁾ G. Chini, *Da Katzenau a Eferding. Memorie d’esilio in Alba trentina*, no. 1 (Jan. 1921), accessed on www.itcleopardi.scuolaer.it, 20.04.2015.

⁽¹⁰⁾ “Am sosit deci între frați și aceasta este pentru mine o consolațiune. Sunt tipuri simpatice, cum în general sunt frații noștri italieni. Sunt italieni din Regat, din Trient și din Triest. Calitatea socială foarte proastă, căci cei buni au plecat la timp, înainte de ultimatum, spre a-și face datoria către patrie. Totuși suferințele comune mă apropie de acești nenorociți. Toți avem aceeași soartă și aceleași speranțe. Toți se interesează de mine, se miră cum de sunt internat când România este încă neutrală...”

heading for the interrogation room, at a moment when the guards were not paying attention, Mircea Russu Șirianu managed to mingle among some workers and he could thus leave the camp. He travelled 120 kilometres in five days, but when he reached Sankt Pollten, he was identified by a policeman and arrested on the spot, as he had no ID on him. Three days later, he was transported from police custody back to the camp of internees from Katzenau. This time, the open regime he had enjoyed before was replaced with the tough life of a prisoner who represented an escape risk, demanding severe security. Here he learned for the first time, from a Swiss newspaper, about the publicity made to his arrest, which was regarded as an Austrian-Romanian diplomatic incident in the European press. He hoped that the commotion caused by this event would “contribute to setting our people in motion to get me out of the hands of Austria” ⁽¹¹⁾. A few days later, however, he noted, disappointed: “I have read the news stories in the country, rendered by the press here. They say that Romania is drawing closer to the Central Powers. C. Stere, an Austrophiliac and a Russophobic man, has arrived in Vienna. And Austria is keeping me handcuffed here...” ⁽¹²⁾.

He was saved from the depression that gripped him every day by a first telegram received from his mother at the address where the camp was located. Her censored and succinct message – “Wait peacefully” ⁽¹³⁾ – impressed him beyond measure: “this proof that mother will not abandon me into their hands, that she is inquiring about me, moved me and caused me great joy” ⁽¹⁴⁾.

After having postponed other escape attempts when he began to suspect that the authorities wanted to send him to a prison camp in Hungary, where the treatment would have been much worse, Mircea Russu Șirianu decided to try again. Helped by other inmates, he managed to dig an underground exit and thus escaped from the camp in Katzenau for the second time. After a series of precautions the

escapees imposed upon themselves during the journey, they met again with a patrol of gendarmes, who asked them to identify themselves. They choose to flee away and change direction, abandoning the Passau-Switzerland route and heading for Vienna.

After a hiatus of nearly a month, the journal continues presenting Mircea Russu Șirianu imprisoned again on Austrian territory, without providing details about how he had been caught by the Austrian authorities. On 24 July 1916, he was informed, without many explanations, that the decision had been reached to release him, and three days later Mircea Russu Șirianu was present at the Romanian Legation in Vienna, taking the necessary steps for obtaining a passport. On 30 July 1916, he arrived in Romania by train, after five months of Austrian detention. After crossing the Austro-Hungarian-Romanian border in Predeal, he confessed: “Here I am finally on free Romanian territory! Oh, what a frightening dream, what uninterrupted anguish for four months of captivity in Austria. I could expect at any moment to be sentenced to death for my political activity” ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Concerning this brief narrative thread presented here, we ought to highlight the survival strategies deployed by Mircea Russu Șirianu during his period of detention.

First, what should be noted is the heroization he practiced in writing, the legacy of a family that had educated him in this regard. Continuing his father’s experience with unfeigned admiration, Mircea Russu Șirianu was aware of the “obligations” entailed by his name, which imposed upon him a certain conduct. Here is how he described his own arrest: “Although the name Șirianu did not appear in the passport, the Austrian detectives were able to guess that I was the famous Mircea R. Șirianu. [...] Here I was, a victim, a martyr of the Romanian cause. Father can rest in peace” ⁽¹⁶⁾. The image of the father seems to have become the utmost benchmark in this experience, which could be called the Son’s Journal: “I dream

⁽¹¹⁾ “va contribui a pune în mișcare pe ai noștri spre a mă scoate din mâinile Austriei”.

⁽¹²⁾ “Citesc în știri din țară, redate de presa de aici. Se zice că România se apropie de Puterile Centrale. C. Stere, austrofil și rusofob a sosit la Viena. Și pe mine Austria mă ține încătușat aici...”

⁽¹³⁾ “Așteaptă liniștit”.

⁽¹⁴⁾ “această dovadă că mama nu mă lasă în mâinile lor, că se interesează de mine, m-a emoționat și mi-a cauzat o mare bucurie”.

⁽¹⁵⁾ “Iată-mă în sfârșit pe teritoriu român liber! O ce vis înspăimântător, ce angoasă neîntreruptă timp de patru luni de captivitate în Austria. Mă puteam aștepta în orice clipă să fiu condamnat la moarte pentru activitatea mea politică”.

⁽¹⁶⁾ “Deși în pașaport nu figura numele de Șirianu totuși detectivii austrieци au știut să ghicească că eu sunt faimosul Mircea R. Șirianu. [...] Iată-mă victimă, martir al cauzei românești. Tata poate să se odihnească în pace”.

heavy dreams and I dream a lot about poor Father”⁽¹⁷⁾.

If the father occupies the space of a motivating past, the mother also appears as the central character of the journal, but from the position of a saviour of the present. Many of the son’s postcards were addressed to her, as he resorted to various subterfuges in detention. When his mother answered his telegrams, the son was convinced that she would activate all the networks of influence in her power to remove him from there.

Along with the image of the family, perceived as a strong refuge during this experience, another motif frequently encountered in Mircea Russu Șirianu’s notes was the sentiment of the intellectual that he could not be useful to the homeland in times of need: “But I will get home, mother, the relatives and my dear brother are waiting for me, the homeland is waiting for me”⁽¹⁸⁾. The expressions through which the young journalist related to “sweet beloved homeland”⁽¹⁹⁾ evince the air of national romanticism, accompanied by a gesture that borrows the discursive emphasis of his mentor, Nicolae Iorga. When the security regime changed into a harsher one, Mircea Russu Șirianu noted: “I am sad. As a consolation, I wrote on the prison wall: Vive la Roumanie! and I signed”⁽²⁰⁾. This self-heroizing modality, the aestheticization of writing should not surprise us as this was a journalist accustomed to conveying his experiences in literary format, (Fusell 1975, 173) a man who lived in a context in which the national discourse had become verbal routine and the intellectuals’ patriotic commitments appeared to be quite natural.

Another solution that Șirianu advanced to ensure his survival is reminiscent again of his father’s Transylvanian political experience: petitioning. Not a day went by without submitting a memorial to the official military and political authorities of Austria-Hungary, the Romanian Legation in Vienna, the news agencies or influential people back home. The legalistic way of addressing this issue was but another intellectualist reflex of the character analysed here. Mircea Russu Șirianu remained throughout his journal the representative of a

cultural elite that manifested itself and reacted accordingly. When the boredom of detention became unbearable, the refuge he sought was profoundly intellectualist, demonstrating a relentless concern for his own professional becoming: he read books from the library of the camp to the point of exhaustion, he took Spanish and English lessons in the hope that they would be of use later as a politician.

In fact, even the idea of keeping this journal belonged, as the author confessed, to the same mechanics of survival: “I kill time by writing, as life here is stupid monotony”⁽²¹⁾.

Only a few days after Mircea Russu Șirianu’s return to Bucharest, Romania entered the war and he enlisted as a volunteer. With a much too cynical premonition, on 20 February 1914, he wrote in an article that he signed and published in the daily *Românul*: “Let us not hover in the dangerous illusion that the Bulgarians have renounced the portion of land that we have annexed through the peace that we have imposed on these adversaries. Blood has not flowed yet for the new Dobrogea. And there can be no conquest where blood is not shed!”⁽²²⁾. Within a mere two years and a half, Mircea Russu Șirianu was killed by the Bulgarian troops in the battles of Turtucaia.

In retrospect, with each escape from the camp of internees at Katzenau, the author of the journal was heading, unawares, towards death in the trenches, a death whose heroic aura he may well have dreamed about.

The case of Mircea Russu Șirianu and the translations he occasioned (as he was interned as a war prisoner in an Austrian camp and served as a volunteer in the Romanian Army) represented a challenging chapter in the history of Romanian intellectuals’ activity from the time of World War I, which needs to be assumed without obstructive forays into the area of hagiography or panegyrics. Ultimately, Mircea Russu Șirianu is an example of honesty and consistency between the professed political-intellectual project and his personal action.

⁽¹⁷⁾ “Am vise grele și visez mult pe sărmanul Tata”.

⁽¹⁸⁾ “Dar voi ajunge acasă, mă așteaptă Mama, rudele, frățiorul, mă așteaptă patria”.

⁽¹⁹⁾ “dulcea patrie iubită”.

⁽²⁰⁾ “Sunt trist. Ca o consolare am scris pe peretele închisorii: Vive la Roumanie! și m-am iscălit”.

⁽²¹⁾ “Omor timpul scriind, viața este aici de o monotonie stupid”.

⁽²²⁾ “Să nu ne legănăm în iluziunea periculoasă că bulgarii au renunțat la porțiunea de pământ ce ne-am anexat-o noi prin pacea pe care tot noi am impus-o acestor adversari. Sângele n-a curs încă pentru Dobrogea nouă. Și n-a existat cucerire care să se facă fără sânge!”. Mircea Russu Șirianu, *O nouă alianță* [A new alliance]. In: *Românul*, no. 30, 7/20 February, 1914, p. 1.

References

a. Archival sources

- Russu Șirianu 1916** The unpublished diary of Mircea Russu Șirianu (1916), Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives, Mss. var. I. 350.
- Special Collection** The "George Barițiu" Public Library Brașov, Special Collection Department, Ms. 3856, Ms. 3859, Ms. 3862, Ms. 3863, Ms. 3864.
- The Archives of Romanian Foreign Ministry** The Archives of Romanian Foreign Ministry, Fond 71-1914 E1, Diverse 1914-1924, vol. 149, f. 103.

b. Books

- Bodea, Vergatti 2013** Bodea, Cornelia, Radu Ștefan Vergatti, *Nicolae Iorga în arhivele vieneze și ale siguranței regale (1903-1904)*, București, Mica Valahie (2013).
- Cornwall 2000** Cornwall, Mark, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary. The Battle for Hearts and Minds*, Palgrave Macmillan (2000).
- Fussel 1975** Fusell, Paul, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Oxford University Press (1975).
- Galántai 1989** Galántai, József, *Hungary in the First World War*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó (1989).
- Russu-Șirianu 1916 a** Russu Șirianu, Mircea, *La Question de Transylvanie et l'unité politique roumaine*, Paris, (1916).

c. Papers in periodical journals

- Russu-Șirianu 1914** Russu Șirianu, Mircea, *O nouă alianță*. In: *Românul*, IV (1914).
- Russu-Șirianu 1921** Russu Șirianu, Mircea, *Memorii*. In: *Transilvania*, LII (1921).
- Russu-Șirianu 1914** Russu Șirianu, Mircea, *Chestiunea Transilvaniei discutată la Paris*. In :

- Românul, IV (1914).**
- Russu-Șirianu 1914 a** Russu Șirianu, Mircea, *Bureau roumain d'informations politiques*. In : *Românul*, IV (1914).

d. Internet sources

- Chini 1921** Chini, Giuseppe, *Da Katzenau a Eferding. Memorie d'esilio in Alba trentina*, no. 1 (1921), accessed on www.itcleopardi.scuolaer.it, 20.04.2015.
- Ferioli 2002** Ferioli, Alessandro, *Il lager di Katzenau*, accessed on www.storiaXXIsecolo.it, 20.04.2015.

War Satire and Caricature Reflected in *Furnica* Magazine. A “Different” Perspective on the Great War from the Romanian Neutrality Period (1914/1916)

Bogdan IOANIȚIU BOȘOTEANU

“Constantin Noica” Theoretical Highschool, Sibiu

E-mail: bogdan.bosoteanu@yahoo.com

Abstract. The study aims at a new onset of Romanian neutrality period as repercussive in the first page illustrations and caricatures, published in *Furnica* (The Ant) humoristic magazine. The favorite targets of the publicists were the political life of the country, the ruling elite and the Royal Family. None of the important personalities has escaped the stings of *Furnica*. This is how the magazine had earned its fame. The most representative caricatures are grouped into three thematic units, entitled: Romanian “neutrality affair”, national ideal and Great War campaigners. Methodically, I have described and interpreted the caricatures in a subjective manner, by beginning with the primary source, taking as background the authors’ views.

Keywords: satire, caricature, Great War, neutrality, humoristic press.

The humoristic magazine *Furnica* (The Ant) appeared between 1904-1930, and had activated for a long period of time, being interrupted only by the Romania’s entrance in the First World War, in 1916. The founding fathers and the main authors of this satire publication’s articles have been the editors George Ranetti and N. D. Țăranu (Bacalbașa 1922, 185); other collaborators also published there. Most of the articles were signed in pseudonym (Zafiu 2011, 1) out of which we will present the most frequently used by every publicist: G. Ranetti signed Tarascon, Cyrano, Jorj Delamidil, Coco, Ghiță Delagambrinus, Kiriac Napardajan, Prințul Ghytza, Sarsailă; N. D. Țăranu: Nae, Năiță Idiotu, Nae Saltimbanu, Nicollo Mascalczzoni, Box; Petre Locusteanu: Sfredeluș, Aghiuță (Boșoteanu 2012, 47).

Even from the first issue of the magazine (September, 19, 1904), the editors were aiming, among others, to clean the Romanian society “[...] of the parasites, which are daily choking them up” (*Furnica* 1904, 2). The most important were the satirical drawings, the caricatures inserted on the front page, colored most of the time, or inserted in between the lines of the articles, in black and white, on the following pages, signed by some well-known epochal painters, almost forgotten in the present-day, such as: Kimon Loghi, N. Mantu, N. Petrescu, Ary Murnu, F. Șirato, Tojo, Iser, Theodorescu-Sion, M. Bunesco or C. Ressu (Boșoteanu 2012, 49).

The main “targets”, which the magazine’s publicists have been mocked at, were related to political life, monarchy, but also to public life’s mores and vices. In Romania’s neutrality period (1914-1916) the hottest issue was the Great War. Therefore, the magazine’s rhetoric was to graphically represent, in an opened manner, the daily realities of World War I.

The images that we are to analyze below depict some of the features. The most important are underlining the vices and highlight the human vanities that have turned the publication into one of the most popular satire “sheet”. Mocking everything and everyone seemed to be the major feature of neutrality’s publicists so that the two editors, G. Ranetti și N. D. Țăranu, had become the authors of a “different” war criticism, unadvised and unorthodox, but at terms with its era (Boșoteanu 2012, 49).

The images and caricatures analyzed here have been thematically classified into three categories, subordinated to political and military events that had happened between the years 1914-1916: the Romanian “affair” of neutrality (1914-1916), national ideal and the Great War’s combatants.

The Romanian “Affair” of Neutrality

The Romanian neutrality gave rise to heated discussions and polemics. The historians clarified its major aspects, but we are interested in the *other*

approach of this delicate problem. Although bound by an old alliance treaty with the Central Powers, Italy and Romania had declared neutrality in the summer of 1914, which had generated the idea, in the September issue 1914, that these two states represent “the clay feet of the military German colossus”, an Ahile’s heel, a Kaiser vulnerability, provoked by its diplomats. The kneeling down of Europe, allegorically represented as a crowned lady, could have depended on these vulnerabilities of the Western military block:

Europe: - What’s with the limping, Kaiser?

Wilhelm: - Can’t you see the shoes my diplomats have endowed me with? (Furnica 1914, 1, Fig. 1).

There were satirized two Romanian leaders, the newly crowned King Ferdinand I, and the *de facto* ruler of the country’s destinies, Ionel Brătianu, an advocate of the military hold status. Out of such numerous caricatures we have chosen the most representative for endorsing the neutrality. One hypostasis of the type of politics led by the “vizier” from Bucharest was the duplicity with which he was managing the dialogues between the two conflictual sides, the Allies and the Central Powers. This is the reason for being illustrated as two-faced, one turned towards the Russian Empire and the other turned towards Austro-Hungary (Furnica 1914, 1, Fig. 2). The next month (December 6th of the same year) the state of anxiety of some politicians regarding Brătianu’s indecisiveness manifested in another dialogue, finalized in a wordplay gathering his first name, Ionel: “Ce-s io’n el?” (Furnica 1914, 1, Fig. 3):

- Your Majesty, what’s the matter with this clock, ‘cause we’ve been waiting for so long and we see that no way are we going to hear the bell of our entrance in action! Isn’t it possible that someone is messing with its wheels?

How could I know: Or am I in it?

Likewise, King Ferdinand was criticized, but also bantered for his lack of determination or resolution, being compared to his forerunners, the rulers Alexandru Ioan Cuza and King Carol I, more authoritarian in similar moments of crisis. These two brilliant forerunners were impelling the new monarch to follow their ruling, to be dynamic, for that was the way in which the unity was done in 1859 and the state’s independence was conquered in 1877, and last but not least to

listen to public opinion (“the voice of Romania”). In exchange, Ferdinand, illustrated as a soldier who was sharpening his sword, replied that he was getting ready just to do that. We expose here the cue exchange that was accompanying the first page caricature from *Furnica*, January the 20th of 1915, as imagined by the magazine’s editors:

“We’ve done the Unity of the Principalities; now it’s your turn to accomplish the Great Unity... Why don’t you prick up your ear to the Voice of Romania?

Can’t you see that I am just... doing that?” (Furnica 1915, 1, Fig. 4).

Romania’s neutrality was seen deeply bound to Italy’s neutrality, country that seemed to be caught in by the same diplomatic lethargy. In a caricature from the early 1915 the main character was again King Ferdinand receiving the news of Italy’s entrance in the war on February the 29th. The irony was obvious since 1915 wasn’t a leap year (Furnica 1915, 1, Fig. 5). Moreover, the next year they had suggested as the decisive moment for setting off at war the April 1st of 1916 (the fool’s day) because Romania wasn’t yet adequately prepared with weaponry (Furnica 1916, 1, Fig. 6). Only that this time the magazine’s ironies and speculations weren’t completely justified because that year has proven to be the correct one.

In choosing a side, beyond the national reunion interests, a satirized aspect had been the religious affinity between the Romanians and the Russians (both Christian Orthodox people). The Russians’ persuasion to pull Romania towards the Allies also used roubles, thus a new wordplay had been published in March 17th of 1915 issue along with an image suggesting the relation between relatives and money. The Romanian word *rubedenii*, meaning “relatives” or “in-laws”, is transformed in *ruble-denii*, thus mixing the Russian national currency, the rouble, and the Eastern Orthodox term for the evening service during Passion Week – *denii*. The following cue exchange lies by the evocative image (Furnica 1915, 1, fig. 7).

“- What kind of an affair is this, ma’am Marghioala: an Orthodox lady like you to bow before the German icons? Come to us for the *denii*, cause through religion we are relatives [*rubedenii*]!

I know, *gospodin*, I know you care very much for us to become *rouble-denii*!”

King Ferdinand's indecision to launch the country into war to obtain Transylvania was instead cost-effective to Austria-Hungary, which was represented in a new front page caricature from May 15th of 1915. In that image the Emperor was peering over the mountains towards the Romanian sovereign, who instead of going against the dualist monarchy battle troops he was "chewing the rag!" (Furnica 1915, 1, Fig. 8).

In the following months, Ionel Brătianu, was wheedled by the majority of the campaigner states (Russia, England, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, France), and therefore allegorically represented as some beautiful women in traditional costumes, provocatively tempting him in the torrid summer of that year (Furnica 1915, 1, Fig. 9).

The National Ideal

The national ideal represented the second aspect, often invoked by the politicians, which drew attention to the editors Ranetti and Țăranu, being treated by the magazine in the already accustomed way: through sarcastic satire and witty caricature. In between the negotiations with Germany and Russia, the national ideal seemed in June 1915 a kite flown too high by Brătianu and caught "in the diplomatic net" (Furnica 1915, 1, Fig. 10). The national interest had to come first during those moments, and in a satiric drawing, King Ferdinand was described as arbiter in deciding (the description seems ironical again) over the emancipation of Bessarabia or Transylvania. The front page image of *Furnica* (October 7th of 1914) was accompanied by the following catchword:

"Not for the Tzar [țar], but for the homeland [țară]!"

Not for the German [neamț], but for the Kinsman [neam]!" (Furnica 1914, 1, Fig. 11).

A special attention has been paid to the largest province inhabited by a Romanian majority – Transylvania, often illustrated as a beautiful young woman, dressed in a national costume (see Furnica from October 6th of 1915 or April 25th of 1916). In other humorous drawings and illustrations this territory has been imagined in different hypostases, but Bukovina hadn't been omitted, especially because the Austrians, having reoccupied Cernăuți, were being accused of abuses against Romanians. In an illustration that has in the background four halts on which Romanians were hanging with their tongues

lollid, the Austrian King Franz Joseph addresses King Ferdinand the following words:

"- Look, dear Ferdinand, how can your nationalists babble that the Romanian language is put down in my empire? Thanks to a fatherly care, look how great development has received the tongue of the Vlachs!"

(In Romanian there is a single word that designates both "tongue" and "language"; Furnica 1914, 1, fig. 12).

Mostly, the caricatures published in *Furnica* magazine during the neutrality period have reflected Romania's inability to help the other Romanian provinces, occupied by much more powerful dominance. Moreover, the Old Kingdom of Romania wanted support in accomplishing the unity between the Romanian territories, a fact illustrated by a drawing in which the King and the Prime-Minister were working to build the Great Romania, and the European powers were opposing by building a fence:

"King: - Look, Ionel: they are all crowding to pay "court" to me, but none is giving me a hand to finish this house!" (Furnica 1915, 1).

Hence, all the flaws of the leaders from that period had been bantered: the apathy and lack of initiative of King Ferdinand or the seemingly indecision of the Ministers Council's President, Ion. I. C. Brătianu. Through humor, Marghiloman was illustrated as a donkey to underline his stubbornness, the Romanian equivalent fitting the name of the Prime-Minister ("măgarloman" – "donkeylomanian"), and Carp was pictured as "carpton" man (Furnica 1915, 1).

The First World War Combatants

The combatants of World War I have been portrayed in most diverse manners and hypostases. For example, France takes the allegorical shape of a shy coquettish young woman, courted by a German soldier, who had become overweight after having gobbled Belgium and Serbia (Furnica 1916, 1, no. 29, March 8th of 1916). Besides, the image of Germany represented by Kaiser Wilhelm II, dressed as a Prussian soldier, had dominated the majority of caricatures. Austro-Hungary has been associated to Franz Joseph's image as an old man lacking vitality (Furnica, no. 6, 10, 15 from 1914, no. 7, 37 from 1915, no. 26, 33 from 1916) or as a bi-cephalous black eagle, whose wings

were cut out by an Italian (Furnica, no. 22 from 1915).

As presented above, one may easily distinguish the Romanians' trait (especially of those from the Old Kingdom, already naturalized and well-established as a nowadays brand) – of smiling and even bantering with daily crucial events. For *Furnica* magazine, this strategy had proven to be an outlet, which had succeeded to survive on the Romanian press market during the troubled times of neutrality.

References

a. Papers in periodical journals

Boşoteanu 2012 Boşoteanu, Bogdan, *Critica de artă în revista «Furnica» în prima decadă de apariție a revistei (1904-1914)* [Art Criticism in «Furnica» magazine during the First Decade (1904-1914)]. In: *Transilvania*, no. 9, pp. 47-49 (2012).

Furnica 1904 “Furnica”. In: *Furnica*, year I, no. 1, (1904).

Zafiu 2011 Zafiu, Rodica, *Păcatele Limbii: “Furnica”* [The Sins of the Language: «Furnica»]. In: *România Literară*, year XLIII, no. 37 (September 16th of 2011), article available on-line at the web address: <http://www.romlit.ro/furnica>.

b. Chapters in books

Bacalbaşa 1922 Bacalbaşa, C., “Ziaristică română din zilele noastre” [“Romanian Newspapers of Our Times”]. In N. Iorga, *Istoria presei româneşti de la primele începuturi până la 1916* [The History of the Romanian Press from the Beginning to 1916], Atelierele Societăţii Anonime “Adeverul”, Bucharest (1922).

List of Illustrations:

Fig.1. **Furnica 1914** ****, Efectele neutralităţii* [The Effects of Neutrality]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 4 (1914).

Fig.2. **Furnica 1914** ****, Neutralitatea lui Ionel* [Ionel's Neutrality]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 13 (1914).

Fig.3. **Furnica 1914** In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 16 (1914).

Fig.4. **Furnica 1915** In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 21 (1915).

Fig.5. **Furnica 1915** ****, Desvăluirea unui mare secret diplomatic* [Unveiling a Big Diplomatic Secret]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 25 (1915).

Fig.6. **Furnica 1916** ****, Farse-nalul lui Ionel* [Ionel's Farce-nal]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 32 (1916).

Fig.7. **Furnica 1915** In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 29 (1915).

Fig.8. **Furnica 1915** ****, Neutralitatea* [Neutrality]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 37 (1915).

Fig.9. **Furnica 1915** ****, Un “neutru” în primejdie* [A “Neuter” in Danger]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 48 (1915).

Fig.10. **Furnica 1915** ****, Idealul national* [National Ideal]. In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 12 (1915).

Fig.11. **Furnica 1914** In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 6 (1914).

Fig.12. **Furnica 1914** In: *Furnica*, year XI, no. 10 (1914).



Fig. 1.

"Europe: - What's with the limping, Kaiser?"

Wilhelm: - Can't you see the shoes my diplomats have endowed me with?"

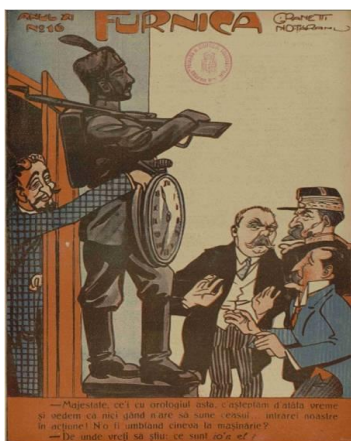


Fig. 3.

- Your Majesty, what's the matter with this clock, 'cause we've been waiting for so long and we see that no way are we going to hear the bell of our entrance in action! Isn't it possible that someone is messing with its wheels?

- How could I know: Or am I in it? [The popular Romanian pronunciation of "I in it" corresponds with the name of the Prime Minister, "Ionel"].

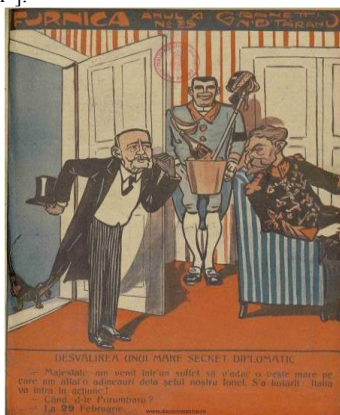


Fig. 5.

UNVEILING A BIG DIPLOMATIC SECRET

-Your Majesty, I've rushed over to break big news, which I heard a minute ago from our chief, Ionel. It's settled: Italy is going to war!

- When, Mr. Porumbaru?

- On February 29th.



Fig. 2.

IONEL'S NEUTRALITY

The Russian: - Listen, *gospodin*: if you reek schnaps like that, we'll breach it!

The Austrian: - *Mainher*, do you ever stink vodka like that, you'll get it!

Ionel: - Oh, dear, it feels that I'll step out... of neutrality!

The Hungarian: - Well now, what a bloody lying chap he is: we ask him to give us gasoline and he always tells us it ain't!



Fig. 4.

- We've done the Unity of the Principalities; now it's your turn to accomplish the Great Unity ... Why don't you prick up your ear to the Voice of Romania?

- Can't you see that I am just ... doing that?

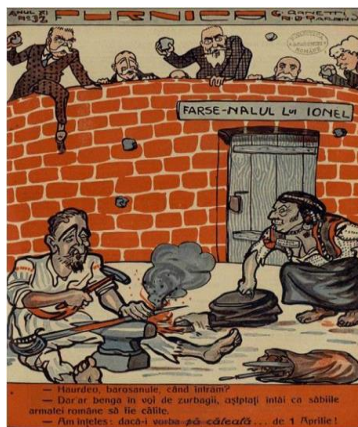


Fig. 6.

"IONEL'S FARCE-NAL

-Big boss, when we go in?

- You, bloody fools, wait for the Romanian army's swords to steel.

- I got it: if it's on a *still* thing ... on April 1!"



Fig. 7.

- What kind of an affair is this, ma'am Marghioala: an Orthodox lady like you to bow before the German icons? Come to us for the *denii*, cause through religion we are relatives [*rubedenii*]!
- I know, *gospodin*, I know you care very much for us to become *rouble-denii*!"



Fig. 9.

A *neuter* in danger.

- "Phew, some heat! ... Ladies, save your trouble of loving me, for you knock me out!"

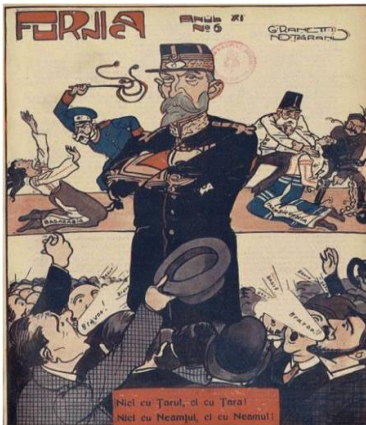


Fig. 11.

Not for the Tzar [*țar*], but for the homeland [*țară*]!
Not for the German [*neam*], but for the Kinsman [*neam*]!

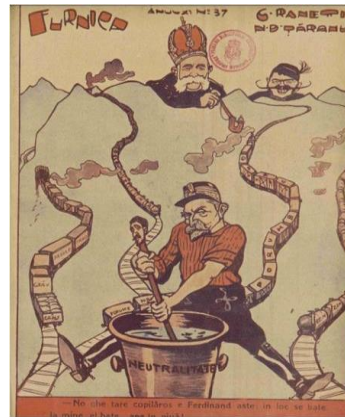


Fig. 8.

- Really childish, this Ferdinand: instead me battles, he baffles.



Fig. 10.

- "Too bad... the kite was so beautifully whizzing!
- Well, lonel, you are to blame: if you hadn't been playing with it by those posts, it wouldn't have got in a diplomatic tangle!"



Fig. 12.

- Look, dear Ferdinand, how can your nationalists babble that the Romanian language is put down in my empire? Thanks to a fatherly care, look how great development has received the tongue of the Vlachs!

A City at War. The Romanian Community from Sibiu in 1915

Valeria SOROȘTINEANU

Lecturer, "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu

E-mail: valeria.sorostineanu@ulbsibiu.ro

Abstract. The city of Sibiu passed through the WWI adding the war realities to the daily routine.

Everyday life was illustrated especially by a multitude of issues that presented the different components of the society in a city representative for Transylvania. Everyone hoped that the war will finally end, although hopes were not so trenchantly expressed. The Romanians from Sibiu – especially the elite – were warned by the Orthodox hierarch Ioan Meșianu to avoid using any words that could overshadow their loyalty and love to the throne and country.

The economic situation worsened daily, while the worries brought the war closer to everyone. It was a real struggle for preventing the increasing of the prices on the market. There were quite many cases when the milk and the flour have been falsified.

Regarding the war, the donations for those on the battlefield or for the wounded in hospitals from the city became ultimately the main concern of the authorities and society in Sibiu. There were numerous charity concerts for the wounded of many hospitals, for soldiers disabled or for those returned from captivity in Russia. Numerous donations were sent to the battlefield, especially clothing for winter. To convince the people that every effort brings the war closer to the end, the great victories in Galicia – as it was the conquest of the city of Lemberg, in June 1915 – were celebrated on streets adorned with flags, while the military music resounded late into the night.

Keywords: elite, hospital, meeting, garrison, donation, war.

The Sarajevo assassination from June 28th, 1914 and the entrance in the First World War suppose to confer the Austro-Hungarian state the long awaited opportunity to limit the ambitions of the Southern Slavs, by giving Serbia a lesson worth remembering. Furthermore, politically speaking, by punishing those responsible for the assassination, Austro-Hungary would have ensured a favourable order in the Balkans and surpassed the Russian influence in the region.

Not at all impressed by the alliance of Romania with Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy, Istvan Tisza was still highly suspicious of Romanians' loyalty towards the Empire and continued his politics of Magyarization in the Eastern part of Austro-Hungary.

However, in the first years of conflict, as Sextil Pușcariu observed, the Romanian attitude followed the one of the Empire's inhabitants, in obedience towards their military commanders. Under the pressure of the German diplomacy, the Hungarian authorities were forced to initiate new talks with the Romanian National Party. From this moment, things were starting to look as if Transylvanian

Romanians could have obtained, in the near future, a laxity in the school legislation.

But internally, leaving aside the diplomatic talks conducted especially to attract Romania in the war, the Hungarian authorities lacked confidence in the Romanian population. Romanian soldiers received minor satisfactions, such as being allowed to wear their national flag and to sing the anthem, *Awaken thee, Romanian!* The orders of mobilization were published in Romanian for the first time since 1867 and the call to arms was perceived as a legitimate one especially because the Romanian population in Transylvania had high hopes regarding the assassinated archduke, Franz-Ferdinand (Maier 2004, 171-187).

In less than a year of fights on the battle front, wearing the Romanian national flag by the soldiers became an opportunity for the Hungarian officers to proliferate insults. Wearing the Romanian flag was severely punished particularly in the regiments of *honvezi*.

The differences between the Hungarian authorities and the Romanian nation could have been remedied by the one thing the war could not offer: time.

At the beginning of 1915, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod observed a “settling of spirits” in Austro-Hungary, which proved to be a superficial one, especially when Italy joined the Entente. Accusations towards the elites for their lack of loyalty followed (Maior 2004, 171-187).

The fear was also heightened by the increasing number of deserters (approximately 20,000 in 1915). Among them there were students from the pedagogical section of the Theological-Pedagogical Institute from Sibiu. Moreover, Sibiu and Braşov’s geographical placement near the border with Romania gave way to even more propaganda, from both states, although only few direct actions made by the Kingdom of Romania in Transylvania have been proved. The priest from Miercurea-Sibiului informed his superiors about the existence of clandestine deposits of armament organized by the Romanians from his district. In a telegram from July 27th 1915, the Ministry of Interior demanded to all county leaders, but especially to those of Sibiu and Braşov, to take action against the spreading of maps representing Greater Romania and against the tendency of Romanians to desert the armed forces in an await for a “Romanian invasion”. In the secret report no. 481 from December 23rd 1915 given to the Ministry of Interior by the head of the border police, Imre Homer, the latter was complaining about Romanian attitude, being sure that after the attack of the Russian forces, “Romania will attack us”. As a comparison, at the beginning of the war, rumours said that Russia would attack Romania and invade Moldavia (Voicu 1985, 156).

But we must also mention that for some leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians, the *Romanian problem* within Austro-Hungary could not have been solved solely with diplomatic and political actions. In the context of the Great War, military intervention from the Kingdom of Romania was seen as a considerable boost in the chances of success for the political project of the Romanians. This was also the case of Octavian Goga who left Austro-Hungary, in 1914, in order to start taking action against the Dualist Monarchy, by forming a Romanian Legion in Italy. Onisifor Ghibu, a school teacher in Sibiu, and the priest Ioan Moţa from Orăştie were fired after they left the country for Romania.

Regarding the city of Sibiu, the 1910 census registered 30,035 inhabitants, from which: 16,156 German, 7,338 Romanian,

6,026 Hungarian, 1,183 Jewish and 518 of other nationalities. If we take into account the whole County of Sibiu, the numbers are the following: 113,072 Romanians, 49,757 Germans, 10,159 Hungarians, 3,300 of other nationalities (out of which 1,565 were Jews).

If the importance of the city of Sibiu for the German community resided in its economical, political and religious background, for Vienna, after 1867, Sibiu was the city with the largest military garrison in Transylvania. The 20th army was stationed in Sibiu, as well as other military units: the 76th regiment of *honvezi*, the 12th regiment, the reserve battalion for the 31st infantry regiment, the 31st infantry regiment, regiment no. 30 of field cannons, a gendarmes command centre, regiment 23 of *honvezi*, infantry regiment no. 2, field battalion no. 314 *etc.* (Racoviţan, Vlad 1999, 102-107).

Regarding the general atmosphere in the city, as well as in other cities across Austro-Hungary, people started to worry after the Sarajevo assassination. The assassination was announced by the city magistrate throughout posters; public entertainment activities were banned; flags were unfurled and religious ceremonies were held in all churches from the city. After the publication of the declaration of war in 28th of July 1914, war telegrams and many newspapers were being sold on the streets. The conquest of Belgrade was celebrated in the Central Market place on the 29th of July 1914, by a grand demonstration, where the Sibiu county leader, Walbaum, the commander of the 20th military corps, General Kövess de Kövessháza, held a speech and walked towards D. Friedrich Teutsch’s house (Sigerius 2011, 69).

In July 30th 1914, probably at the request of the government, the authorities in Sibiu signed an appeal calling all the members of the society to help the families of those who had relatives on the battle front. The appeal was signed by many local officials: Karl Egon von Hohenlohe from the Catholic Church, Stefan von Kedres, financial director and ministry adviser, Ştefan Szentimrei, director of the state gymnasium from Sibiu, Bishop Friederich Teutsch from the Lutheran Church, Karl Wolf, bank director and member of the House of Magnates and Daniel Czekelius, the city official physician. For the Orthodox Church signed: Archbishop Ioan Meţianu, Partenie Cosma, the director of the Albina Bank and Ioan de Preda, the Orthodox Archbishopric’s lawyer. An interesting phrase from this document states that: “As the love for the homeland gave those who left the courage to fight on the battle front, so do we, who stayed behind, must show the same

love and devotion to sacrifice" (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T.V. Păcățian, 1914, 2013).

In 1915 the urban project continued in Sibiu. At the beginning of 1915, in Subarini park a new alley was inaugurated and in Dumbrava forest a new pond was built (which can be found today in the Astra Museum). Four additional basins were to be built and filled with American carps. The latter initiative was financed by the Electric Venue of Sibiu. The city tram, inaugurated in 1905, got a new route, from the cemetery to the new restaurant in Dumbrava (Sigerius 2011, 69, T. R., 1915, 189, 1915, 217).

Just before the implementing of censorship, Teodor V. Păcățian, the editor-in-chief of *Telegraful Român*, was summoned by the Bureau of censorship of the Military Commandment from the 12th Army Corps (headed between 1911-1914 by the general Herman Kövess de Kövessháza and between 1915-1917, by the division general, Victor von Njegovan), along with the other editors of the local press. The military censorship started to control *Telegraful Român*, and beginning with August 10th 1914, the newspapers' content had to be approved by the military commandment, which at that time had its headquarters on Heltauergasse no. 6 (nowadays Nicolae Bălcescu street), at the 1st floor (room no. 77) (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 14/186).

Another address from August 19th 1914, sent this time by the county magistrate, contained precise instructions of what was to be considered eligible for publishing. The priority was the strict distribution of news according to the official military narrative. The movement of the military troops could not be covered by the media without approval from the Ministry of Defense or from the Prime-Minister's cabinet.

A lot of attention was given to news that could induce panic in the community, here being included various social phenomena: diseases, bank bankruptcy and other. News regarding the confiscating of goods belonging to foreign citizens was also forbidden (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2015).

At the end of 1914 and beginning of 1915, the population was requested to help the army with clothing suited for winter. An address given by the Military Commandment from Sibiu dates from this period, in which people were asked to provide for purchasing as many sheep skins for manufacturing bodices,

or "peptare", as they were called back then. Centres for collecting these skins were organized in Alba Iulia, Cluj, Sibiu and Braşov. 12 crowns had to be paid for each piece. The whole action had to end until the 20th of October 1914. The Military Commandment observed that this kind of clothes were very useful on the battle front, at least for the Romanian soldiers.

Along with the medical aid, soldiers needed to keep in touch with their loved ones left back home. And this could be accomplished not only by the exchange of letters, but also through the Romanian newspapers. The newspapers started being more than a spiritual tie with those left behind. In Vienna, on the 29th of September 1914, the administration of the Barmherigen Bruder hospital asked for more issues of the *Telegraful român* newspaper (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2018).

Another similar appeal was sent to Sibiu by the president of the Red Cross from Croatia and Slavonia, count Aladar Jancovich. His detailed appeal sent from Zagreb on the 23rd of November 1914 contained information about the 50-100 wounded Romanian soldiers that were kept in Croatian hospitals and who were requesting "their newspaper". One hospital paid regularly for at least 10 issues. Victor Roşca, in the name of a Romanian Orthodox Society in Vienna pleading for the building of an orthodox church and establishing an Orthodox Community, also demanded regular issues of the Romanian newspaper *Telegraful român* for the wounded soldiers from the hospitals in Vienna (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 207, 2034). In Sibiu, Archbishop Meţianu advised the priests from the Cathedral to be as close as they could to those who were leaving to the battle front, as well as to those who remained home. He made several speeches on this issue and a special prayer that was to be read every day in times of war. This advice was especially directed towards the village priests who were left alone in educating and comforting the Romanian population due to the enrolment of the teachers.

The documents from 1915 confirm the application of censorship. On the March 9th 1915, the Sibiu county leader informed all the newspaper editors about the interdiction of publishing any news regarding Italy's position, which's entering in the war on the side of the Entente enhanced the Austro-Hungarian military commandment's fears (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T. V. Păcățian, 1915, 362).

The issue was retaken into consideration in May when in two addresses given by the Royal Prosecution House from Sibiu, newspapers'

editors were reminded that Italy must not be presented as a potential threat. After a few days, on the 22nd of May 1915, Italy entered the war, on the side of the Entente and the censorship demanded the condemnation of this attitude, but confidentially, the sentiments of the neutral states did not have to be insulted. *Telegraful Român* was advised “not to publish any news that could improve the popular opinion on that particular country”. One more important observation was made regarding Romania. The newspaper was asked “not to be interested in the future position of this country” (Biblioteca Astra Sibiu, File T.V. Păcățian, 1915, 81/2, 764).

The Austro-Hungarian authorities were aware of the Romanian state entering the war, although they did not know on whose side.

Starting with the summer 1915, we have information on letter exchanges with the prisoners of war. Thus in Russia, England and France, one could have only sent open letters, without containing money and packages of up to 5 kg. From March, in the official county newspaper there were published, besides the names of those who died on the battle front, the names of those taken prisoners by the Russians, many of them from the region of Sibiu, Sebeș, as one military priest delivered the information. The travelling conditions within Austro-Hungary were set in October 1915, and if for Sibiu one did not need a travel paper with a photo, in Austria this document was mandatory (T. R., 1915, 20, 79, T. R., 1915, 27, 109).

A big issue emerged when supplying the city with aliments – especially with flour – became more and more difficult. Flour prices and bread prices in Sibiu were a constant preoccupation for the local authorities, and thus, beginning with April, new prices were adopted for all types of flour including the ones imported from Romania: baking or boiling powder (with 50% corn flour), rice and bread flour (with 30% wheat flour and 70% corn) at the price of 60 fileri. Then there was the bread made from several types of flour (20% wheat flour, 50% corn, 30% barley) for 59 fileri, corn flour for 50 fileri and semolina flour for 94 fileri. Other categories were those of bran made bread, of wheat, of barley, of rye, which cost 25 fileri. From December, bread and flour tickets were distributed as ordered by the authorities in Budapest. The maximum amount of bread to be eaten by each citizen

was fixed at 240 grams per day (T. R., 1915, 45, 181, T. R., 1916, 134, 543).

Many tried to adulterate milk and flour mixing them with sand, and those found guilty could spend 2 months in prison. The authorities made efforts to keep the prices stable, but flour prices fluctuated the most, from 40 fileri/kg in March to 56 fileri/kg just one month later. (T. R., 1915, 4, 15. T. R., 1915, 11, 43, T. R., 1915, 17, 67, T. R., 1914, 20, 79. T. R., 1915, 37, 149).

The population started mixing different types of flour to save some money. The ministerial telegram no. 79,300 from 1915 said that the acquisition of cereals, beans, peas and lentil was made only by *The Stock company for war products*, the prices depending on the period of the transaction. Another measure taken was to buy food from the neutral countries, flour from Romania or from the Scandinavian states. An announcement in the *Telegraful Român* made reference to the availability for purchase of Danish butter, on Turnului Street (Tower Street), at the price of 1 crown and 6 fileri/kg (T. R., 1915, 50, 201, T. R., 1915, 113, 455).

The traditional cattle fairs that used to take place in the Big Square became more and more rare. The cattle spring fair was organised in the New Square, but no prizes were awarded. New ways of feeding the livestock had to be found. Thus in the newspaper issue from 28th of February/13th of March 1915, under the headlines of “Denaturised sugar for feeding the livestock”, a new product was advertised, a mixture between raw sugar, husk and forage. Farmers were invited to buy this new product, after they would receive from the communal authorities’ papers certifying the number of livestock they possessed. The invitation came from the *Romanian assembly for agriculture of Sibiu County* (T. R., 1915, 23, 93, T. R., 1915, 31-32, 129).

Another useful product on the battle front was wool, out of which, at the demand of the magistrate of Sibiu, many clothing have been made. Regarding metals, the city of Sibiu donated 3807 kg (T. R., 1915, 12, 47, T. R., 1915, 114, 463, 1915, 96, 387, Sigerius 2011, 69).

The economic situation continued to worsen and by the end of 1915 new harsh measures were taken by the authorities, like forbidding the selling of bread and cattle and pork meat on Tuesdays and on Fridays (Sigerius 2011, 69).

For the inhabitants of Sibiu, the year 1915 was a long and hard one due to many austerity measures. The measures were not entirely neutralized by the positive media covering the Empire’s victories on the battle front. For

example, in January, in the Big Square, Russian and Serbian cannons were exhibited (T. R., 99, 399, Sigerius 2011, 69).

To boost the local morale and legitimize the sacrifices made by the population from Sibiu, three military commanders, Victor Njegovan, Herman Kovess von Kovesshaza, baron Pflanze-Baltin and General Arz von Straussenburg, the latter a Transylvanian born, were made citizens of honour of the city of Sibiu.

Moreover, the 31st Infantry Regiment, made up mostly of Romanians from Sibiu County, was praised for its contribution in the victory of Mitrovița. The greatest victory that brought the biggest celebrations across the city was that of the fall of Lamberg in June 1915. The royal and German anthems were played in the Big Square, church bells rung for hours and many houses were enlightened late into the night (T. R., 1915, 96, 387, T. R., 121, 1915, 487, T. R., 1915, 62, 249).

Telegraful Român had many contributions in informing the population. Astra's publication, *Transilvania*, offered information regarding donations for the war effort. The members of the association (Astra) made personal contributions of up to 13,000 crowns to the state and another 100 crowns for the Red Cross and the Iron Soldier.

The Astra Association launched an appeal to the families who had Astra members dead on the battle front, to help with the gathering of data for an album called *The album of heroes from 1914 and 1915*, album kept in the Association's headquarters. In order to help the Romanian soldiers, members from this association donated several books, ABCs for the illiterate soldiers: 20 books were sent to Brunn, 40 to the wounded hospitalized in Alba Iulia, 50 for the illiterate soldiers in Budapest, and from the collection destined for *The popular library* in: Aiud, Pest, Vienna, Prague, Sibiu, Munkacs, Pardubice, their total value reaching 1954 crowns and 70 forints (Transilvania, 1915, 1-6, 84, 96).

From late August, the first wounded arrived in Sibiu and the number of wounded soldiers in the city grew considerably. In September they reached 1000, most of them being Romanians (Racovițan, Vlad, 108).

In order to keep under control the eventual spread of various epidemics, the city magistrate demanded the careful vaccination of all potentially infected, families which had soldiers on the battle front being exempt.

Patients with cholera from the psychiatry hospital were also vaccinated (T. R., 96, 387).

In an effort to support the wounded and those still fighting, the president of the Red Cross from Sibiu, Irma Walbaum, raised funds by organising different theatrical representations, piano and opera spectacles, with the help of Romanian Women Assembly from the county of Sibiu. In the autumn of 1914, the Red Cross from Sibiu raised 66,493,93 and with this opportunity thanked all the associations from Sibiu for the support. The contributions were made mostly by the inhabitants of the city and by those who lived in the surrounding areas.

In Sibiu County a series of initiatives were taken, inspired by similar ones in Budapest, addressing to the blinds and to those physically disabled. Thus, money aid was given to the *blinded soldiers*. For the other wounded, the funds were directed to the: "rehabilitation centres, workshops for prosthesis, schools, in order to train the soldiers for work after they would have been recovered. The state officials noted several times that all these initiatives could not have been possible without the implication of the civil society (T. R., 29, 116, T. R., 1915, 92, 371, T. R., 1915, 3, 11).

Another initiative taken to raise funds and to highlight the Austro-Hungarian victorious generals was to purchase, at a sales auction organised for the benefit of the Red Cross from Sibiu, a charcoal painting, representing the General Herman Kovess von Koveshazza, the winner of Belgrade and Ivangorod battles.

However, probably the most important case involving propaganda was that of the fundraising related to the *Iron Soldier*, with its German name, *Hermannstadter Wehrmann in Eisen*; Hungarian – *Nagyzebeni Vitéz*; and Romanian – *Ostaș sibian în fier*. The name was an association between the myth of a German medieval knight who fights for a just cause and the immense popularity of Paul von Hindenburg, the winner at Tannenberg and at the Masurian Lakes.

Besides raising funds, the actions were intended to consolidate "the feeling of sacrifice for future generations, to keep in memory the names of those who perished and worked for the entire war effort". Initially, it was built out of a wooden skeleton, which represented a medieval knight, dressed in iron by thousands of regular nails or covered in gold. This motif of the medieval knight or of the military man in general was very popular in the Dualist Monarchy and in the German state, and it often took the form of the Iron Cross.

In Austro-Hungary, the first iron soldier was inaugurated in Vienna, on the 6th of March 1915. It was followed by several other initiatives of this sort in many other German speaking areas. Later, an iron soldier representing a knight from Matia Corvinus's time was erected in Budapest, in Deak Ferenc square, in the presence of Archduke Charles-Stephan and Archduchess Augusta. More iron soldiers were inaugurated in Szeged and Székesfehérvár, Arad, Braşov, Cluj and Odorheiu Secuiesc, Rădăuţi and Cernăuţi (Nail Men).

In Cluj, the iron soldier was named *Santinela Carpaţilor* (*Sentinel of the Carpathians*) and it was inaugurated on the 18th of August 1915. The Romanian community was represented at the event by the Orthodox priest Tului Roşescu and by the Greek-Catholic priest Elie Dăianu (T. R., 1915, 91, 367, T. R., 1915, 114, 459).

The main advocate of this initiative in Sibiu was the commander of the 12th army in Sibiu, between 1915 and 1916, General Victor Njegovan, who raised 9200 crowns from the soldiers on the battle front. The statue was inaugurated on the 1st of August 1915 and was placed in the Big Square, later being moved to the Mihail Brekner's store. At this festivity, after the military parade and speeches held by General Njegovan and county magistrate Walbaum, the first nails were put in place in the name of Emperor Francisc-Iosif and prime-minister Tisza Iosif. Out of the honorary committee participated, among others, Bishop of the Lutheran Church, D. F. Teutsch, General Victor Njegovan, the Roman-Catholic vicar, Prince Egon von Hohenlohe, the head of Sibiu County, Walbaum, vice-magistrate Fabritius, dr. Ioan Stroia, Archpriest of Sibiu, in the name of Archbishop Ioan Meţianu, mayor Albrecht Dörr and several other representatives from different associations based in Sibiu. The Romanian flag flew on several buildings in the city, such as the houses of Ilie Beu and Nicolae Ittu, two renowned Romanian physicians in that time.

Also on the grounds of propaganda and fund raising, the image of the Iron soldier was reproduced on a series of illustrations. The campaign rose up to 41,000 crowns, and ended in 1916 (T. R., 1915, 125, 503, T. R., 1916, 42, 171).

The Romanian community managed to create a hard earned respected image among the German inhabitants of Sibiu, through clerical and secular elites from different

institutions which helped build a national image. From the 19 deputies of the county gathering of Sibiu, many were clerics revolving around the Orthodox Archbishopric: Archbishop Ioan Meţianu, priest Ioan Baptist Boiu, the archbishopric jurist, Ioan de Preda, T.V. Păcăţianu, editor-in-chief of *Telegraful Român*, Ilie Beu, the Theological-Pedagogical Institute physician, Partenie Cosma, director of Albina Bank and Marcu Joantea, a wealthy landowner (T. R., 1915, 104, 419).

The circular letters given by the Orthodox archbishop in Sibiu in the first years of the war, until 1916, tried to convince the authorities once again of the fact that: "our people have behaved with utmost fidelity regarding the laws and the Monarchy". The priests who remained home had the duty of spiritually and physically helping the widows, the orphans, the community in general, by a closer collaboration with mayors, but also working the fields, teaching the children and other. The model was the one used by Romania in the Balkan War.

Attached to that circular letter, Meţianu authored a pastoral letter which encouraged priests to pray at all sermons for the "victory of our arms", and the parishioners to support the families of those in battle. The 50 years anniversary since the approval of the Orthodox Archbishopric in Sibiu by Emperor Franz-Joseph was celebrated with great austerity. At the meetings held for the 1915 Synod there were discussed several issues, none of them related to war. Thus, Ioan Lupaş observed improvements in the archbishopric's data regarding the information on church and school statistics received from the authorities. In the opening speech, Meţianu presented a series of achievements like the opening of the Theological-Pedagogical Institute, improvements in the Brad gymnasium, the construction of hotel Europa (today Continental Forum Hotel). After years of difficult negotiations, the 40 articles Regulation of the archbishopric printing press was approved. Although many wanted the *Telegraful Român* to appear daily, the newspaper continued to appear three times a week. The archbishopric took great pride in its 19 foundations that had on the 31st of December 1914 a value of 6,699,416 crowns. (Protocolul Sinodului Arhiepiscopiei Greco-Orientale Române din Transilvania 1915, 28).

Ioan Meţianu's circular letters from 1915 contained a certain degree of pessimism regarding the continuation of the war. A prayer for the ending of the war was written on them. The priests were to recite the prayer at every sermon, until the war would be actually over. In another

circular, a similar prayer was introduced to be recited at the evening church service (Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Sibiului, 9267/1914, 6162/1915).

Less affected by censorship was the *Revista Teologică* (*Theological Review*), edited from 1907 by Professor Nicolae Bălan, the man who would be the first archbishop after the Great Union. He portrayed in the newspaper peoples' lack of faith, despite his expectations that the war would bring more people to church. From this, a question arose: those who still come to church, do this out of fear of war or of God? The archbishop pleaded for a true and real religious education that would sincerely bring people to the church, by what he called a "clear religious consciousness" (*Revista Teologică* 1915, 5-8, 197).

Apart from the Orthodox Church and its elite, the Romanian community in Sibiu was represented by the director of Albina Bank, Partenie Cosma. Considered the most important Romanian bank in Transylvania, the authorities used the Ministry of Interior's order from November 29th 1915, to put it under police supervision. Partenie Cosma took it quite personal and was weary of police abuses. He went in a vacation in Călimănești and when he was summoned to Sibiu, he refused to leave Romania and remained there. After this "escape", bank employees in Sibiu and Brașov found it even harder to work and were regularly under police supervision. This close surveillance was not eased not even by the important contributions of 5,603,400 crowns the bank made to the seven loans that the state took for the war effort, nor by the other loans offered to local authorities from Sibiu, Mediaș and Sadu for the acquisition of food (T. R., 1915, 104, 419, Drecin 1982, 209-213).

Maria Cosma, the leader of the Romanian Women Assembly from Sibiu county, and wife of Partenie Cosma, was somewhat forced to resign, and under the new leadership of Ana Marinescu and afterwards of Emilia Rațiu, the association became less visible despite its constant contributions in helping those wounded in various hospitals, in organising fund raising events for the poor and the orphans.

Maria Cosma allowed the Red Cross to use the building of a Housekeeping School, situated on Berggasse Street, no. 6 (today Dealului), as a reserve hospital, equipped initially with 20 beds. Appeals for help were issued to the population in the *Telegraful*

Român. In November, the hospital had 27 Romanians and 4 Serbs in care. Nicolae Ittu facilitated free medical aid for the patients (T. R., 1914, 92, 375, T. R., 1915, 112, 455).

Archduke Franz-Salvator, as general inspector of the Red Cross, visited this hospital on the 15th of January 1915, after being received by Ioan Mețianu (T. R., 1915, 2, 6).

Thanks to the donations made by the Romanian Women Assembly, a "Soldiers' Christmas" was organised. *Telegraful Român* narrated in detail the event. Two lists of donors were published in the newspaper, one of 132 crowns and another of 1858 crowns, among them being many people from the rural area (Coveș, Laslău Român), banks like Negoiu bank from Porumbacu de Sus, local departments of the Women Association and Onisifor Ghibu.

Another detailed list of contributions was published in March. Priests, the principal of the Girls School, Vasile Bologa, members of Romanian Women Assembly, girls from the Astra school dormitory made donations of up to 1906 crowns. Women Associations for the care of the Church and the Greek-Orthodox Women Association from the Church in the Hole made donations for this hospital (T. R., 1915, 1, 2, T. R., 1915, 26, 104, T. R., 1915, 99, 399).

Romanian Women Assembly from Sibiu continued editing a review throughout the war, in which there were published important data, like the aid given to different hospitals, fund raisings *etc.* (T. R., 1915, 111, 447).

Apart from the associations already mentioned, there were others who joined the war effort, as well. One of them was the Romanian Music Association in Sibiu which held fund raising concerts for those who returned from Russia. Donations of 620 crowns were sent to Budapest, to the prime-minister Tisza's content. Another active association was that of the Romanian craftsmen in Sibiu which made several appeals in the pages of *Telegraful Român*, signed by the president of the association, Victor Tordășianu. Minerva Brote, Ana Moga or Elisaveta Bugarsky were other women from the Romanian Women Assembly in Sibiu who signed those appeals (T. R., 1915, 105, 423, T. R., 1915, 125, 503).

But spectacles were the primary mean by which funds were being raised. The large number of announcements from that time regarding different spectacles stand as a testimony to this aspect. There were spectacles held in schools for the poor pupils and orphans. Famous Romanian artists took part in many of these shows. Other fund raising events were dedicated to helping the

Romanian Women Assembly hospital. Others were organized for the ministries in Budapest and most of them were leaded by the Red Cross. Thus, in *Telegraful Român*, representations like the *Requiem* of Giuseppe Verdi, with the artist Veturia Triteanu, the pianist Lucia Cosma and the conductor Alfred Novak, were among the headlines (T. R., 1914, 54, 222).

In Astra's festivity hall, piano concerts of Ana Voileanu and tenor Ionel Crișianu were held, inspired from classical compositions and from Romanian folklore songs (T. R., 1915, 45, 181).

Known and appreciated in German cultural environments, the artists mentioned held many concerts in Unicum Hall, at the initiative of both the Department of Social Assistance from the Royal Hungarian Ministry of *honvezi* and of the Red Cross in Sibiu. At the end of 1915, at the city theatre, a concert was held by Veturia Triteanu, Ioan Crișianu

and Gerhard Jekelius to help the invalid soldiers.

Bulgarian painter Dumitru Nicolai Cabadaeff donated a part of his gains from selling his paintings to help the orphans of Sibiu County (T. R. 1915, 127, 511).

The Romanians from Sibiu entered the war seeing themselves as a recognized urban community, although still dominating the rural. Represented by their clerical and secular elites, Romanians hoped that their loyalty in that conflict would be rewarded, as it was in the case of other nations within the Empire.

The Romanian community participated in many events held in Sibiu for the support of the war effort in general and for the Romanian soldiers in particular.

If in 1915, Romanians' loyalty towards the monarchy was suspicious in the eyes of the military and counter-espionage sectors, the year 1916 brought a change in the situation, not only because of the fact that Sibiu became a war zone, but also because Transylvanian Romanians got a new option.

References

a. Archives

- Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Sibiului,** 9267/1914, 6162/1915. Arhiva Arhiepiscopiei Sibiului, [The Archdiocese of Sibiu Archive], Presidium circular no. 9267 from 1914, Presidium circular no. 6162 from 1915.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2013. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914/2013.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu,** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 14/186. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 14/186.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2015. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 2015.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2026. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 2026.

- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2018. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 2018.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 207 and 2034. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 207 and 2034.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1915, 362. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1915, no. inventory 362.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2015. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 2015.
- Biblioteca Astra Sibiu.** Fondul T. V. Păcățian, 1914, 2018. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1914, no. inventory 2018.

Biblioteca Astra Sibiu. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1915, no. inventory 362.

Biblioteca Astra Sibiu. *Biblioteca Județeană Astra Sibiu. Fondul T. V. Păcățian* [Astra Sibiu County Library. File T. V. Păcățian], CXXVII-1915, no. inventory 81/2, 764.

b. Books:

Drecin 1982 Drecin, Mihai. D., *Banca "Albina" din Sibiu. Instituție națională a românilor transilvăneni (1871-1918)* [*"Albina" bank from Sibiu. A Romanian national institution (1871-1918)*], Dacia (1982).

Maior 2004 Maior, Liviu, *Românii în armata habsburgică* [*Romanians in the Habsburg army*], Ed. Enciclopedică (2004).

Racovițan, Vlad 1999 Racovițan, Mihai, Vlad, Gh. V., *Spitalul militar Sibiu. 260 de ani de atestare documentară și 140 de ani de medicină militară modern* [*Military Hospital Sibiu. 260 years of documentary attestation and 140 years of modern military medicine*], Sibiu, Tipotrib (1999).

Racovițan, Matei 1993 Racovițan, Mihai, Matei, Pamfil, *Sibiul și Marea Unire* [*Sibiu and the Great Union*], Cercul Militar (1993).

Sigerus 2011 Sigerus, Emil, *Cronica orașului Sibiu, 1100-1929, cu 7 ilustrații și 6 planuri ale orașului* [*Sibiu Chronicle, 1100-1929, with seven illustrations and six plans of the city*], Honterus (2011).

Voicu 1985 Voicu, Constantin, *Biserica strămoșească din Transilvania în lupta pentru unitatea spirituală și națională a poporului roman* [*The National Church in Transylvania in the struggle for spiritual and national unity of the Romanian people*], Ed. Tipografiei arhidiecezane (1985).

c. Papers in periodical journals:

Protocolul Sinodului..., 1915 Protocolul Sinodului Arhidiecezei Greco-Orientale Române din Transilvania [*The Greek-*

Oriental Romanian Archdiocese Synod Protocol], Sibiu, Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane (1915).

Revista Teologică 1915, 5/8 *Revista Teologică* [*Theological Review*], 5-8, (1915).

T. R., 1914,20 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 29, (1914).

T. R., 1914,54 *Concerte. Teatru* [*Concerts. Theater*]. In: *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 54, (1914).

T. R., 1914,92 *Act de caritate* [*Act of charity*]. In: *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 92, (1914).

Telegraful Român (T. R.) 1915,1 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 1, (1915).

T. R., 1915,2 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 2, (1915).

T. R., 1915,3 *Mulțumiri* [*Thanks*]. In: *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 3, (1915).

T. R., 1915,4 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 4, (1915).

T. R., 1915,11 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 11, (1915).

T. R., 1915,12 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 12, (1915).

T. R., 1915,17 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 17, (1915).

T. R., 1915,23 *Telegraful Român* [*The Romanian Telegraph*], 23, (1915).

T. R., 1915,26 *Publicarea listelor pentru sprijinul dat spitalului de rezervă a Reuniunii femeilor române din*

- T. R., 1915,31/32** Sibiu [The publication lists for hospital backup support given to Romanian Women Assembly in Sibiu]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 26, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,33** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 31-32, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,37** Vaccinare contra bolilor contagioase [Vaccination against infectious diseases]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 33, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,45** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 37, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,45** Concert de binefacere [Charity Concert]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 45, (1915).
- T. R., 1915, 47** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 47, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,50** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 50, (1915).
- T. R., 1915, 54** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 54, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,62** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 62, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,91** Inaugurare [Opening]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 91, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,96** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 96, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,96** Cazuri de holeră [Cases of cholera]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 96, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,99** Donație [Donations]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 99, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,104** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 104, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,105** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 105, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,111** *Telegraful Român*, [The Romanian Telegraph], 111, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,112** Îngrijirea răniților [Taking care of the wounded]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 112, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,113** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 113, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,114** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 114, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,121** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 121, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,125** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 125, (1915).
- T. R., 1915,134** *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 134, (1915).
- T. R., 1916,42** Ostașul de fier [The Iron Soldier]. In: *Telegraful Român* [The Romanian Telegraph], 42, (1916).
- Transilvania 1915** Transilvania, 1-6, (1915).

d. Internet sources

- Nail Men** Nail Men, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nail_Men, accessed in 12 08 2015.

Identity and Alterity in Queen Mary's Memoirs

Ștefania-Maria CUSTURA, Ph.D.

Sapientia University, Miercurea-Ciuc

E-mail: stefaniacustura@yahoo.com

Abstract. Our approach had the purpose of analysing the binomial identity-alterity in the memoirs that belong to Queen Mary of Romania (1875-1938). Entitled *Later Chapters of My Life. Re-discovered memoirs* (*Later Chapter of my life*, 2004, Sutton publishing house), and bearing the signature of Diana Mandache, the royal confession is the fourth volume in a series of confession writings, suggestively named *The Story of My Life*, which were published between 1933-1934. The fourth volume that narrates retrospectively public and private events in the life of the royal family from around 1919 in a nostalgic gamut of dignified obedience when facing the historical implacable, meets a thrilling process of gestation and conservation until its publication. The confession volume of Queen Mary reveals certain literary abilities. The pleasure of reading comes from the matter-of-course and the genuineness with which the author invites us in the boudoir of a royal member, and especially, in the backstage of the complicated agreements, political treaties and diplomatic protocols, where the memorialist feels at ease and successfully negotiates in favour of Romania, even if she proclaims herself to be a shy nature, exaggeratedly emotional and evokes, in Nietzsche's terms, the existence of fake idols and the illusory need for the appearance of a superman with sapient destiny in world politics.

Read from the perspective of the present, the confession of Queen Mary seems a thrilling political novel, in which the characters are the members of the British royal family, the president and ministers of France, Mary and Nando (King Ferdinand), President Wilson, I. C. Bratianu, Dimitrie Sturza or historian Nicolae Iorga, the family of the Russian tsar, etc. The meeting with a flagrantly different alterity, represented by a country with a picturesque geography, of Latin language and of Orthodox religion, led by a Prussian king, triggers a powerful, but not irreparable, identity crisis solved through an assiduous activity of the young queen to the use of a humanity, tortured by war, disease, poverty, territorial rupture and a difficult road to modernization. The clash of the two mentalities, the Eastern, deeply-rooted, and the Western one, treated rather with a feeling of strangeness, than with a feeling of natural evolution, is doubled at a political level by the menace of the Bolshevik terror, with its two centres, in Russia and in Hungary. Queen Mary's trips to Paris and to England, after the First World War, are remembered after two decades in the form of some journeys into the civilized Europe to negotiate favourable peace conditions and to gain the political support of Western powers to the benefit of Romania, her adoptive country. It is interesting to follow the way alterity shapes the queen's personality, who gradually identifies with the adoptive country, she bounds with strong threads to people and places, fostering a sincere and profound patriotism.

Keywords: imagology, identity, alterity, the stranger, war.

Published in three volumes between 1934-1935 Queen Mary's memoirs, entitled *My Life Story*, had quickly acquired the status of true best sellers. After the American and British editions from 1934, after a lot of re-publishing and translations into French, German, Czech, Polish, Hungarian or Swedish, the Romanian version of the memoirs appeared in 1936, in Margaret Miller-Verghi's translation. Appreciated in the period between the two world wars, the confessions of the writer-Queen have a similar destiny to those of many

writings of this type, belonging to some of the personalities of political, cultural or social life (Jeni Acterian, Alice Voinescu, Alice Calugaru, etc.), whose confessions were published only after the communist years and could benefit from an impressive popularity. The overwhelming interest showed for the first three volumes determined the author to give out for publication the fourth volume of confessions, suggestively entitled *Later chapters of my life*. The editor of the volume, Diana Mandache, tells of the sinuous road of the

Queen's manuscripts and the difficulties met when publishing them in a volume, sparing no details. The confessions of the last volume are placed under the sign of the half measure, of things half said, the interest of the reader involuntarily moving not on what was written but on what should have been uttered, but because of political reasons, it was silenced. The author's declaration in the preface comes to emphasize this certainty:

"I have to keep silence, because of others, on certain aspects and, faithful to the sense of humour that guided me all along my life, through so many hardships, I will account only certain chapters, leaving it to history to finish the story only I could have said" (Mandache 2011, 4).

Thus a double diary: both of the facts that certify for posterity the overwhelming role of the royal family, and especially of Queen Mary, in modernizing Romania and placing it in a favorable geo-political context, and a diary of things that cannot be uttered, but only inferred, occulting the invisible threads of history, which offer the confessions an aura of mystery. As the memorialist writes

"Nobody can do anything if sadness floods you sometimes, and as I said before, these are only *chapters of my life*, it is not the whole story as I could have said it, with its inner conflicts, pains and disappointments; *disillusion* is the word I cannot afford to say" (Mandache 2011, 57).

The freedom of speech after 1989 manifested itself especially in publishing an impressive number of diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, and travel diaries – marginal writings, reunited by the conventions of the autobiographic pact. The modern reader's ontological distrust of fiction is manifested in his predilection for the diaristic fiction, for the literature of confession, in any shape it might take. The need for real, for truth, the need for anchorage in a painful reality through its cruelty has priority over the imaginative force, of the fictional verisimilitude. The grasp on reality of the confessions imposes a character-narrator who is searching for himself and is self-defining himself all along his writing, the hidden ego of the one who confesses never being identical with her accepted official position. Identity doubts in which the tormenting start of the 20th century places the individual are the explanation for the unprecedented proliferation of this type of writing,

whose stake is besides the original, unembellished perspective on real, rediscovering of the self, individual salvation. The attempt of defining one's identity is described even though accepting some risks, as the author Queen Mary underlines in the Introduction.

Although Queen Mary never had the consciousness of a professional writer, the author being supposed to rule, together with Ferdinand, a country, and not to keep herself busy with literature, it must be said, however, that unlike many confessions, in which cases the authors are non-professional writers, Queen Mary confirmed her writing talent on numerous occasions by tenaciously publishing over 30 volumes of children's literature, short prose, short stories, novels, poetry, memoirs. The Queen's need to confess in a diary is known by those surrounding her and it is materialized in 100 diary notebooks. *My Life Story*, through its three volumes, followed by *Later pages of my life*, represents a work of artistic maturity, a suite of memoirs that makes up the autobiography of the dearest of queens in the history of the Romanian monarchy. The stake of the diaristic literature can be the aesthetic in few cases, starting from the declared reason of the writings of this sort. They become though an inexhaustible source of researching the Other, the alterity, to which the diarist relates consciously or involuntarily, in the process of defining the Self.

Written at the end of the life journey, with wisdom and sadness born out of the superior understanding of things, the confessions of the fourth volume, *Late Chapters of My Life*, are the most profound due to sincere confessing, due to their testimonial character in favour of respecting the historical truth. Written down at a distance of approximately two decades after the events, the incidents are ordered according to the mosaic logic, in which the parts that recompose the whole unveil "the reason of everything that happens". The confessions acquire an implicit therapeutic character, the Queen Mary's motivation is the confession about the troubling political historic events after the First World War, her destiny grafting on the Romanian people's destiny, thus on the adopting nation, placed above those in whose bosom she was born. The Queen's memoirs unveil a strong feeling of belonging, in the form of a process that marks the identity through the meeting and the permanent communication with the alterity, with the Other, coming from a foreign culture. Born in 1875 in Eastwell Park, in Kent

county, as the daughter of the Duke of Edinburgh and of Maria Alexandrovna, born Grand Duchess of Russia, Mary is the grand-daughter of Queen Victoria and of the Tsar Alexander II, and through the marriage on the 10th of January 1893 to Ferdinand of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, she assumes all the risks of an arranged princely marriage. Though the Queen's confessions are constantly discreet about the personal life and especially about the conjugal life, the intention being that of immortalizing an image as favourable as possible of the actions of the royal family, the author's discontent towards the new family, the unhappiness caused by a fundamentally foreign and hostile environment may be sensed. The diary to which the young Queen confesses becomes the most discreet travelling companion, transforming into narration not only an individual destiny, essentially tragic, but also the romantic destiny in its fierce fight for independence, freedom and territorial reunification.

"I was wandering for hours, while my young husband was busy with his military duties, alone in those rooms I hated, heavy, German opulent chambers, full of oppressive, pompous ornaments, without a corner where you can shelter. Everything was *Altdeutsch* and not of the best quality! ... All the riches brought from home were lost, did not fit in here, they seemed almost absurd, as lost as me, absurd, miserable, a human being pulled from her roots, away from home and incapable to adjust to the new" – the Queen confesses bitterly (Mandache 2011, xxiii).

A theory of the self by Paul Ricoeur defines identity from the perspective of the connection between the human being and its actions, giving a ruling to the narrative vision over identity. According to this theory, each individual has his own story, of himself and of the others, each identity generates a narrative, the individual interprets and re-interprets the events, in the complex process of autoscopia and self-definition. (Ricoeur 1995, 80-86). The identity, far from being permanent, is a complex process, in full development, by coming closer and distancing far from the Other. The alterity shapes up at different levels of tolerance: first of all, there is a familial alterity, culturally determined, marked by fundamental differences of mentality and

existential philosophy. The aristocratic British spirit is impossible to be reconciled with the rigid and forbidding Germanic spirit. Enough pages of the confessions are dedicated to the description of the Peleş Castle, to the old king Charles, to the Prussian habits. On a different step of alterity, Romania is foreshadowed, Queen's adoptive country, a peripheral space, troubled by the incapacity of making its firm way into Europe, dragging behind it the still powerful inheritance of the East. The love for this Romania of contradictions is consistently confessed by Queen Mary. The confessions speak of us, our rights, our country, as confessions of shaping up a powerful and unconcealed feeling of belonging. It is not only about a sentimental-affective attachment, but also about a political acceptance. The author approaches strategic questions looking at Romania from the position of "the small ones", even if genetically it belongs to "A Big and Domineering" country. The chapters of the fourth volume are notable in this respect, dedicated to the period immediately following the First World War, through their delicate and unending peace treaties, through the discussions regarding the re-dividing of Europe and the re-configuring of the world map. The powers of the Entente did not have "too benevolent opinions towards Romania" (Mandache 2011, 38) and the author knows that "you can't expect these big and busy men to understand the complicated hopes, wishes, ambitions, demands, nor the feuds or the geography of that small group of countries, from the close East, Romania, Serbia, Greece, Turkey – we were classified together in their minds as small countries, which create hardships, always ready to blow up and become hell in inappropriate moments" (Mandache 2011, 38). The Queen's memories – an authentic treaty of diplomacy and of exterior political behaviour – create the image of the foreigner and fixes the stereotypes related to it. The Foreigner is the Other, more or less wild and who needs the civilizing intervention of the West, in order to emancipate. The Romanian people, the Romanians represent a circle of alterity for Missy, pulled away from the conformism of the aristocratic manners and exiled to Europe's periphery, in a picturesque Balkan Romania, dried up by a ruthless war. The visit after the war in her natal England occasions in the memorialist meditations on the theme of the nostalgia of origins, but also on the theme of the need of civilization, in the sense of transforming

this dusty and estranged from itself corner of the east, which is Romania, into something European. The Queen has the mission to transform “England’s not so favorable attitude towards our country” (Mandache 2011, 55), the English reaction to the arrival of Queen Mary of Romania being the publication in the *Punch* magazine of a drawing in which Romania appeared as an exhausted and starved little peasant, who looks to the food supplies transported to the enemy countries, while the allied sees itself dying of hunger. The image of the poor relative seated at the rich men’s table had to be changed and Queen Mary certainly played an important role in reconsidering the Romanians’ image on a European level. As a Queen, the author feels the burden of the political obligations towards her subjects, as a germ of a “big” culture she understands the mentality of the West, too. Here is a very decisive confession, in this sense: “Being born in a *big country*, I could certainly understand their mentality, but going through the years of difficult knowledge, I also understood the mentality of the *small ones*, and today I was really their defender” (Mandache 2011, 38). The negotiations for Transylvania trigger a real separation of the “me’s” of the memorialist. An apparent me, which has to play the role of patriotism, dictates her to militate for the Romanian cause, but another profound and latent one determines the Queen to identify with the negotiators at the Peace Conference and to fully understand their fears: though there are enough historical arguments

“why we have more rights to Transylvania, a thing that our neighbours (Hungary) also claimed, and in spite of my fervent Romanian patriotism, there was a second me that had nothing to do with the mission, that totally amused itself” (Mandache 2011, 39).

A feeling similar to that of the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 reaches the memorialist the moment the royal family visits the freshly reunited to the mother-country Transylvania. Suggestively entitled pages *Transylvania* recompose the moment of the triumphant entrance of the royal family into this Romanian region, in an atmosphere of great joy and celebration. The anecdote takes the shape of a triumphant picture and the image of an enlightened and wise prince, which conjugates his destiny to that of his

subjects. It is not a picture for the present, but to the eternal glorification of the royal family.

The alterity represented here by the Romanian peasantry is watched upon with noble tenderness and empathy. However, there is a fracture between the apparent frenzy and the lucid meditation of the memorialist who meditates on the theme of the relation between losers and winners:

“to free our people, another people had to be defeated, another country had to be defeated and broken to pieces, so on a side people jubilate, on the other side people grind their teeth, and me, unlike the winners of past times, I cannot jubilate at the fall of my enemy!!!... but this is the inner feeling, the reverse side of the medal. Let us, as it is appropriate, go back to *the show of exterior joy*. (my emphasis) (Mandache 2011, 98).

The queen’s pride as a winner is completely satisfied during the tour in Transylvania and peacefully savoured in the numerous towns turned Romanian from that moment on. The Transylvanian trip draws the portrait of some Romanian politicians, Iuliu Maniu, Ciceo Pop, Vasile Goldis and others. The Romanian politician, whose portrait rises above all in the last volume of the royal confessions, is that of I. C. Bratianu. That Romanian politician’s overwhelming role is written down in the chapter *Peace Conference*, masterly chapter of the triumph of the Queen’s diplomatic spirit in the verbal confrontations with Georges Clemenceau, France’s prime-minister, president of the Peace Conference in Paris, between 1919-1920, named the “Tiger”, due to the ferocity with which he supported his points of view, with President Poincare or with the President of the USA, Woodrow Wilson.

On a different step of the dissociation from the Other, there is the alterity defined in a political sense. The author recomposes the image of an external alterity, placed under the auspices of moving towards a new world order, which places the Romanians in the middle of the chaos. Descriptions in apocalyptic terms insinuate into the balanced confessions of Queen Mary: during the two years of the occupation, Romania is plundered, there is famine and poverty, the shops are empty, the cities are militarized, the political parties are shamefully divided, intrigues become political weapons, and civilized Europe is more

and more skeptical regarding the Romanians' capacity to become civilized. The memorialist assumes the status of a providential monarch, of a leader that sacrifices her individual happiness for the noble mission of saving the Romanian people. The confessions materialize a stereotype of social representation of women at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The traditional historical philosophical discourse perpetuated the idea of a woman perceived as the alterity of a man, as the Other, as a being of an inferior level. Queen Mary's memoirs fight this stereotypical perception by imposing a self-image characterized by activism, dynamism, spirit of decision, a voluntary and seductive woman, capable of confronting the exclusively male European political scene, which regarded women, be they even royal members, with irony. From this point of view, both the facts and the autoscopic literature of Queen Mary, circumscribe the process of the appearance of feminism as a social movement and the appearance of the feminist literature. The First World War re-dimensions the role and influence of women in the conflagration. Woman becomes equal, even superior to man, and at the table of negotiations, the power of seduction and her force to persuade are put to the service of political decisions favorable to the country Queen Mary represents. The author does not ignore mentioning the feminist movement, which became hard to ignore after the war, in the chapter entitled "Again in Paris". The autoscopic text allows the reconstitution of the personality of the one who confesses, and the result of this act is the building of an idealized image, as Marin Popa noticed, "what the author illustrates is not his whole person, but an ideal model of himself, the model he thinks suits him best" (Popa 1968, 276). The extreme political alterity that must be fought at any price after the First World War is Bolshevism. The effect of the Bolshevik politics: devastated and burnt down territories, suffering soldiers, precarious armies, Russian Bolshevik songs, and "hateful red flags". A spirit of the evil is General Bella Kun, who installed Bolshevism in Hungary, the climax of evil being the news that the Tsar's family had been liquidated. Romania becomes an outpost of Bolshevism at the gates of the civilized Europe, and the Queen's mission is that of modernizing the Romanian army, of endowing it with armament in order to have the force to stop the so-called "red epidemic".

A new perspective on alterity is represented by the American president, and together with him, the country he governs. The seductive and variable promised land, America, triggers rather a feeling of curiosity, in the face of the eccentricity of the Americans landed on the European continent. The Europeans' interest for everything that is America derives not only from the considerable geographic distance, but also from the need of a world transforming from its basis to have idols, to discover a superman capable to keep under control the evil spirits released in the four years of war. America's president, Woodrow Wilson, had become, after the war, a sort of Messiah, a knight of peace and at the moment of meeting Queen Mary was at the climax of his political career, idolized – as the memorialist considered – out of a feeling of "war neurosis" and not because he was worthy of the excess of confidence that he was awarded. The pragmatic spirit of the Americans is admired, but it is paired with their superficiality and with their incapacity of understanding the intimate resorts of the European geo-political situation. The memorialist writes down the childish curiosity with which they receive the information about Bolshevism, of which some still believed to be the promise of "a miraculous freedom". The author's observations fix the stereotypical image of the Americans: "Americans like to be talked to, there was something childish in them, which was very nice" (Mandache 2011, 82). The chapter *Home* describes in antithesis the binomial Europe-America. The people of the New World are described as follows: "amazingly efficient, but also troubling childish and ingenious, full of trust and self-assured. They liked to watch and ask, they wanted to be talked to and to talk as much as possible" (Mandache 2011, 91). The vision on this dimension of alterity, the *Foreigner* from across the ocean, is regarded with affectionate irony and the understanding from a superior attitude, granted by the royal crown, but by belonging to Europe's big family:

"We, in old Europe, had started everything long before them; their young enough minds cannot understand where the charm of the older resides, with battered habits and prejudices we hang on to and that they had cut off without understanding them" (Mandache 2011, 91).

Queen Mary's fourth volume of memoirs, entitled *Late chapters of my life. Rediscovered memoirs*, generously processing pages from the intimate diary, kept regularly during the youth years, does not unveil, as the reader would be tempted to expect, information from the Queen's personal life or of a royal family member. The confessions are written down under the empire of a constant self-censorship, and as it was pointed out, the author

repeatedly mentions that there are more things to say. The really interesting perspective is that of the binomial identity-alterity that brings to life Romania's image after the years of the First World War, offering the chance of an imago-logical recuperation for the posterity of one of the most interesting eras in our culture and history.

References

a. Books

Mandache 2011 Mandache, Diana (ed.), *Regina Maria a României, Capitole târzii din viața mea. Memorii redescoperite* [*Later chapters of*

my life. Rediscovered memoirs], București, Allfa (2011).

Popa 1968 Popa, Marian, *Homo fictus*, București, E.P.L. (1968).

b. Papers in periodical journals

Ricoeur 1995 Ricoeur, Paul, *Narrative Identity*. In: *Krisis*, 2 (1995).

Between Politics and Culture: the Impact of Ideology on Cultural Heritage Protection in Slovak State 1939 – 1945*

Alena MIKULÁŠOVÁ

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovak Republic

E-mail: amikulasova@ukf.sk

Miroslav PALÁRIK

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovak Republic

E-mail: mpalarik@ukf.sk

Abstract. The break-up of Czechoslovakia and the creation of an independent Slovak state in March 1939 were accompanied by changes in the political system. The totalitarian system replaced political pluralism. This change affected culture and cultural heritage. The representatives of ruling Hlinka's Slovak People's Party initiated the revision of works of art according to the ideological purity and arranged their removal from public spaces. The regulations concerned the removal of state symbols of Czechoslovak Republic, and statues and monuments connected with previous regimes. Passions and interest of state authorities provoked not only secular objects but also some religious monuments situated in churches and temples. Assessing the value of cultural monuments and works of art became the responsibility of political appointees and local authorities. Those people were not experts on the field of culture and cultural heritage, and the methods used were often of a violent manner. This contribution follows the “pursuit of the enemy” that existed regarding secular and religious objects in the multi-ethnic Slovak town Nitra.

Keywords: Cultural heritage; Slovak Republic 1939-1945; collective memory; public spaces.

During the 20th century, Slovakian streets, squares and other public spaces in towns and villages had many changes. While these changes were of an architectural character, public spaces became a tool for the creation and institutionalization of collective memory through massive renaming, installation of statues and monuments, festivals and other ritualized forms of remembrance. Public spaces acquired and lost names according to the current political situation. The political discourse and interpretation of particular historical events and actual merit of personalities caused removal and replacement of statues, memorials and various monuments.

The break-up of Czechoslovakia and the creation of an independent Slovak state in March 1939 were accompanied by changes in the political system. A totalitarian regime seeking patterns in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany replaced political pluralism. Culture and cultural heritage reflected this change in political ideology. The following article focuses

on the statues and memorials situated in public places during World War II. This current work obtains a concrete idea about the matter, scope and procedure specifically showed at the example of the town Nitra, in the Slovak Republic. This topic was not questioned in the wider context in Slovak historiography so far, but rather in the form of shorter articles dealing with particular cases (e.g. Lipták 1995; Lipták 1999b; Holec 2005; Švolíková 2007; Zemko 2012; Babjak 2014).

As the first settlement located in Slovakia mentioned in written sources (in the year 828), the Nitra city therefore played an important role in the creation of Slovak national (hi)story. In the 9th century, Nitra was centre of the Principality of Nitra, formed by numerous settlements situated in the region of the current town. Some decades later, it became part of Great Moravia. After the arrival of Hungarians into the Carpathian Basin, and the fall of Great Moravia, the region was incorporated systematically into the newly forming Kingdom of Hungary. Although it was not the largest town in Slovakia, Nitra euphemistically was called “the Mother of Slovak towns”. Because of this history, Nitra played a special role in the

* This article is a partial output of the project VEGA no 1/0615/15: *Between politics and everyday life. Life in town Nitra 1939-1945.*

newly created Slovak national mythology. Situated in southwest part of Slovak Republic, Nitra was a multinational town with numerous Hungarian and Jewish citizens. The number of inhabitants was changing, but it was still slightly more than twenty thousand during the war. Within the years 1939-1945, Nitra played a special role in newly created Slovak national mythology. During this era, state representatives from the ruling Hlinka's Slovak People's Party were seeking roots in an attempt to confirm the antiquity of Slovaks and focus on the heroism of Slovak ancestors.

The theoretical background of collective memory and its representation was described by Jan Assmann (e.g. 2001) and Alleida Assmann (e.g. 2007), and later developed by sociologist and cultural historians, as well as anthropologists. Statues, memorials, monuments and commemorative plaques are an important part of public spaces and are dedicated to the memory of a particular event or a personality. They are often created by outstanding artists of respective time, they become part of the cultural heritage. These items are not prepared spontaneously, but intentionally, and thanks to them, citizens gather information about events or personalities. These items become important components in the formation of collective memory, as they materialize cultural meanings and are a kind of material expression of memory. Political representatives like to use monuments and memorials to promote ideology and promote the "preferable" interpretation of history (Oláh 2013; Michela 2006; Kurhajcová 2012). Citizens may create specific emotional bonds toward these objects, which is fixed by various ritualized forms of remembrance. Clearly readable codes and symbols are usually contained, and are supposed to be mementos for following generation (Oláh 2013, 731). Although the original idea was that newly created statue or memorial would stay in public place for long time, the political praxis in (Czecho) Slovakia in the 20th century caused political representatives to overlay the original meaning, completely change the interpretation or remove the unwanted symbols or objects. The efforts of the ruling representatives to restrain the understanding of history and the culture of remembrance in citizens are undeniable in totalitarian and authoritative regimes.

In addition to sacred statues and memorials in the 19th century, secular objects of memory gradually filled public spaces (Lipták 1999a, 128). Connected to the proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the first dramatic

change came in the year 1918, where there was a massive renaming of Slovakian streets and squares after Slovakian personalities and fighters for Czechoslovak independence. Very often the statues of first president of Czechoslovak Republic T. G. Masaryk – referred to as "President the Liberator" – occurred in Slovak towns. Elimination or erasure of all reflections of the previous Austro-Hungarian state and representatives of it were required. On Slovak territory, this meant any memories of Hungarian personalities or the Hungarian Kingdom. The Slovak historian Ľubomír Lipták (1999b) aptly described this procedure as "castling on pedestals". This precedent repeated several times in the 20th century.

The first Czechoslovak Republic was for Slovaks their first experience with democracy and citizen rights. Although there were many conflicts and disputes (also between Czechs and Slovaks as state forming nationalities), until 1938 the republic stayed democratic. However, the most popular and powerful Slovak political party, Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, repeatedly asked for autonomy (Arpáš 2011), in the 1930 openly speaking about "Czech oppression". Due to the foreign policy events, and the fact that neighbouring states one after another gained authoritative or totalitarian regimes, the domestic political crisis accelerated in the second half of the year 1938. The international situation became a catalyst for further development in Czechoslovak state. On October 6, 1938, shortly after the Munich conference, Slovak autonomy within the Czechoslovak state was proclaimed. Gradually, in all parts of Czechoslovakia, denial of democratic traditions began, replaced with totalitarian procedures. In Slovak autonomy territory, Hlinka's party dominated, swallowing or dissolving other political parties. Soon the hunt for enemy in the public place began.

The first victim in the town of Nitra was the statue of President T. G. Masaryk, located in an attractive part of the town. An unknown offender threw the statue down, but prevailing suspicion was that members of Hlinka's Guard, an armed group connected with the ruling party (Hetényi 2010, 437), were responsible. The pedestal stayed empty for several months.

The independent Slovak state was formally declared on March 14, 1939. Within hours of the declaration, the city of Nitra ostentatiously liquidated symbols of the Czechoslovak Republic including the Czechoslovak emblem in various forms, as well

as others symbols representing Czechoslovak statehood (Hetényi 2010, 439-440). Regulation prepared a couple of months later stated that the portraits of Czechoslovak presidents were to be burnt and metallic statues passed into state mint (Police Office 1940a). In the case of monuments of specific artistic value, such as the work of a well-known painter or sculptor, these would be stored in local museums (Police Office 1940b). In the case of Nitra, reconstruction of these actions became impossible, as part of the museum was destroyed at the end of the WWII. Empty statues stands and memorials in Slovak towns were filled with commemorations of Andrej Hlinka, fighter for Slovak autonomy and founder of Slovak People's Party, and M. R. Štefánik, a politician, diplomat and astronomer who cooperated with Masaryk during World War I. The political environment of the era 1939-1945 changed the previous interpretation of Štefánik's role, envisioning him instead as a fighter for Slovak rights (Macho 2011). On May 7, 1939 on the pedestal where the statue of T. G. Masaryk previously had been, a new statue of M. R. Štefánik was revealed. Jozef Tiso, Slovak prime minister and later president of Slovak republic, attended the event (Švolíková 2008; Hetényi 2010, 440). In the Nitra region, there is no evidence of any kind of opposition toward the removal of Czechoslovak symbols.

The representatives of ruling Hlinka's Slovak People's Party initiated the revision of works of art according to their ideological purity and arranged their removal from public spaces. The regulations enacted concerned the removal of state symbols of Czechoslovak republic, statues and monuments connected with previous regime, as well as massive street renaming (Mikulášová, Palárik 2014). Passions and interests of state authorities provoked changes concerning not only secular objects, but also religious monuments situated in churches and temples, especially those connected with saints of "undesirable nationality" such as Saint Stephen, Saint Emeric or Saint Ladislaus, who were closely linked to the political history of the Hungarian Kingdom, and believed to be important source of Hungarian revisionist ideas. Although these objects were in line with sacral nature, according to the ruling party, they were hiding political message and therefore it was necessary to get rid of, or change them. The first interventions against objects considered Hungarian appeared during the year 1940. In Prešov (a town in the eastern part of Slovakia), liquidation of six memorials considered to be Hungarian (Hetényi 2007, 107-108) was

authorized. There were also criticized any inscriptions in the Hungarian language. These particular actions were individual, as there was no administrative regulation concerning these objects. It is important to note that these actions were conducted through initiatives of local representatives. This issue was extremely sensitive in regions with a Hungarian minority.

Analogically to Germany, Slovakia did not prepare special legislation concerning statues and memorials (Pekár 2012, 13). Governmental regulations published in summer 1943 were to a certain extent an answer to the initiatives of regional and local authorities who were often acting on their own, decided whether some objects were "rabble rousing" or not. Governmental regulations number 315/1943 and number 429/1943 prohibited public use as well as ownership, to abide, to place or to show in public places any sculptures, symbols, images, inscriptions or other similar items including decorations which were incompatible with the Slovak national idea, contrary to the idea of Slovak Republic independence, or suggesting hostile actions toward Slovaks and all subjects that disturb public order or arouse public indignation (District Office, 1943a). On the local level, the regulations caused many disputes and raised many questions between local state representatives and local priests. In numerous cases, sacral objects were affected – paintings, sculptures of saints, various inscriptions located in churches or located at church land, by the regulation. According to the constitution and valid laws, acceptable legal basis did not exist, and it was impossible to remove these objects. Therefore, the government used a unique approach. According to the Monuments act number 39/1881, prepared in the times of Austrian-Hungarian monarchy and later legislative regulations based on those act, remained valid during the existence of Czechoslovak republic (Placht, Havelka 1934, 1664-1665; Palárik 2011, 37-38), the above mentioned sacral objects were state protected. Due to these legislative regulations, all monumental and artistic artifacts dated into the first half of 19th century were under the protection of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. Relocating these items was possible only if "competent authorities" approved the procedure. If the transit was necessary due to protection or restoration purposes, the owner could not refuse it, under treated sanctions such as financial penalty, or six months imprisonment (Placht, Havelka, 1644).

Therefore, the possibility of removing the monument in order to “protect” it was massively used as explanation. With this explanation, the “restoration” of the monument could be accompanied by the removal of undesirable symbols.

The “pursuit of the enemy” between monuments and artistic objects started in the middle of the summer 1943. Local representatives were asked for list of inappropriate objects, statues, sculptures, paintings and inscriptions in the respective region. The local authorities were instructed to act prudently and if possible, to solve respective situation informally. The officers were supposed to diffuse any passions and/or prevent disturbances and achieve the removal of the respective object by owner agreement. The matter was to be handled discretely but flatly. If possible, it should remain secret, with only the necessary people knowing. Publicity was discouraged. Decisions regarding removal or modification were based on how, when and why the monument was created and considered what situation or event was being commemorated. Deemed unacceptable were paintings with Saint Stephen’s Crown, Freemasonry symbols, Star of David and other Jewish (Hebrew) symbols used within Christian churches and other buildings. Inscriptions celebrating individuals hostile toward the Slovak state were also removed (General notary Office, 1943a).

Even if the action remained confidential, the instructions concerning this ideological examination of cultural objects evoked various reactions. The main reason for this was that the regulation touched many sacral objects and artistic representation of Saints primarily located in churches. The Catholic Church supported the Slovak government, and many within the ruling Hlinka’s Party were catholic priests, including the president of the Slovak Republic, Jozef Tiso. The effort to examine and then remove or even destroy the objects according to ideological and/or political purity was contrary to the Church dogma and removal of portraits of Saints was against church law. The local priests asked Church authorities for instructions, often refusing the instructions of state authorities. The leaders of the Slovak Catholic Church at the Bishop conference discussed the matter in October 1943. The Bishops agreed with the removal of inscriptions and controversial symbols that were located in Churches or presented in various outdoor sculptures in Church ownership, but were not ready to

remove, hide, repaint or rebuilt the paintings and sculptures of Saints (District Office, 1943b).

Many situations occurred where the correctness of the procedure and removal of concrete symbols and objects were questioned. For this reason, the Ministry of Interior, responsible for the action, created an Advisory board. On this board were experts from the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, two authorized representatives of the Bishop Conference, one representative of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Slovakia and one representative of Byzantine Catholics (District Office, 1943c). This Advisory board was supposed to be consulted by local authorities in disputed cases, and based on submitted documentation; the Board had final determination (District Office, 1943d). The responsibility to assess the value of cultural monuments and works of art was given to political appointees and local authorities. Those people were not experts on the field of culture and cultural heritage. On the contrary, they usually focused on the ideological purity of particular objects. Methods used were often of a violent manner. State authorities were allowed to act in cases of objects in state or private ownership (District Office, 1943e). However, the controversial objects were in many cases located in churches and the representatives of the Church on the advisory board often disagreed with the intervention in churches, monasteries and other sacral places until church authorities gave the final decision and conducted interference on their own.

In the town of Nitra all sacral objects were examined. In some cases, the suggestions of local representatives were devastating. One such example was the sculpture of St. Ladislaus holding a shield in form of Hungarian Kingdom state symbol. The symbol was to be replaced by symbol of the Slovak State. Mainly paintings with particular Saints understood to be Hungarian Saints evoked the interest of local authorities. Many of these objects were dated from the 18th century. One discussion concerned the fresco dated 1710-1720 situated above the main altar in the Nitra Cathedral. On the fresco was Saint Stephen, kneeling before Saint Mary, holding a red pillow with the symbols of Hungarian Kingdom in his hand and displaying the Stephen’s Crown and sceptre. The symbols of Hungarian Kingdom were problematic. Another example was a plague column dated 1706 in the center of the Nitra old town. Part of the column featured Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus and Saint Emeric with the symbolic

Saint Stephen's crown (General notary Office, 1943b). In both of these cases, the responsible church authorities disagreed with the removal due to the artistic value and the final decision was postponed (District Office, 1943f).

Other examples include two paintings with Saint Stephen and Saint Ladislaus holding symbols of the Hungarian Kingdom, dated 1811, were relocated to a less visible area. The life-size sculpture of Saint Stephen with a crown located in Zobor Monastery suffered a similar fate. Due to local recommendations, the sculpture was relocated to place hidden by bush (General notary Office, 1943c). In another case, the local authorities recommended repainting the Saints which were carrying symbols of the Hungarian Kingdom (General notary Office, 1943d). From the Nitra region there were many reports that the local state officers made an agreement with local priests where controversial objects were hidden or relocated without publicity. However, where the objects were more visible, it was not easy to make such an agreement. Controversial also were inscriptions in the Hungarian language located in churches. In this case, the Church representatives were more cooperative and willing to remove or hide them (General notary Office, 1943e). The remains of the Millennium column built for the occasion of the one-thousand year anniversary of Hungarian entry into the Carpathian Basin in 896 was changed. The column was located on the hill Zobor, clearly visible above town, where citizens of Nitra like to hike. Part of the column, understood as a reminder of the Hungarian oppression, was destroyed after WWI. The town representatives were not clear what to do with the remaining part of the column. Thus, the idea to prepare a new column or statue, whether a Slovak symbol such as a double cross standing on the middle peak of mountain consisting of three peaks (Škvarna 2004; General notary Office, 1943f), or an over life-size statue of Svätopluk the ruler of Great Moravia in the 9th century, and according to his interpretation between 1939-1945 the Slovak king (Nitra County III, 1943) repeatedly occurred.

The local representatives paid attention mainly to the catholic Saints, which were at the same time understood as Hungarian Saints – first of all Saint Stephen followed by St. Ladislaus and St. Emeric. Not only was the depiction of the Saint undesirable, but also the symbols they were wearing. During the revolution of 1848-1849, St. Stephen was installed into position as a national hero standing over confessions. He was more than just a

symbol of confessional unity. His presence was the integrating element of the united Hungarian nation just being formed, often with violent measures. In the following years, he also became the symbol of Hungarian dominance in the Carpathian basin. Non-Catholic citizens of the Hungarian Kingdom celebrated St. Stephen as the first Hungarian King. In the interwar period, St. Stephen became an integral part of the Hungarian revisionist policy and a symbol of a lost but desired return of integrity in the Hungarian Kingdom. He became a symbol of the Hungarian Nation and unity. The cult of St. Stephen was in suppressed in the Czechoslovak Republic and celebration was held on religious borders where he was viewed as founder of Church province or Church Patron (Michela 2013, 100-105). Between the citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic with Hungarian nationality St. Stephen was a national hero not forgotten, and during the turbulent events of 1938 the cult was reborn.

Although the action supposed to stay secret, during the summer of 1943 local press articles prepared the public on possible changes. Since the beginning of 1943, articles aimed against Hungary, causing concerns to Germany, appeared in press. The actual Slovak policy was contradictory to the politics of Axis powers. The articles concerned even the German envoy in Slovakia, Hans Ludin (Lipták 2011, 256-259). The articles expressed the views of some Hungarian representatives who were questioning Slovak independence. It is possible the German concerns were one reason why the press did not use anti-Hungarian agenda during the campaign against Hungarian Saints.

Another reason is that, the confessional based Slovak population would not have understood the removal and repainting of church statues even if the Government had tried to provide a logical explanation. However, information in local press was rather rare. One article asked to settle the situation on Zobor hill and to replace the ruins of Millennium column by a Slovak double cross (Nitrianska stráž, 1943a). A couple of days later, a local newspaper tried to explain the examination and reassessment of symbols and objects according to ideological and national purity as a demonstration of Slovak self-confidence (Nitrianska stráž, 1943b). One last article recalled a speech of President J. Tiso, who visited Nitra in summer 1943. In this speech, Tiso claimed that the cult of St. Stephen should be replaced by Saints Cyril and Methodius (Nitrianska stráž, 1943c), emphasizing the

Cyrillo-Methodian tradition as an integral part of creating national (hi)story.

The regulation dated summer 1943, showed the unwillingness of church authorities to cooperate in searching for enemy in churches and in the reassessing of concrete objects according to ideological purity. The intervention against Hungarian Saints also showed the doubts of Slovak political representatives as connected with the military actions of Allied powers in Italy, German defeat at Kursk and fears about the guarantee of Slovak sovereignty (Kamenec 2012, 9-16; Lipták 2011, 259). Furthermore, after deportation of 58,000 Jews from Slovakia in 1942, it was necessary to set another agenda and find new public enemy – in this case the cult of St. Stephan and his followers and the symbols connected with them. The artistic objects chosen for defacing or removal were in many cases, victims of political ambitions, however in this case, the political representatives went too far. In the autumn of 1943, the Advisory Board demanded a stop to this procedure. The Church was an important pillar of the regime, therefore on November 5th 1943, the Ministry of Interior

stopped all actions connected with Church properties (Hetényi, Ivanič, 2010, 341). The regulation was still valid for secular properties.

The totalitarian regime influenced all spheres of life, including culture and cultural heritage. Objects connected with previous democratic system of Czechoslovak republic as well as objects dated into the period of Hungarian Kingdom became victims of political ideology. These key historical artefacts were substituted with symbols and personalities representing the Slovak national idea. Although the political representatives had a close connection with Church, and the Catholic Church supported the ruling regime, in the end the Church enforced its viewpoint as this action was concerned. Although Church representatives allowed removal of Czechoslovak symbols and inscriptions in the Hungarian language, they were not ready to remove, or remake paintings and sculptures of Saints. Sadly, however, this took time, and several losses on cultural heritage occurred before the Church made its stand.

References

a. Archival sources

District Office, 1943a State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund District Office in Nitra*, 1944, box no. 58. Instruction of Ministry of Interior dated July 23, 1943.

District Office, 1943b State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund District Office in Nitra*, 1944, no. 58. Letter of Bishop's office to notary office in Nitra dated November 17, 1943.

District Office, 1943c State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund District Office in Nitra*, 1944, box no. 58. Instruction of Ministry of Interior dated September 28, 1943.

District Office, 1943d State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund District Office in Nitra*, 1944, box no. 58. Circular of Advisory board concerning the instruction no. 315/1943 dated October 14, 1943.

District Office, 1943e State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund District Office in Nitra*, 1944, box no. 58. Letter of Ministry of

Interior dated November 15, 1943.

District Office, 1943f State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund District Office in Nitra*, 1944, box no. 58. Letter of Bishop's office to notary in Nitra dated November 17, 1943.

General notary Office, 1943a State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund General notary office in Nitra*, box no. 7. Instruction of District Office dated July 29, 1943 and September 2, 1943.

General notary Office, 1943b State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund General notary Office in Nitra*, box no. 7. Letter of Police Department in Nitra dated August 12, 1943.

General notary Office, 1943c State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund General notary Office in Nitra*, box no. 7. Letter to Nitra District dated September 30, 1943.

General notary Office, 1943d State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund General notary Office in Nitra*, box no. 7. Letter of District office dated

- September 2, 1943.
- General notary Office, 1943e** State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund General notary Office in Nitra*, box no. 7. Letter of Police office dated August 12, 1943.
- General notary Office, 1943f** State Archive in Nitra – branch Horné Krškany, *Fund General notary Office in Nitra*, box no. 7. Memorandum concerning the remains at Zobor Hill dated September 29, 1943.
- Nitra County III, 1943** State Archive in Nitra – branch Ivanka pri Nitre, *Fund Nitra County III*, 1943, box no. 33. Letter to Štefan Hašík dated August 21, 1943.
- Nitrianska stráž, 1943a** *Nitrianska stráž* [local newspaper], 1943, no. 31, p. 3.
- Nitrianska stráž, 1943b** *Nitrianska stráž* [local newspaper], 1943, no. 32, p. 1.
- Nitrianska stráž, 1943c** *Nitrianska stráž* [local newspaper], 1943, no. 35, p. 1.
- Police Office, 1940a** State Archive in Nitra – branch Ivanka pri Nitre, *Fund Police Office in Nitra*, 1939-1942, box no. 3, instruction of Ministry of Interiour dated February, 21, 1940.
- Police Office, 1940b** State Archive in Nitra – branch Ivanka pri Nitre, *Fund Police Office in Nitra*, 1939-1942, box no. 3, instruction of Ministry of Interiour dated March 3, 1940.

b. Books

- Arpáš 2011** Arpáš, Róbert, *Autonómia: víťazstvo alebo prehra? vyvrcholenie politického zápasu HSLS o autonómiu Slovenska*, Bratislava (2011).
- Assmann 2001** Assmann, Jan, *Kultura a pamät*, Praha (2001).
- Assmann 2007** Assmann, Aleida, *Geschichte im Gedächtnis. Von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung*. München (2007).
- Lipták 2011** Lipták, Ľubomír, *2217 dní. Slovensko v čase druhej svetovej vojny*, Bratislava (2011).
- Macho 2011** Macho, Peter, *Milan Rastislav Štefánik v hlavách a srdciach. Fenomén národného hrdinu v historickej pamäti*, Bratislava

(2011).

- Palárik 2011** Palárik, Miroslav, *Zväz slovenských múzeí v období slovenského štátu 1939-1945*, Nitra (2011).
- Placht, Havelka 1934** Placht, Otto, Havelka, František, *Příručka školské a osvetové správy*, Praha (1934).
- Škvarna 2004** Škvarna, Dušan, *Začiatky moderných slovenských symbolov: K vytváraniu národnej identity od konca 18. do polovice 19. storočia*, Banská Bystrica (2004)

c. Chapter in books

- Hetényi 2010** Hetényi, Martin, “Búrlivé udalosti v marci 1939 a nitriansky región”. In Bystrický Valerián, Michela Miroslav, Schvarc Michal, *Rozbitie alebo rozpad?: historické reflexie zániku Česko-Slovenska 1939*, Bratislava (2010), p. 430-447.
- Kamenec 2012** Kamenec, Ivan, “Vnútropolitický vývoj a režim Slovenskej republiky v rokoch 1939-1945”. In Kováčová Viera (et al.), *Riešenie židovskej otázky v spojeneckých krajinách nacistického Nemecka*, Banská Bystrica (2012), p. 9-16.
- Lipták 1999a** Lipták, Ľubomír, “Kolektívne identity a verejné priestory”. In *Kolektívne identity v strednej Európe v období moderny*, Bratislava (1999), p. 117-131.
- Lipták 1999b** Lipták, Ľubomír, “Rošády na piedestáloch”. In Lipták Ľubomír, *Storočie dlhšie ako sto rokov*, Bratislava (1999), p. 330-333.
- Michela 2013** Michela, Miroslav, “A Home Should Be a Home to All Its Sons: Cultural Representations of Saint Stephen in Slovakia during the Interwar Period”. In Hudek Adam (et al.), *Overcoming the old borders: beyond the paradigm of Slovak national history*, Bratislava (2013), p. 97-110.

d. Proceedings from symposiums and conferences

- Hetényi 2007** Hetényi, Martin, "Postavenie maďarskej menšiny na Slovensku v rokoch 1939-1940". In: *Slovensko medzi 14. marcom 1939 a salzburskými rokovaniami: Slovenská republika 1939-1945 očami mladých historikov VI.* [conference proceedings], Prešov (2007), p. 93-111.
- Hetényi, Ivanič 2010** Hetényi, Martin, Ivanič, Peter, "Poznámky k šíreniu kultu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v rokoch 1939-1945 na príklade mesta Nitra". In: *Život v Slovenskej republike: Slovenská republika 1939-1945 očami mladých historikov IX* [conference proceedings]. Bratislava (2010), p. 336-345.
- Mikulášová, Palárik 2014** Mikulášová, Alena, Palárik Miroslav, "Zásahy politiky do verejného priestoru na príklade premenovania nitrianskych ulíc v rokoch 1938-1945". In: *Človek, spoločnosť, doba. Stretnutie mladých historikov : zborník z vedeckej konferencie, ktorá sa konala v Košiciach v dňoch 16. - 17. októbra 2013* [conference proceedings], Košice (2014), p. 215-224.
- Varga 2011** Varga, Bálint, "Medzi Arpádcom a Máriou Teréziou. Milénárne pamätníky a identity Fin-de-Siecle Pressburg". In: *Fenómén Bratislava* [conference proceedings], Bratislava (2011), p. 286-305.

e. Papers in periodical journals

- Holec 2005** Holec Roman, *Panovníci na piedestáloch. Osudy dvoch pomníkov.* In: *História revue* 5, Bratislava (2005), no. 5, p. 9-11.
- Kurhajcová** Kurhajcová, Alica, *Historical*

2012

Lipták 1995

Michela 2006

Oláh 2013

Pekár 2012

Švolíková 2008

Zemko 2012

Memory Research in Slovakia. In: *Acta Poloniae Historica* 106, (2012), p. 77-98.

Lipták, Ľubomír, *Pamätníky a pamäť povstania 1944 na Slovensku.* In: *Historický časopis* 43, Bratislava (1995), no. 2, p. 363-369.

Michela, Miroslav, *Collective Memory and Political Change – The Hungarians and the Slovaks in the Former Half of the 20th Century.* In: *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* Bratislava (2006), no. 3-4, p. 15-26.

Oláh, Gábor, *Kolektívni pamäť, prostor a významy. Prípad námestí Svobody v Budapešti.* In: *Sociologický časopis* 49, no. 5 (2013), p. 729-750.

Pekár, Martin, *K niektorým aspektom vzťahu politiky a verejného priestoru na Slovensku v rokoch 1938 – 1945.* In: *Historica Carpatica*, Košice (2012), p. 7-20.

Švolíková, Marta, *Osudy levickej sochy generála Milana R. Štefánika.* In: *Zborník Tekovského múzea* 7, (2008), p. 114-121.

Zemko, Milan, *Osudy (nielen) bratislavských sôch.* In: *História revue* 12, Bratislava (2012), no. 3-4, p. 66-68.

The Romanian-Jewish Diaries as a Form of Resistance during World War II

Carmen ȚĂGȘOREAN

Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Science

Department of Journalism

E-mail: carmen.tagsorean@ubbcluj.ro

Abstract. In Romania, the anti-Semitism and its manifestations reached the apogee during the Second World War, inflicting upon the Jewish community a permanent sense of fear and uncertainty about the future. There is a significant difference between the life of the Romanian nationals and that of the Jewish ones during 1941-1944. For the first category, the war brought about poverty and, in some cases, the loss of the loved ones on the battlefield, while for the Jewish population, the same period meant facing the most severe repressive measures (political, social, economic, religious, moral *etc.*) which culminated with the extermination of a large number of people. Permanent tension, pain, material deprivation, humiliation, the constant threat coming from authorities, and civilians, physical violence to which they were subjected, they all found an echo in the works of the Jewish writers and of some of the survivors of the Holocaust hell. Due to their power to overcome the critical situations against all odds, and thanks to their writing talent, we are now able to get a better understanding of the human tragedy, spiritual and physical, experienced by Jews during the Second World War. This study aims to illustrate some of the perceptions and feelings expressed by the Jewish writers for whom to write was the equivalent of a life vest, an escape boat in front of the atrocities they were forced to witness. Mihail Sebastian, Emil Dorian, Marius Mircu or Alexandru Șafran are only a few of those brilliant and capable people who opened the door towards an not-so-well-known world, full of tragedy, dominated by pain, fear, violence and deprivation.

Keywords: WWII, Holocaust, anti-Semitism, drama, violence.

The conflagration that caused the death of over 52 million people ⁽¹⁾ was also for the Jewish people of Europe the darkest time in their history: the Holocaust. World War II had two major causes: the conditions imposed to the vanquished Germany by the Treaty of Versailles (1918) and the Great Depression (1929-1933). Under these circumstances, Hitler thought that the only way out of the economic disaster was to turn Germany into a world-class military power and undo the Treaty. For this, he needed a new ideology to unite and rally the nation. Part of this plan was “the purification” of the German people through an elaborate policy of isolation, deportation, and annihilation of all minorities (Johnson 2005, 335-336).

Similar to the turmoil in Europe, Romania saw the same type of political and social storm between the two world wars, intensified by the

Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact between Germany and the USSR through which Romania lost by ultimatum the provinces of Bessarabia and North Bukovina to communist Russia. (Fiorani 2007, 32-33) This abusive annexation was well-received by the Jewish communist sympathizers, but for the Jewish majority it became “a painful turn of history” (Ancel 1996, 1). The destiny of the country, including that of the Jews’ was placed as of September 1940 into the hands of the dictator Ion Antonescu whose anti-Semitic views were well-known.

The determining role the anti-Semitism played in the events in Romania at that time is clearly expressed in the conclusions of the Wiesel Commission: “The Romanian Holocaust was made possible by the anti-Semitism deeply rooted in the political and cultural history of the country” (*Bună dimineața, Israel!* 2004, 2). After reading the book *Notes* by Adolf Stern, Emil Dorian concludes that the anti-Semitic roots were deep in Romania and they were not recent: “In another political and socio-economic situation, the drama

⁽¹⁾ See *The History Place. Statistics WWII* at <http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/timeline/statistics.htm>

of the Romanian Jews took place along the same lines as today's" (Dorian 1996, 163). The authorities' attitude and anti-Semitic speeches of major figures in politics, culture, and religion had a devastating impact on the Romanian public opinion. Because of it, the Jew was depicted as an outsider, a hostile foreigner, which is "the favorite form to express patriotism and national specificity" (Volovici 1995, 112). During WWII the anti-Semitism reached an alarming level. It was "pure bestiality, out of control, shameless, without conscience, aimless and without purpose. Anything, absolutely anything was possible" (Sebastian 1996, 405). Among the anti-Semites, an important role was played by Ion Antonescu, the head of state, whose anti-Semitism was not extreme, as his politics had strategic motivation. He had different attitudes towards the Jews, based on their place of residence into the country (Friling *et al.* 2005, 115- 116). His actions varied between hatred and concessions. For example, he vowed to rid Bessarabia and Bukovina of Jews (in 1941), but, at the same time, he kept his promises made to Wilhelm Filderman, a Jewish friend from high school, to recant on the Jews obligation to wear the David Star on their clothing. Other major concessions were keeping the Romanian sea port open for Jewish emigration and his opposition to deportation or relocation of the Jews living in Moldova and Muntenia. (Friling *et al.* 2005, 248-251.) Ion Antonescu made these concessions in spite of the anti-Semitic legislation in effect at the time that provided the groundwork for deportation, relocation, or confinement to camps and ghettos (Ioanid 1997, 49.). The anti-Semitic legislation was thought out as a comprehensive package of laws to simply lock the Jews out of society. One set of laws was designed to rid public institutions of professional Jews in administration and education. As a result, Jews were purged from state institutions and all schools of higher learning, including the students. This was supposed to start a "Romanization" process similar to Hitler's "purification of the nation". Another chapter of the anti-Semitic legislation was designed to hit the Jews financially. They were simply dispossessed of property, their business licenses were revoked and their driving rights were annulled. On top of these, they were hit with higher taxes and additional contributions, like labor for the community and donations of clothing (Giurescu 1997, 351-352). The high number of anti-Semitic ordinances in 1940 made Mihail Sebastian writes in his diary: "I'll never be able to erase from my heart the sickness and fatigue. I fell into some sort of stupor that rendered me numb when I was disbarred, expelled

from the Foundation, and forced to do manual labor" (Sebastian 1996, 286). The anti-Semitic measures in 1941 stopped at nothing in making the life of the Jews unbearable. They were stripped of the fundamental civil rights. They were banned from owning radio CB equipment, and their right to buy food was limited by coupons, all these while they were forced to supply the Romanian army with donations in clothing (Ioanid 1997, 26-45).

Historians have written tons of materials on the subject, with diagrams and statistics that keep our collective memory full numbers. Yet, this objectivity, cold and argumentative depicts historic events, but they elude the emotions, the feelings, the despair and the horror of those who survived them and lived to talk about. This is the category of diary writers, who described what really happened and how common folk reacted and felt under those circumstances and who, by doing so, ignite the reader's imagination with images and emotions that never go away. These writers were ordinary people whose lives were thrown into a turmoil they never imagined possible. They were "the people next door" who had the same problems as their neighbors' who turned against them practically overnight. The purpose of this study is to reconstruct the life of the Romanian Jews during WWII as it was described by some of the most important figures of the Jewish community. We will be trying to reconstruct the atmosphere of those years, 1939-1944, using the memoirs of a chief rabbi Alexandru Șafran, those of the medical doctor and writer Emil Dorian, and of two prominent writers, Mihail Sebastian and Marius Mircu. Belonging to different social strata, these four will give us an in-depth picture of the Jewish life based on the first-hand experience. They all struggled to survive the storm that descended upon them with the means they managed to improvise as none was ever warned in advance of the upcoming events. For Mihail Sebastian and Marius Mircu, writing was the only means they had and fought with against anti-Semitism, persecution, and the horror of war and Holocaust. The pogroms from Bucharest, Iași or Bukovina and Bessarabia, deportation of Jews or their internment in ghettos, all became writer's material in their works that remain until today in the collective memory of this nation. For Emil Dorian or Mihail Sebastian these represent only information received from family and friends. The apparent calm of Bucharest could have exploded any moment, and life could have turned violent like in the provinces of Romania. For those residing in Bucharest waiting for the events to unfold was

harder than for those who had already seen them. Marius Mircu, the journalist, was not into the waiting game. He just boarded the train and went there to see for himself what was going on. He visited Dorohoi, Iași and Bessarabia to listen to people who had suffered losses in their families or miraculously survived the horrors unleashed against them. He listened to their stories, saw their tears and heard their cry for help and understanding. Despair was overwhelming with no hope for the better. To his personal drama he added many other dramas of the community he belonged to, from Bucharest to Iași, Dorohoi, in Moldova. Marius Mircu demonstrated an unparalleled courage by making a collective drama his own and by fighting against the injustice and violence at a time when everybody was more concerned for his own safety than for others. He set up a charity campaign to help the desperate, to ease the fear that those people were abandoned at the hands of criminals, and to bring a glimmer of hope in a time when hope had practically vanished from the world. A time when being a Jew was the same as being a communist which translated into being the enemy of the people and of the state. It was madness time wearing something red was enough to have you arrested, beaten, even tortured. Brainwashing was at its peak, and even the educated people were its victims (Mircu 1945, 110-118).

Marius Mircu also lived through the events unleashed by the legionnaire's rebellion in Bucharest, as a witness of the attacks of those gangs of hoodlums against a peaceful population. The attacks were a mere warning of things to come of a different magnitude that would shake the foundations of the entire society and later, the world. On January, 21, the Jews were totally unaware, "they were even in high spirits", but, that same evening, the entire hell broke loose and "the barbarian legionnaires outdid themselves: robberies, pillage, torture, beatings, arson – it was a horrific night". Right off the first 24 hours into the rebellion the overwhelming feeling in the Jewish community was horror: "It was a horrific night. [...] From my attic window I saw the sky was red on Dudești (it was close) and Văcărești Avenues". For Alexandru Șafran, too, was a terrifying night. He listened to all the commotion and firearm shots coming from the streets and saw "the fires lightening Bucharest". The kidnapping of the wife of chief rabbi by legionnaires and her detention at the Union Federation of the Jewish Communities (UJFC) was another major concern. That was just one more trick up the sleeve of legionnaires. They asked that Jews come to UJFC because it was safe and things were under control.

Once there, they were taken into custody, locked up and then beaten bad, some to death. The disinformation was supposed to inflict additional suffering. During the pogrom rumor had it that both the chief rabbi and his wife had been assassinated (Șafran 1996, 63-65). Four days after the disaster and the rebellion over, the scars were still visible, "the view was overwhelming": "The disaster was in Văcărești and especially in Dudești. No house, no hut was left without being broken into, robbed, burned. You try to imagine the suburb burning Wednesday night, while gangs of thugs on rampage were shooting so many people driven insane by fright" (Sebastian 1996, 295). Rumors about the destruction spread with lightening speed in the capital city. Emil Dorian wrote in his journal: "The devastating fury didn't spare anybody and anything [...]. And as far as the tortures and the beatings are concerned, the list is endless and contains all the horrors of total dementia – Jews forced to drink gasoline mixed with salt, crosses carved into the skin of their backs and salt rubbed in, beatings and killings committed by women, and so on, and so on" (Dorian 1996, 146-147). After the rebellion was crushed, the passers-by could notice the long lines of people, anxious to get into the city morgue to take a look at the corpses on display there: "Like lambs, they've been standing in lines until today [January 24, 1941] in the falling snow, in the yard of the morgue. Identification is endless" (Dorian 1996, 147). The mutilated corpses, hard to identify, were bearing the message of the torture the victims were put through: "Jacques Costin's brother was hardly recognizable to his kin. Only in the head he had four holes. Lawyer Beiler was ridden with bullets, besides a slit throat". Mihail Sebastian points out the cases of the writer Felix Aderca and the lawyer Mircea Beiner who miraculously escaped from the hands of legionnaires (Sebastian 1996, 297). In those moments, people were so scared that they were hesitant to open the door even to friends. Marius Mircu lived through that when he stopped by to visit a friend, Ury Benador: "I had tried two times, during the rebellion. I had knocked on the gate out loud and he heard me once (maybe the second time too), he came out on the balcony and asked me whispering in fear – What do you want? [...] I'm not letting anybody in!" (Mircu 1981, 394-395).

The news about the pogrom in Iași and the crimes committed there were raising fright among the Jews in the entire country: "The simple accounts of Jews being either killed or taken by train loads to Călărași – was beyond any words, feeling or attitude. Dark, somber, crazy

nightmare” (Sebastian 1996, 357). With no official reports of the events, a lot of news was making the rounds, putting fear in the souls of those who listened: “The tragic details of what had happened never cease to come in. The scenes during the train stops of those unfortunate people on board of sealed cars off limits to anybody go beyond any sadistic fantasy. Hundreds of women, children and men who were licking each others’ sweat, drinking urine and screaming until they fell dead of exhaustion” (Dorian 1996, 174). Another horror episode was the murders committed in the courtyard of the Police station where the prisoners were shot by machine gun fire: “Whoever wanted to shoot at the Jews was able to do so. Whoever was walking by and had a gun. Whoever wanted to avenge a friend or relative dead in the war”. After the massacre, the survivors were further humiliated when they were loaded on “death trains”, freight trains used for chemicals, 100-150 to a car, the cars sealed, with no food or water (Mircu 1944, 38-49). A year later, the news about the Jews in Bukovina and Bessarabia was not good at all: “as the army got orders to shoot to kill all Jews in Bukovina and Bessarabia” (Sebastian 1996, 359).

There were cases when even enlisted Jewish men were abused, humiliated, or killed – thrown off the train, as reported by Marius Mircu and Emil Dorian. This kind of attitude among the brothers in arms “seems nonsense with no possible explanation” (Dorian 1996, 117). One example is that of Leon Cohn, soldier from the 29th Infantry Regiment, killed in Văculești with 3 others while returning to the army base to report for duty (Mircu 1945, 140). The news about assassinations committed aboard the trains hit the capital city too. Emil Dorian thought that these acts were actually little pogroms whose gravity exceeded that of casual incidents caused by hot-headed kids: “What we have here is not about some excited kids going to a congress and amuse themselves by pulling the beards of some Jews, but a grave and irresponsible killing of completely innocent human beings, devoted to the country, victims of legislation and soon threatened by starvation” (Dorian 1996, 117). Violence against the Jews hit a record high when rumor about a 24-hour amnesty for the perpetrators of crimes against the Jews was granted by the government, “24 hours [in which] one can do anything to the Jews” (Mircu 1945, 116). True or not, this rumor had grave consequences. Marius Mircu tells of such incidents: “Thursday morning [July 5, 1941] the news spread among the peasants [in Ciudei] that for 24 hours they can do anything they want to the Jews”. It was enough to trigger a wave of

robberies: “Whatever they couldn’t take with them, they destroyed” (Mircu 1945, 24). This was a brief review of life of the Jews in other parts of Romania. They are all mentioned in memoirs, a good reason to present them here as significant for our purpose.

Shortly after the pogrom of Iași, the Prefecture of Bucharest issued an ordinance that all Jews between ages of 20 and 36 come forth, an act that caused panic in the community. Two days later, on August 4, 1941, a new ordinance extended the limit to 50 years, which caused another stir: “Groups of people agitated, in a hurry. Pale faces, worried... [...] From Văcărești, small groups of poor people in rags, carrying small bags were streaming towards downtown” (Sebastian 1996, 366-367). The ordinance was revoked, then reinstated, causing more panic and more insecurity. On August 25, 1941, it is made public again, this time calling people to “work”, causing more anxiety and raising more questions: “Will we stay in Bucharest? Will we go away? Where to?” (Sebastian 1996, 375).

The life of a Jew during WW II was a lot harder than a soldier’s on the frontline. This is what Marius Mircu found out when he tried to exchange identities with an enlisted man because his dream was to be a war correspondent. Learning that the soldier was to live the life of a Jew, he said: “I’d rather live in the inferno of the war, than like a Jew in these days!” (Mircu 1981, 460-461).

In the fall of 1941, the situation on the front didn’t matter much to the Jews because they had their own home front to fight on to stay alive, to cope with anti-Semitic legislation, to live in terror and worry about tomorrow: “They are going to butcher us and in our graves (in case we’ll have one) the light of victory will never reach. At any given hour, at any second, we may be dragged out of the house, driven away, and killed” (Sebastian 1996, 406).

One of the great frustrations of the Jews during WWII was to be denied work. The purges of the Jews from government jobs and many other places of employment led to a serious shortage of financial resources. Finding alternatives was nearly impossible as any employer would have broken the law by hiring a Jew. In these conditions, the Jews saw their standard of living drop dramatically and the struggle for livelihood got harder. People with proven professions, like Mihail Sebastian, Marius Mircu or Emil Dorian, were unable to perform what they had done best, which turned them into paupers willing to do any menial jobs to make ends meet – better food, better dwelling. These shortcomings are often

mentioned in the memoirs of Marius Mircu, Emil Dorian or Mihail Sebastian. Money had become not only the bare necessity, but also something that could make the difference between freedom and deportation. Being overtaxed and obligated to make donations to the state, both in money and goods, like clothing, on one hand, but denied work on the other hand, made life unbearable to the Jews. In his memoirs, Mihail Sebastian writes that first came the ordinance that Jewish community pays 10 billion lei to the state: "The threat is direct, leaving no room for doubt. If you can't come up with the cash, you may pay with your life" (Sebastian, 1996, 371). The follow-up ordinance was even more bewildering. In 48 hours the Jewish community was supposed to donate to the state 4,000 beds, 4,000 blankets and 4,000 pillows, 8,000 bed sheets and 8,000 pillow cases, men's suits, men's hats, and overcoats (Sebastian 1996, 380). Desperate people showed up at collection centers with whatever they had at home, mostly used items. In front of the new adversity, Mihail Sebastian exclaims: "I feel like dropping everything, walk up to them and say: Shoot us, kill us, finish us off" (Sebastian 1996, 381). Because the ordinance's results were poor, the state made another call, this time not to the community, but to each person. The amount of donations was established based on the 1940 taxable income, disregarding the changes that had occurred in the meantime: "A bureaucrat that was making 8-9,000 a month had to donate: 2 overcoats, 3 suits, 4 handkerchiefs, 4 shirts, 4 towels, 4 pairs of socks, 2 pairs of boots, 2 men's hats, 2 woolen blankets, 2 mattress shells, 2 pillow shells, 2 pillow cases, 2 bed sheets" (Dorian 1996, 178). It was all a charade because the entire package exceeded the income by far. Being penniless, Mihail Sebastian defied the challenge: "Where could I get that kind of money? Isn't jail simpler?" (Sebastian 1996, 407). The rush to get the government the goods it wanted generated "a general hysteria among the Jews" and their inability to get the obligatory donation because that due to lack of funds or the absence of the good in the stores, stretched the nerves to the limit and made some of the Jews think to start stealing to fulfill their obligations. In case one got caught stealing, the penalty was 6 months in jail, while not fulfilling the obligation to the state was 5-10 years (Dorian 1996, 183-184). In the end everything boiled down to money. The notes in some diaries come to underline the despair, the confusion and the burden these people had to endure only because they were of a different nationality. Some of the notes in their diaries show the pain of being Jewish in those times of

war and discrimination: "It's the problem of money again [...] I feel poor" (Sebastian 1996, 268); "Big financial hardship from which I don't know how to get out of" (Sebastian 1996, 273); "I ran out of money" (Sebastian 1996, 382); "I don't have money and I don't know where to find any. The rent is due and, after that, I don't know what I'm going to do" (Sebastian 1996, 390); "I really live from one day to the next. [...] On me, I only spend the money for the tramway" (Sebastian 1996, 487) or "Beginning next month my economic drama opens without a doubt [...] The sums needed every day, without certain fixed obligations, are tragically out of sync with the pace of productive activity. I'm alone in the paralysis that engulfed a downtrodden population" (Dorian 1996, 159). Both Mihail Sebastian and Marius Mircu were constantly looking for jobs that would allow them some income. Doctor Emil Dorian's situation seemed better because, although he had been fired in 1940 from his 10-year job with the Credit Bank, he had a small income from the Jewish high school where he was teaching hygiene and anatomy (Dorian 1996, 119; 135). Putting their freedom or even their life on the line, some Jews, with the help of the natives, were trying to pass as natives and occupy regular jobs in order to support their big families. In some cases, their accent gave them away, especially when they bumped into educated Jews who recognized the trick. It happened to Emil Dorin, who, while buying some lemons from a street vendor dressed like a war veteran learned that the man had borrowed the attire from a neighbor to be able to make a few pennies to buy food for his two grandchildren whom he was raising by himself (Dorian 1996, 300). In contrast to Mihail Sebastian, who, in the beginning of the crisis looked for contract work, like translations or writing theatre plays, Marius Mircu accepted all kinds of odd jobs just to earn enough to get by. Later on, Mihail Sebastian was obligated to lower his expectations and accept even a factory job: "I want to work, I want to do something – anything else than literature, bureaucracy, treachery or sales – anything that would bring me the necessary money to pay the rent and buy food" (Sebastian 1996, 399). One of the jobs that Marius Mircu, the journalist, had held illegally during the war ("there were new laws issued against us") was that of distributor of a pharmaceutical firm (Mircu 1981, 341-342), supervisor of a demolition team, (Mircu 1981, 343-344), janitor of an apartment building on Valeriu Braniște St. where he also lived, (Mircu 1981, 373), salesman in a deli store on Văcărești Ave. (Mircu 1981, 382). With the winter closing in fast, things were not looking

good: “Out of work, no money saved, [...] it wasn’t easy. It was fall, winter was going to be upon me soon...” (Mircu 1981, 406). But Marius Mircu managed to find decent jobs too, not only menial ones. The problem was that the decent jobs didn’t bring much money, and, at times, didn’t bring any. Recommended by Ury Benador, he was hired as a librarian but with no guarantee of a salary (Mircu 1981, 407). It was not the only time when he worked without pay or when Jews were called upon to do volunteer work. The Public Defense Protocol act required that all medical doctors do night shifts in fire stations, a job earmarked for the Jewish doctors. There was a problem, though – the law banned Jewish doctors to treat Christian patients (Dorian 1996, 157). The Jews were also obligated to shovel snow in the winters of 1942 and 1943, ten days a month, in the city streets. Marius Mircu remembers a funny episode that could have turned dramatic, when he was told to carry with him a small bottle of rum against the bitter cold one day when he was going to shovel snow, but the bottle broke during transportation and he was so mad that he didn’t go to work at all. It was his lucky day because he was not punished (Mircu 1981, 409). In his diary, Mihail Sebastian tells us the reason why Marius Mircu was not punished for his absence that snow day. On Feb. 12, 1942, the government changed the law, sparing the people with university degrees from this obligatory communal work (Sebastian 1996, 441-442). It was not for the first time when authorities recanted on their ordinances. The winter of 1942 was an extremely harsh one, both in temperatures and snowfall. The Jews assigned to forced labor were the first to suffer from the bitter cold while shoveling snow: “frostbites occurred in the first hours” (Dorian 1996, 202). For the intellectuals who refused to work in the streets an exemption fee of 1,000 lei a day was introduced: “the hard labor equivalent of a Jewish intellectual” “rumor has it that a lot of intellectuals have gone to work” (Dorian 1996, 206). Among those who had no choice was also Mihail Sebastian, who thought that the entire operation was ridiculous: “We were moving snow from one place to another – an operation absolutely useless” (Sebastian 1996, 445-446) or one of the viola players of the Romanian Philharmonics, a Jew, who, “hatless and hands swollen and bleeding was shoveling snow” (Dorian 1996, 211). A real challenge for them was to ride public transportation with the shovels at the end of the day, when they were mocked by the other passengers: “Some Jidows – second-class citizens – street sweepers who take the places of good people!” (Dorian 1996, 204) Comparing

their fate with that of those in other parts of the country, evicted from their homes and deported to concentration camps, they saw the bright side of their existence – they were still free people. For Emil Dorian, though, this mentality was “the moral decay of the Jews” (Dorian 1996, 203). In the winter of 1943 the situation of those forced laborers worsened as the soldiers guarding them started abusing them physically: “At a headquarters of a regiment in Cotroceni, where a group of intellectuals were assigned to work, some were beaten up by soldiers because «they were not working hard enough»”. The colonel’s decision: “Starting tomorrow the entire capital city is going to become a huge Jewish worksite” (Dorian 1996, 268). The change of the season didn’t make a difference in the Jews’ situation. In the hot days, the streets of Bucharest were supposed to be swept of dust “and washed thoroughly from 7:00 AM to 3:00 PM” (Dorian 1996, 284). If initially only men were obligated to do forced labor, in 1942 the authorities decided that women join them. (Dorian 1996, 227). This triggered another drama, as women had to leave their kids at home unattended: “Misery had descended upon Romania, especially on the Jewish streets. It is known that in the Jewish quarters the children were unattended because their parents were driven to forced labor”. An investigation into the matter showed that children lived in sheer poverty: “I remember how many times I found locked doors and through a small spot in the window I was able to see the faces of those inside-kids sitting right on the floor on rags. A small oil lamp was giving «light and heat»”. The solution was provided by the Jewish community as day care centers were opened and financed by wealthy Jews (Mircu 1994, 126-127). Obligatory work was taken very seriously by authorities who, in the night between September 16 and September 17, 1942, rounded up 105 families that faltered on their civic obligation and deported them in a few days (Sebastian 1996, 471) The topic of deportation was “the obsession of every moment of each and every Jew” (Dorian 1996, 182) because everybody knew what was going on in the provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia: “The old, the children, the sick, women, [...] are thrown out in the street and driven to Moghilev [...] Death by bullet is a much milder fate” (Sebastian 1996, 405). The rumor that the Jews from Gura Humorului had been deported reached Bucharest and rang the alarm bells. People were woken up in the middle of the night and told that they only had two hours to pack and get to the train station where their ID papers and keys of their homes were withheld.

Some of them boarded the train and others were taken on foot to Moghilev camp. To stay strong Mihail Sebastian was trying to focus on other things: “It is our nightmare, anyway, and even if right now it is not dragging us into the deep, it is letting us struggle at the surface before drowning us for good” (Sebastian 1996, 409). The deportation of Jews to Transnistria caused a new wave of anxiety in the Jewish community, but everybody was trying to comply with all new government regulations because any faltering guaranteed a place in the deportation lines. The Jews in Bucharest were being picked up from home without any prior notice or rules: “The criteria varied from one day to the next”. Even those who had money and were able to buy favors felt that things could turn sour anytime. This was the start of the extermination plan for 25,000 Jews: “every night we went to bed in fear that we would be awoken by police and every morning we thought we were blessed to have won another day” (Dorian 1996, 237). Nobody was at ease. Nobody was safe from deportation. In 1943, while trying to obtain a tax reduction for the Jews from 4 billion that was due, Wilhelm Filderman angered Ion Antonescu so bad that he ordered him deported to Transnistria. All attempts by the chief rabbi Alexandru Șafran to free him failed. He was freed though, but only three months later (Șafran 1996, 94-96).

To play safe with authorities, Marius Mircu studied the booklet of the latest regulations regarding Jews. His attention was caught by the rule about military taxes that he didn’t pay because he was found unfit for service (he was short sighted). To his surprise, although unfit, he still owed money to the government, something he didn’t have. The entire situation made him grow even more desperate. His salvation came from G. M. Vlădescu, who promised to publish one of his manuscripts, *Rango, the People’s Friend* (*Rango, prietenul oamenilor*), under his name and the money that came from to be used to pay military taxes with. (Mircu 1981, 432-434). Mihail Sebastian was close to cutting the same deal with Mircea Ștefănescu, who agreed “to adopt *The Last Hour*”. For a writer it was “a matter of money”. Because the preparation of the manuscript for print took too long, Mihail Sebastian chose to walk away from the deal (Sebastian 1996, 473-478).

Even if they were extremely rare under the circumstances, Marius Mircu managed a few victories for his community, like getting the approval to set up a children’s library, so that beginning December 1, 1942, he got a job as a librarian and was paid for his service: “Listen to

this, people: to work among kids and be paid for!” (Mircu 1981, 412). This became the meeting place of 1,100 Jewish and non-Jewish children from all over the capital city who came to borrow books. For these kids the library became the second home. Many of them helped in the library placing books on shelves and many other chores (Mircu 1981, 414-422). It was a world of poverty, with unhappy children and adults lacking the basic necessities, like food and clothing. For many kids, a toy was a valuable possession. In that chaos, Marius Mircu managed to organize a toy collection campaign to bring some joy into the hard life of these children (Mircu 1981, 424-425). In that kind of an era, when most people were preoccupied with getting the daily bread and keeping a low profile in the eyes of the authorities, Marius Mircu’s actions were thought to be fanciful. The reason was simple: it represented not only an act of humanism, but also a means of psychological survival: “It was a refuge – for me and for many others – a defense plan, one of the solutions for survival. My mission was to help a number of people-as many as my shoulders could carry- to get through those times, to oppose with vigor a violent death!” (Mircu 1981, 427). Yet again, his greatest joy was writing (Mircu 1981, 370-372). Isolated from the world, Marius Mircu could concentrate on his passion. The same idea of comfort we see also in Mihail Sebastian for whom, besides writing, other intellectual activities, like reading, theater, and classical music concerts represented a refuge, “some sort of desertion” (Sebastian 1996, 382). For Emil Dorian, there were times when due to his psychological turmoil he couldn’t write at all: “It was impossible for me to write a line, maybe I was afraid to or I was simply sick of the futility of the words. Death paralyzed my hand and today death is undoing that” (Dorian 1996, 170). There is an explanation for this: “you got to keep your soul intact to write and you got to write to keep your soul up” (Dorian 1996, 212). There were moments, though, when showing the contribution of the Jewish writers to the general culture was the only solution. The anthology of Jewish Poets was the salvation for Emil Dorian: “The more anguish was thrown at us, the more desire I got to work and show the artistic contribution of Jews” (Dorian 1996, 177). Bribery was hard at work in those times of war too, so that Marius Mircu managed to get his book *Reporters’ Extraordinary Odyssey* (*Extraordinara odisee a reporterilor*) published: “Every book published in those times – legally or illegally – by Jewish writers was an act of resistance, proof that they not only wanted to survive, but also to continue to exist as writers, to

be recognized as such” (Mircu 1981, 402, 404). But even this satisfaction didn’t last long. The year 1942 dealt another blow to the Jewish writers’ community when the government published the black list of writers, banned from publication. With bitter irony, Marius Mircu was glad that he had made the list in the company of Jewish celebrities like Felix Aderca, Camil Baltazar, Emil Dorian, Mihail Sebastian *etc.* (Mircu 1981, 430). The list also mentioned personal data, like parents’ names, dates of birth, a reason to anger some of the writers when the lists were publicly posted in violation of basic privacy rules. Mihail Sebastian said: “I feel like a thug, like a criminal” (Sebastian 1996, 481).

In their struggle to survive, imagination played a role in fighting poverty and hunger. Any trick in the book was used to win the day. Sampling different foods in the market place was one of them. Marius Mircu used to go around and ask for a sample to taste the product. The trouble was that this made him even hungrier, as “the sample, offered on the tip of the sharp knife was so tiny that only stirred up my appetite” (Mircu 1981, 342-343). Basic needs, like eating, once satisfied, were good reason to cheer him up: “I was happy again: I was eating!” (Mircu 1981, 348) When he was visiting friends, like Ury Benador or I. Peltz, celebrities in the cultural elite, Marius Mircu, to the surprise of the host, in spite of the abundance of food on display, declined politely any invitation to eat: “The truth was that I was too shy to eat in somebody’s presence because I used to eat so hurriedly and would have devoured everything they offered and still be able to say: “«Is that all?!»” (Mircu 1981, 368-369). It was the only “luxury” Mircea Mircu could afford; in the beginning one loaf of bread, and later on, only half. In his “support” the government chipped in with food rations: “the fact that I was a Jew set the limit to one – a real blessing!” (Mircu 1981, 372-373). As a basic staple, bread was hard to come by. Mihail Sebastian says that even for people with money it was a real challenge to find it: “Hard thing...our maid managed to buy one loaf today, but only after getting in line at the crack of dawn and waiting for two hours” (Sebastian, 1996, 333). The following directive would only allow the Jews to buy bread four days out of previous five, and their sugar ration was lowered to only 100 grams (Sebastian 1996, 469) This rations will continue to drop over time so that in 1943 Jews were “100 grams below the Christians’ limits” (Sebastian 1996, 492). In these conditions, getting the daily food became quite a challenge, with butter, eggs, meat, cheese and even onion also in short supply: “The hardship

with food is getting worse. The bread tastes like corn. The cheese has vanished, and onion is 45 lei a kg. And is hard to find” (Dorian 1996, 148); “Meat is available only once a week. White bread is no longer produced. Lemon no longer exists... Corn flour is out too [...] Starting today [April 9, 1941] soap disappeared too” (Dorian 1996, 163). There were desperate moments when Marius Mircu had to scour into garbage bins for scraps of food. “The goodies” found, like potato skins, bits of onion or carrots, apples, all “prescribed by the doctor” were carefully washed and consumed. Marius Mircu remembers, sad and ironic, what Ury Benador told him once: “Wow! How did you manage to get so slim?!; I got sluggish being so fat; it was hard to work”, came the answer. (Mircu 1981, 373). In times of “prosperity” (“it was one of my better days”) Marius Mircu was able to buy 100 grams of salami (Mircu 1981, 381). Thus, the job at the deli store he called “the second paradise”. The salary was not important, but the “fringe benefits” were, meaning 150 grams of salami that the employees could take home free of charge and for which Marius Mircu was “the first in the store every morning and the least to leave (Mircu 1981, 382-383). Over time, though, he lost all the “fringe benefits” and half the salary and he went back to the garbage bin of his apartment building for food. It wasn’t new for him, but the memory of the aromas in the deli store deepened his frustration and the sensation of hunger: “I was hungry before, no big deal, but now it was a totally different story, because I was working in the middle of all those goodies, tempting even when you are full!” (Mircu 1981, 399). The year 1942 wasn’t more generous with him as far as food was concerned (“how I managed to pull through, don’t ask, I don’t remember”), but, using his status of reporter as cover, he was able to sneak in many soup kitchens set up for the poor by the community and get a bowl of soup (Mircu 1981, 411).

Another question that bugged the Jews in those days was how to find and be able to keep a dwelling. Authorities were doing anything to make life difficult for Jews, passing laws, then new regulations and ordinances: “The text of renting laws [...] depressing. I don’t know why the «legal» anti-Semitic measures look to me more upsetting, more humiliating than beatings and window smashing”. The legal provisions gave the landlords a blank check to abuse the tenants, like raising rent as they pleased: “I might have to vacate my one-room apartment. The landlord’s conditions scare me. I can’t afford to take upon me obligations so big” (Sebastian 1996, 315). Moving out from the tiny apartment on Victoria

Avenue to Antim St. was a reason of anxiety for Mihail Sebastian (Sebastian 1996, 327). Marius Mircu was in the same boat because during the war he had to change addresses three times. Initially, Marius Mircu rented a room in the attic of a house on Filitti St., full of bed bugs (Mircu 1981, 341). The next one, from which he was evicted shortly after he moved in was on Valeriu Braniște St. He will find more understanding on the same street, getting a room in the attic of a house he'll be able to keep till the end of the war (Mircu 1996, 362-365). Emil Dorian was going through the same hassle with his landlord who was taking advantage of the rental to Jews laws and raised the rent as he pleased. The people were looking for housing "in groups, like tourists taken to a museum, where they had to wait for their turn outside, in front of a locked door". Eventually, Emil Dorian chose a house in Cuza Vodă, where he would move in May, 1941 (Dorian 1996, 159). The Jewish owners of houses were not spared of government regulations hassle. The law that allowed Jewish property to be confiscated was simply appalling to Mihail Sebastian, who thought it was the last step before ghetto internment: "What worries me is not the law in itself [...], but the fact that the government, taking such a harsh measure, skips an entire progressive scale of anti-Semitic blows, that it could have taken in a series of gradual diversions. What else would be possible after confiscation of property? Maybe a ghetto. And then? What is left is only the pogrom" (Sebastian 1996, 318). People work hard to build their own homes, but the law made no difference between rich and poor (Dorian 1996, 160). The Jews were supposed to give up their home and that was it. They were not only obligated to do that, but also forced to suffer the humiliation of opening the door to prospective renters or buyers who were streaming in all the time (Dorian 1996, 231).

If the legionnaires were acting outside the law, as they pleased, the government led by Ion Antonescu made anti-Semitism legal in the spring of 1941: "Some other time, [...] anti-Semitism was rude, but illegal. [...] And anytime – at least formally – you could log a complaint with the state authority. A minimum of fairness was still kept in the official measures. Now, even this feeling – regardless how precarious – of an official fairness is lost" (Sebastian 1996, 318). When it comes to passing new restrictions for the Jews, it seems that the authorities' imagination is unstoppable: "I'm really bitter. Rumors, scenarios, interpretations. Everybody talks about new anti-Semitic legislation that may come any day now". (Sebastian 1996, 370). Mihail Sebastian writes

down some of the decrees regarding the Jews: confiscation of radio equipment (Sebastian 1996, 330); curfew after 9:00 PM (Sebastian 1996, 456); ban on hoisting the Romanian or German flags (Sebastian 1996, 353); telephone services disconnected (Sebastian 1996, 385); grocery shopping limited by a timetable (Sebastian 1996, 414); turning in all ski equipment (Sebastian 1996, 420); obligation to fire all personnel employed in a household (Sebastian 1996, 440; Dorian 1996, 240) or turning in all bikes (Sebastian 1996, 466). Actually, the Jews lose all their rights, except for the one to despair: "I counted all my rights taken away and I came to realize that I still have the right to sadness" (Dorian 1996, 174).

Another ordeal the Jews of Romania had to put up with during the war was the desecration of their holy places, graveyards included: "they show their hatred not only for the living Jews, whom they would like to see dead, but also for those who passed away, whom they refused to let rest in peace in their tombs" (Șafran 1996, 123). To add insult to injury, the Jews assassinated during the pogroms were denied individual burial. They were all thrown into mass graves, their families never having the chance to honor their dead properly.

Bare essentials were hard to come by in the war years. People simply had forgotten normalcy. Buying a simple item seemed an enlightening experience: "Wow! I haven't bought one in ages. I forgot how it feels to!" (Mircu 1981, 370-372). In 1944, a new tenant, former legionnaire, moved into Marius Mircu's building. He had no shame in "borrowing" things from Marius Mircu, like clothing or foodstuff. It was another form of tolerated abuse because nobody wanted to tangle with ugly people. Marius Mircu was no exception. But, when the rumors started flying that the Red Army was closing in, the newcomer turned into a sweet neighbor no one could recognize. Not only that he stopped "borrowing", but he rushed to return everything he had carted away before: "Everything he had taken so viciously from me before, now he was returning with unflinching grace. How can you dislike such a man?" (Mircu 1981, 450-458).

The psychological terror was part of every-day routine. It was hard to live with, but by sticking together, the Jews found different resources to gather strength and continue fight for survival. One of them was work: "Strange as it may seem, we took work [at College for Jewish Students] very seriously, although we had realized that we lived on borrowed time, only the time of execution was not yet set- or maybe not made

public” (Mircu 1994, 183). This insecurity was responsible for the anxiety they lived with every day, but it also generated a strong desire to overcome the hardships and see that the good old days would come back again: “We were under siege, hostages of a situation we were not sure to survive until next day, yet again our instinct, our drive to live like Jews again were pushing us to act with renewed intensity in religious and spiritual fields. We had to educate our young, to mold them as if we were certain that we would endure. It was solid proof of our trust in the everlasting life of the Jewish people”. The purges of Jewish teachers and students from all institutions of learning made the Jewish community come together and establish schools of their own in which “the emphasis was on the Jewish point of view concerning literature, philosophy. History, and even geography” (Şafran 1996, 73).

Some of the words and expressions that are very common in the writings of the Jewish intellectuals Mihail Sebastian and Emil Dorian in those days are: “mess, confusion, insecurity” (Sebastian 1996, 387); “a sense of falling”, “no salvation” (Sebastian, 1996, 391); “All roads are closed, the thought of death is an obsession” (Dorian, 1996, 174); “The same terrible atmosphere links one day to the next” (Dorian, 1996, 143).

Since the daily life turned into a permanent struggle even for the upper class, one can only imagine what it became for the lower one, especially for those with large families. But, despite the incredible hardships, we can find a flicker of hope now and then: “All in all, we, the Jews, are optimistic like children, absurd, sometimes irresponsible. (It may be the only thing that helps us survive.) In the middle of catastrophe, we still hope: «It will be all right» – we said jokingly – but we really meant that «it would be all right»” (Sebastian 1996, 338).

References

a. Books

- Ancel 1996** Jean, Ancel, in foreword Şafran, Alexandru, *Un tăciune smuls flăcărilor. Comunitatea evreiască din România 1939-1947. Memorii*, Bucureşti, Hasefer (1996).
- Dorian 1996** Dorian, Emil, *Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană*, Bucureşti, Hasefer (1996).
- Friling, Tuvia et** Friling, Tuvia *et al.*, *Raport final*, Iaşi, Polirom (2005).

Conclusions

Taking into consideration all the anti-Semitic legislation, all the restrictions, all the psychological and physical torture the Jews were subjected to during World War II we can say that their lives were not under their control, but somebody else's. Each hour they managed to stay alive gave them some hope. In their desperation they were grateful that they were allowed to live in Bucharest. Each and every heartbeat became a victory of life over death, against everything the authorities had in store for them, against the fear that they can die any moment. They were forced to give up their professions that they were so dedicated to, their properties, their bare necessities, their right to education, their right to buy food at will, and the list humiliations can go on and on and on. They were forced to accept menial jobs that were way beneath their qualifications and that were meant to keep them down and humiliate them. In spite all these, they were able to win in their personal war with cold and hunger. The fate of the Jews in Bucharest was a lot better than that of the Jews in Bessarabia, Bukovina or Moldova, where, to all the hardships described before, they faced assassinations, violence, vandalism, looting, robberies, and deportations. The entire context brought them to the brink of extinction, but they managed to pull through. For intellectuals, the salvation came from the devotion they had to their own professions, allowing them to concentrate on what they did best and bypass the everyday hassles. The community also played a crucial role, providing material as well as spiritual support to everyone in difficulty. Mihail Sebastian, Marius Mircu, Emil Dorian and Alexandru Şafran participated effectively, with ideas and actions to the betterment of their community. Pulling all their energy and efforts together they were able to overcome World War II and prove once again what Mihail Sebastian named “an amazing nation” (Sebastian 1996, 446).

al. 2005

- Giurescu 1997** Giurescu, Dinu, in afterword Arendt, Hannah, *Eichmann în Ierusalim. Un raport asupra banalităţii răului*, Bucureşti, All (1997).
- Ioanid 1997** Ioanid, Radu, *Evreii sub regimul Antonescu*, Bucureşti, Hasefer (1997).
- Johnson 2005** Johnson, Paul, *O istorie a lumii moderne. 1920-2000*, Bucureşti, Humanitas (2005).
- Mircu** Mircu, Marius, *Pogromul de la Iaşi*

1944 (29 iunie 1941), București, GLOB (1944).

Mircu 1945a Mircu, Marius, *Pogromurile din Bessarabia și Dorohoi*, București, GLOB (1945).

Mircu 1945b Mircu, Marius, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Dorohoi*, București, GLOB (1945).

Mircu 1981 Mircu, Marius, *M-am născut reporter!*, București, Cartea Românească (1981).

Mircu 1994 Mircu, Marius, *36 de stâlpi ai lumii*, Bat Yam, "Glob" (1994).

Șafran 1996 Șafran, Alexandru, *Un tăciune smuls flăcărilor. Comunitatea evreiască din România 1939-1947. Memorii*, București, Hasefer (1996).

Sebastian 1996 Sebastian, Mihail, *Jurnal 1935-1944*, București, Humanitas (1996).

Volovici Volovici, Leon, *Ideologia*

1995 naționalistă și "problema evreiască" în România anilor '30, București, Humanitas (1995).

b. Papers in periodical journals

Bună dimineța, Israel! 2004 Comisia Wiesel și-a anunțat concluziile: În România a avut loc Holocaust. In: *Bună dimineța, Israel!*, 347 (2004).

c. Internet sources

The History Place The History Place. Statistics of WWII, <http://www.historyplace.com/worldwar2/timeline/statistics.htm>, accessed on January 23, 2015.

Dimitrie Gusti's Perspective on the Beginning of World War II

Zoltán ROSTÁS

University of Bucharest

Doctoral School of Sociology

E-mail: zoltan.z.rostas@gmail.com

Abstract. This paper approaches the actions of Professor Dimitrie Gusti, the founder of the Bucharest School of Sociology, at the beginning of War World II. The importance of the topic lies in the fact that the year of 1939 would have brought Gusti's school the international recognition of its scientific value, if war had not broken out. For providing a wider context, the author draws up a concise history of the institutionalization process of Romanian sociology from the beginning of the 1920s onwards. Special emphasis is placed on the particularity of this sociology, lying in the development of an interdisciplinary and collective field research methodology, known as monographic sociology. The development of an original methodology of social work, put into practice by Gustian sociologists at the Royal Cultural Foundation, is also presented here. The paper describes thoroughly Professor Gusti's nonconventional manner of approaching this historical context, as well as his tenacity in securing the editing of the works produced by his Romanian and foreign collaborators during the war, thus preserving an active sociology.

Keywords: World War II, Bucharest School of Sociology, Dimitrie Gusti, 14th International Congress of Sociology, Social Service, Royal Cultural Foundation.

Introduction

Any relatively well-informed person knows that the last world war began on September 1st, 1939. One would also expect him to know that this armed conflict did not start out of the blue: there is a logic behind the events which lead to its outbreak and which governed its actual development. This logic, as we know it, is the result of subsequent historical reconstructions. Contemporary insights of the war, as is the case of other, more peaceful social intervals, may differ significantly from those developed by readers of history several decades apart. For the latter, the actions of those contemporary with the events may appear as "unnatural": some may have ignored the gravity of a moment, some may have overestimated it. Hence, a tendency to criticize the contemporaries of such events for their "lack of far-sightedness". While such an attitude is explainable from a generic subjective point of view, it nonetheless remains an intellectual fallacy.

In this context, the decision taken on August 17th, 1939 by Dimitrie Gusti ⁽¹⁾, the

leader of the Bucharest School of Sociology, regarding the postponement of the International Congress of Sociology ⁽²⁾, which was to start on September 29th, 1939, remains a "mystery". What were the professors' views on the international situation, which led to a decision some would find disappointing, but which nonetheless avoided the failure of an international meeting? An even more poignant question would be: why did he delay it, and not cancel it, as reasons for the latter option surely were not lacking? In this paper, I shall focus on the views of this sociology professor regarding the importance of his school's projects and the war.

The Development of Sociology and the International Context – 1939

In order to understand the perspective of a sociology school founder, one should begin by reviewing the situation of this institutionalized science in the fatidic year of 1939.

Sociology as a university discipline appeared in Romania at the beginning of the 20th century, only to attain public importance after

⁽¹⁾ Dimitrie Gusti (1880-1955) sociologist, philosopher, politician, professor at the University of Bucharest, member of the Romanian Academy (and its president between 1944-1946), minister of Public Instruction, Cults and Arts (1932-1933), General Director of the "Prince Carol" Royal Cultural Foundation, General Commissioner of the Romanian

pavilions at the Paris (1937) and New York (1939) World's Fairs, completely marginalized after 1948.

⁽²⁾ The International Institute of Sociology was founded in 1892 in Paris and by 1893 had started a series of international congresses, held every two years.

1918, at the University of Bucharest. Here, Professor Dimitrie Gusti established, in connection with his university chair, a sociological seminar organized as a *sui generis* workshop ⁽³⁾, as well as an extra-university structure – the Romanian Social Institute – with the aim of putting social sciences to work for the modernization of the Romanian society. The crystallization of the Bucharest School of Sociology commenced in 1925 with the first field researches in rural monographic sociology ⁽⁴⁾. The next five years saw the development of an original methodology on the foundations of Gusti's sociological system, the assembling of a scientific community around Gusti's leading figure, and the publication of several studies fuelled by this environment. Due to this direct initiative and to its interdisciplinary methodology, the monographic team and its work gained national and international visibility. At a time when the most popular intellectual trends in Romania promoted autochthonism, Gusti's school of sociology, through its experiences in rural research, attempted to promote a sociological conception both generalizable and applicable beyond Romanian borders. Foreign researchers were admitted in the rural field researches of the school, while young Romanian sociologists improved their specializations in Western universities. After a brief ministerial intermezzo ⁽⁵⁾, Dimitrie Gusti was appointed the general director of the "Prince Carol" Royal Cultural Foundation, a position which fuelled the development of social intervention within the school of sociological monographs. Based on an original methodology of social work, student teams focused their efforts on the actual advancement of some villages, with the villagers' cooperation and under the guidance of Gustian sociologists.

⁽³⁾ This seminar attracted the élite of Bucharest students, which subsequently formed a small association attached to professor Gusti.

⁽⁴⁾ Based on Gusti's sociological system, these rural campaigns articulated monographic sociology, which aimed at gaining a holistic understanding of social reality through multidisciplinary research. In the 1930s, monographic sociology developed an original social work methodology. Gusti's school of sociology worked as an informal collective based on strong collaborative relationships, while maintaining steady connections with a vast local and international network of intellectuals with various professional backgrounds.

⁽⁵⁾ Dimitrie Gusti was a member of the National Peasants' Party's cabinet, between June 1932 and November 1933.

Since professor Gusti had by then become a specialist in public relations, he was given the task of organizing the Romanian pavilion at the Paris World's Fair in 1937 ⁽⁶⁾. In his position of general commissioner, Gusti put to good use his field research experience, designing the pavilion so as to promote the results of his school of sociology. The natural outcome of this blend of original research and modern promotion strategies was the long sought-after decision taken at the 13th International Congress of Sociology, held during the 1937 World's Fair: Bucharest was to accommodate the upcoming 14th congress in 1939, under Gusti's presidency. It happened to be the first time that a congress of sociology of this level was scheduled to take place in an East-European capital. The following months amounted to a race against the clock to finish the Romanian presentations ⁽⁷⁾ and to organize a congress that would surpass the expectations of the international élite of sociology. The years 1938 and 1939 proved very busy for Gusti and his collaborators. Under Gusti's direction, but supervised directly by Mircea Vulcănescu, the editing of the *Encyclopedia of Romania* ⁽⁸⁾ was initiated, mobilizing several hundred leading intellectuals of the day. The success of the Romanian pavilion in Paris brought Gusti the responsibility of organizing the one for the New York World's Fair, scheduled for opening in May 1939. This year also saw the application of the Social Service Law, designed by Gusti. This, in turn, led to an unprecedented effort to organize new institutions which were to coordinate the rural work of thousands of young university graduates ⁽⁹⁾. As much as Gusti would have emphasized the social character of these three objectives, their partisan political significance was obvious. The Social Service Law stipulated the enrolment

⁽⁶⁾ Romania took part in these worlds' fairs since 1867. Alexandru Odobescu was the general commissioner of the first Romanian pavilion.

⁽⁷⁾ Besides the monographists' individual studies, finalizing several complete monographs of villages was in order. Traian Herseni was to supervise the monograph of Draguș, and Henri H. Stahl the monograph of Nerej. Only the latter would bring to completion his monograph, published in French, in three volumes.

⁽⁸⁾ Four volumes of this thematic encyclopaedia were eventually completed; two other volumes, focused on culture, were left unfinished due to the outbreak of World War II.

⁽⁹⁾ While based on the Romanian experience, and thus essentially original, the idea of the Social Service sprung up in other contexts, as well.

of young intellectuals for constructive ideals, gravitating around the advancement of the Romanian rural world, and sensibly opposed to those of the Legionnaire movement. The participation of Romania at the New York World's Fair, with all the efforts invested in promoting the country's economic potential, conveyed a clear counter-revisionist and anti-war message. In the same vein, the International Congress of Sociology was designed to boost scientific collaboration within the researchers' communities, and not conflict.

Tensions Foreshadowing the War

After the success gained in the United States ⁽¹⁰⁾, Gusti returned to Romania on July 1st, 1939, and was received in audience by king Carol II, resumed taking part in the sessions of the Romanian Academy, took direct control of the Social Service and immersed himself in organizing the International Congress of Sociology – without losing sight of the New York pavilion, which was to remain open until 1940, directed by him through telegrams. In his robust optimism, it would seem that Gusti did not foresee any incoming danger interfering with his two main projects.

Gusti's perspective on the national and international context did not apparently make him wary. At the moment of his return in the country, he would have been content to see that the institutional structuring of the Social Service had been given its finishing touches, hundreds of individuals had been hired or transferred, and several training schools for the future commanders of the Royal teams had been opened. The placing of the teams in the envisaged rural areas had been already planned, and the methodological handbooks of the future team members had been printed as well. In the first week of August, thousands of students were gathering in these training schools, before leaving for the allotted villages. Since the students' duty to bring their contribution to the advancement of villages was not confined to a professional experience, but also had a strong political dimension, local authorities and high officials of the state took part at the solemn openings of these training courses. Gusti himself spoke at the opening of the Pitești Royal Teams' school, reminding the public in accordance with

the trends of the day that, in 1921, prince Carol, then heir apparent to the throne, established

“the first cultural Foundation meant to work for the advancement of villages, which one understands as the primary source of power and renewal of Romania. Thus, the idea of the Social Service sprouted among us, conceived by a princely mind. It had, from its first pronouncement, an aspect entirely of its own. The Romanian Social Service requires a mobilization of all the available goodwill for the improvement of the most significant section of our population, the peasantry. Since 1921, when the Foundation was born, since October 18th, 1938, when the Social Service Law was promulgated, years of hardship and learning have passed” (*Curentul*, August 9, 1939, 1).

In another location, Prof. Petre Andrei ⁽¹¹⁾, Minister of National Education and a former disciple of Gusti, held a similar speech. Comparing the schooling of his antebellum generation with that of the new one, Andrei spoke about the social vocation of the youth:

“The youth of the past was static and remained a debtor of society. The one of today is alive, dynamic and heads cheerfully to pay its tribute in work and sacrifice to the nation, something we all owe for our common good. The idea which prevails in the new humanism of the young generation is that of an individual force subsidiary to the general interest of the collectivity. Let us then go and repay with youthful generosity what we should indeed repay to the villages and to the many and poor” (*Curentul*, August 9, 1939, 1).

In the region of Banat, the Minister of Agriculture and Domains, Prof. Nicolae Cornățeanu ⁽¹²⁾, who took part in the monographic campaigns led by Gusti, began his speech with a confession:

⁽¹¹⁾ Petre Andrei (1891-1940), professor of sociology at the University of Iași; as a notable member of the National Peasants' Party, he was elected several times as a member of the Parliament, he held the positions of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains, and in the Ministry of Instruction, Cults and Arts. After the downfall of the royal dictatorship, he committed suicide to escape the harassments of the legionnaires.

⁽¹²⁾ Nicolae Cornățeanu (1899-1977), professor of agrarian economics at the Superior School of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine in Bucharest.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The pavilion organized by Gusti attracted large numbers of visitors, as well as press coverage; the professor was received by president Franklin D. Roosevelt and visited several American universities.

"I especially cherish your activity as a former team member myself. I recall with emotion the month of field practice conducted under the animator that is Prof. Gusti. First I went to Fundul-Moldovei (Bukovina). Another summer, to Drăguș (Făgăraș), then to Runcu (Gorj) and Cornove (Bessarabia). I did not pass my real schooling in Bucharest, in the West, in Vienna and Zürich, or in America. I did my real schooling in these villages, where I could see how low stands the standard of living of the Romanian peasant, what a wonderful personality and how much working strength he has, and how many social and agrarian problems must be dealt with, in order to succeed in the advancement of the village and the household. There were only few back then. Many around us were sceptical. The path started then is today a wide and smooth one. Without the opening of new life horizons for the Romanian peasant, without his integration in strong economic organizations able to increase rentability, one cannot succeed. I do not think that we shall have a war. But we already have a permanent war, the economic war. In this war, the unequipped and disorganized peasant from Bărăgan fights the American farmer on the great markets of the world. This is the battle that we have to win. This is why your activity, as representatives of every specialization – an activity which will be conducted among villagers and only for villagers – must satisfy all those who wish for the welfare of this country" (*Curentul*, August 10, 1939, 1).

It may be noted that the preparations for the activation of the students' teams of the Social Service was not only Gusti's concern, it was also politically backed up by Armand Călinescu's government ⁽¹³⁾ and some of the most iconic figures of the regime. There was substantial confidence in the eventual success of this organization effort.

In what circumstances were the preparations for the Bucharest International

Congress of Sociology carried out? Since preparations had been undergoing for two years, by the summer of 1939 all the details of the congress were well established, down to the hotel room reservations for foreign participants, the special train passes for the research trips and, of course, the arranging of the exhibition halls. Intense work was invested in printing the presentations sent in advance by the authors (for the first time in the history of sociology congresses). At the beginning of August, four volumes of conference proceedings, containing the presentations of some of the foreign participants, had been already published under the title *Les travaux du quatorzième Congrès International de Sociologie*; other four volumes were in print. Henri H. Stahl's monumental three-volume work, which would have proved the validity of Gusti's monographic method, was also in print. These advanced preparations were reported in great detail by the press. *Curentul* heralded on August 13th:

"According to the information we have, this congress will have a significant ampleness, thanks to the great number of announced participations and to the importance of the upcoming presentations, already announced by the organizing bureau. This will undoubtedly be one of the biggest congresses ever held in Bucharest".

After a review of the scheduled panels of the congress, the author of the article points out an aspect which may have been less important for researchers involved in scientific debates, but remains nonetheless essential for the cultural atmosphere of the capital:

"This is a unique chance for the Romanian intellectual to follow the sessions of a congress so complex, varied and attractive in its topics. It is to this Romanian intellectual, outside the group of specialists in social research, that we address ourselves, enumerating the more important papers. If we make a stop at the chapter on "village and city", we shall see that the problem of structure and relation between these two social units – a problem so typical and urgent for our country, from a scientific point of view, as well as in other respects – is enriched with data and reports from other countries. Researchers, some of them famous, from Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechia, France, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, the Netherlands, the United

⁽¹³⁾ Armand Călinescu (1893-1939), jurist, notable member of the National Peasants' Party, member of Parliament, member of several cabinets. He was assassinated by the legionnaires on September 21st, 1939.

States, Turkey, Hungary deal with this much-debated problem. We see among the discussions, just picking up randomly some paper topics: cities and social evolution (Prof. Jacquemyns), on rural life in Africa (Prof. G. Smets), the social importance of the village and the town throughout history (Mr. Agansky), the origin of cities in Western and Central Europe, as well as in the East-Slavic world (Mr. Kinkel), researches on the mentality of the small town (Dr. Blaha), the urbanization of the outskirts of the city of Prague (Prof. Ullrich), the definition of the French village (Prof. Roger), the morphologic structure of great cities (Mr. Maurice Halbwachs), the big suburb, neither village, nor city (Mr. Kovalevsky), the urban agglomeration and the city (Prof. Gaston Richard), the big industrial city and the workers (Dr. Brepohl), the industrial village in the central mountains of Germany (Dr. Hildebrandt), the capitalist economy in the village (Pleyer), the emigration of peasantry to towns and urbanization (Seiler), the balance between countryside and cities in Mussolini's work (Prof. Dé Luca), the economic structure of the Yugoslavian village (B. Cosici), the agricultural workers (Mirkovici), the forms of collective property (Nedelkovici), the psychology of rural youth (S. Popovici), the mutual city-village influences in the United States (Prof. Taylor), the pressure of industrialism on rural communication (Mr. Zimmermann) *etc.*" (*Curentul*, August 13, 1939, 1).

The emphasis placed on the importance of the congress as a cultural event which could disseminate new knowledge among the intelligentsia shows well the high expectations regarding this congress.

The Beginning of the End?

Despite all this, only four days later, on August 17th, 1939, Dimitrie Gusti announces the postponement of the 14th International Congress of Sociology, motivated by the aggravation of the international situation (it would seem that Gusti's views differed significantly from those of minister Cornăţeanu). The postponement was

decided with René Maunier (¹⁴), the president of the International Institute of Sociology, the new term having been fixed to the Easter days of the following year. The decision was also determined by

"the demands of a significant number of attendees who are prevented to take part in the debates of the Congress due to the current international situation, as well as by the desire to see all the 207 notable sociologists coming from 22 participating countries convened in Bucharest" (*Curentul*, August 20, 1939, 1).

What was in fact happening in those days of August? Nazi Germany accomplished the destruction of Czechoslovakia, something which could not loosen the European political atmosphere. The Munich Agreement had been breached by Hitler himself. The treaties of cooperation between the United Kingdom and France, on one hand, and the USSR, on the other hand, had been stalling for a long time. Meanwhile, Hitler was issuing increasingly aggressive threats against Poland, emphasized by the troops amassed at the Eastern border of the Reich.

Certainly, as with any other shocking decision, there were voices which contested Gusti's decision, looking for ulterior, unspoken reasons behind it. But these doubts disappeared after August 23rd, when the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact was signed in Moscow, thus overturning the entire international political situation. In response to this, the United Kingdom and Poland signed two days later an agreement of mutual assistance. At once, the war became imminent, because Nazi Germany had secured, by means of the USSR's neutrality, the continuation of its aggressive policies. The attack on Poland conducted by the German Army without any declaration of war on September 1st, 1939, was a surprise only for the uninformed. As an imminent consequence, on September 3rd, England and France declared war on Germany.

Let us stop here. In these very days, numerous German, French and Polish participants would have met at the Bucharest congress. Arguably, it does not pertain to a historical study to presume what would have happened there during the two weeks of the congress, were it not postponed. But such an exercise is nonetheless tempting. It is probable

(¹⁴) René Maunier (1887-1951), professor at Sorbonne, specialist in colonial sociology.

that a lot of speakers could not have arrived in Bucharest on August 29th, as scheduled, the congress would have begun in a tense atmosphere, the ensuing sessions would have been taken over by debates on the perspectives of peace and not on sociology, just to be finally suspended on September 1st. Verbal confrontations, to say the least, would have very likely broken out, and Gusti would have had little chance to settle them. In any case, one can presume that the Bucharest meeting would not have developed any kind of collaborations between sociologists from various countries, but on the contrary, it would have embittered them. Thus, it would have only replicated the situation during World War I, when leading sociologists of the day adhered to the bellicose discourses of their respective homelands – consequently, ten years would have to pass until the International Institute of Sociology was able to bring them together in an international congress, in 1928.

Expectedly, the German-Polish war had immediate effects on other states in the region. Tensions did not avoid Romania, and here too, the mobilization of reservists started in earnest. Up to this point, the Social Service had been carrying on its activities on schedule, despite the fact that the State Security had suspicions that the organization had been infiltrated by the legionnaires. No wonder that Gusti eventually had to issue an order with devastating consequences for his plans:

“In response to the mobilization orders of the General Staff, the Royal teams made up of boys cease their activity on September 5th, 1939. The graduates who have received in the past mobilization orders, as well as those pertained by the latest communiqués of the General Staff, are to present themselves at their respective units, with proofs provided by the team or the camp where they have been working. The group commanders will pack the entire inventory and will send it or bring it personally at the Foundation. They will receive a certificate issued by the Foundation so as to justify their delay in reaching their units. Ceasing an activity started with so much love and devotion, the Foundation, with its teams and commanders, responds with impetus and attachment to the supreme call of H.M. the King, to pursue our superior duty as soldiers” (*Universul*, September 9, 1939, 1).

The wording of this order makes it clear that the first campaign of the royal teams was compromised by the mobilization of the Romanian army. In order to clarify the conjunctural character of this recalling of the teams from the countryside, Gusti, assisted by Prof. C. Rădulescu-Motru, took part at a meeting held on September 13th at the Village Museum with all the commanders of the boys’ and girls’ teams. On this occasion, he thanked them for their past work and emphasized the importance of the Social Service for the future. Moreover, the professor suggested the establishment of an Association of the Royal Team Members, so as to maintain the cohesion of his young collaborators. Another opportunity to reaffirm the legitimacy of the Social Service was offered by a meeting with the metropolitan bishop Nicodim, when Gusti made a presentation of the institution. As the activity of the Social Service was only partially limited, its monographic research was carried on ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Unfortunately, the successes of the German army in Poland and the international tensions aggravated the local state of affairs. The legionnaire movement, encouraged by recent developments, had assassinated prime-minister Armand Călinescu on August 21st. The reprisals, carried out in a state of emergency which included summary executions of hundreds of arrested legionnaires, as well as the flight of those who escaped arrest, could not restore calm in the country. The Social Service was not avoided by these measures, and several members of its personnel were arrested. Since there were real suspicions regarding the legionnaire infiltrations in the Social Service, pressed by his entourage and, above all, by Prime Minister Constantin Argetoianu, King Carol II regretfully suspended the application of the Social Service Law on October 13th, 1939 (Carol II, 1997, p. 245).

In the Shadows

This course of events, which led to the gradual amputation of this institutional structure, may appear as a defeat for Professor Dimitrie Gusti. After all, everything he had set up since the foundation of the Association for Science and Social Reform in April 1918, which had only prestigious members and ambitious plans, had collapsed under the pressure of international and

⁽¹⁵⁾ Supervised by Anton Golopenția and Mihai Pop, a group of fresh graduates conducted an unpublished research focused not a village, but on a district (Dâmbovnic).

local events. But the perspective of a sociologist who had theoretical interests on war ⁽¹⁶⁾ and, moreover, the direct experience of World War I, differed fundamentally from that of his contemporaries. Gusti did not disappear (an intellectual fashion in the interwar period), did not give up (an older custom), but looked feverishly for alternatives to carry on his work, adapting – within certain limits – to the given situation. This is why he was more successful in accomplishing his goals than many of his contemporaries.

Current literature on the history of sociology, scanty as it is when it comes to this topic, does not insist on the consequences of the decision taken on August 17th, 1939 – all the more so, since the congress was eventually postponed *sine die* in 1940. Gusti and his team carried on the writing and editing of the studies prepared for the congress, since the Romanian Institute of Social Research kept functioning, with all its attributions, as a part of the Social Service. While it is true that its work was slowed down by the concentrations, publications appeared until the spring of 1940 ⁽¹⁷⁾. Moreover, the reporting of the postponement in Romanian press did not suggest in any way the cancelling of the event:

“This entire program remains unchanged for the new date of the congress, as well as the other Romanian scientific events organized on this occasion, which are: the Sociological exhibition, the Exhibition of the Sociological Book, as well as the Romanian contribution to the matter of the International Bibliography of Sociology. From this point of view, the Bucharest congress is unlike any other, as it touches the essential questions of Sociology, a fact that explains the substantial number of registered attendees, unreached up to this day by any other congress” (*Curentul*, August 20, 1939).

Therefore, the postponement of the congress was understood merely as an opportunity to

further improve the performance of his team, on one hand, while assuming that the war would be short and soon followed by an improvement of the international state of affairs, which would allow the congress to take place.

The royal decision to suspend the Social Service, presented to the press as the will of its own leaders, was often equated with the actual destruction of the Bucharest school of sociology. The appearances speak in favour of this reading: research was halted, the journals of the Foundation, including the sociological ones, were cancelled, the budget of the Royal Cultural Foundation was cut down. Thus, Gusti's collaborators scattered away, many getting employed in the Central Institute of Statistics. In such circumstances, Gusti himself stepped down from his office at the Foundation, having been its president for six years.

Sad as this may have been, Gusti at least tried to keep the initial organization above the water-line. He managed to rebrand the Romanian Institute of Social Research as the Romanian Institute of Social Sciences, thus securing the continuity of his informal network of collaborators and, under this guise, to carry on their work. The chair of sociology at the University functioned normally, excepting the interlude of the legionnaire regime in the autumn of 1940, when the University was closed down, and its professors threatened with expurgation.

Instead of Conclusion: an Argument for Continuity

Dimitrie Gusti's perspective on the international situation of 1939 resembles that of April 1918, when the fate of the war seemed far from favourable to Romania, then negotiating a humiliating peace treaty with the Central Powers. It was then that Gusti set up the Association for Science and Social Reform, outlining a program for the modernization of social life founded on the actual knowledge of reality, with appropriate methods of implementing change. This program, drawn up as it was in disastrous circumstances, did not need any subsequent change after the victory of the Entente, because it addressed Romania's fundamental problems, and not its conjunctural ones. This is the reason why, in the new context of Greater Romania, this program was successfully adopted by the Romanian Social Institute.

Twenty years later, Gusti persevered in consolidating two of his essential projects: the Bucharest International Congress of Sociology,

⁽¹⁶⁾ Gusti had edited a volume entitled *Sociologia războiului* [*The Sociology of War*] in Iași, in 1915.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Concerned here are two further volumes of the conference proceedings with studies by foreign sociologists, another two with Romanian authors, five fascicle of the Traian Herseni's unfinished monograph of Drăguș and the exemplary monograph supervised by Henri H. Stahl, *Nerej, un village d'une région archaïque*.

which was to validate Romanian sociology on the international stage, and the mass application of social intervention in the countryside, through the Social Service. This was happening while Czechoslovakia was being destroyed, Poland severely threatened and then attacked, and Romania's integrity lacked efficient guarantees, as well – speaking only of the situation in Eastern Europe. For Gusti, the threat of war, even the war itself, were not reasons to abandon ongoing projects, new designs or the publication of his results.

For him, the “long term” was not only an important historiographic concept, but also an interiorised way of planning his work. Gusti surprises us not only with his tenacity to carry on his plans in the eve of the war, but in the following years, as well. During the war, he did

not miss any opportunity to print the texts prepared for the congress and to defend, in press and at the Romanian Academy, the future validity of the Social Service. Moreover, as the president of the Academy after August 23rd, 1944, he initiated the battle to persuade the authorities to support the establishment of the National Council for Scientific Research, without ignoring the two goals left unfinished by the outbreak of the war.

Thus, it would seem that the ancient adage *inter arma silent Musae* may have been true for poets, but not for the sociologist Dimitrie Gusti.

References

- Butoi**
2015 Butoi, Ionuț, *Mircea Vulcănescu, o microistorie a interbelicului românesc*, București, Eikon (2015).
- Carol II**
1997 Carol al II-lea, *Însemnări zilnice*, vol. II, București, Scripta (1997).
- Diaconu, Rostás**
2014 Diaconu, M., Rostás, Z. (eds), *Al XIV-lea Congres Internațional de Sociologie din 1939. Documentar*, București, Ed. Universității din București (2014).
- Gusti**
1946 Gusti, Dimitrie, *Sociologia Militans, Cunoaștere și acțiune în serviciul națiunii*, București, Fundația Regele Mihai I (1946).
- Herseni**
1940 Herseni, Traian, *Sociologia Românească – Încercare istorică*, București, Institutul de Științe Sociale ale României (1940).
- Heinen**
1999 Heinen, Armin, *Legiunea “Arhanghelului Mihail”. O contribuție la problema fascismului internațional*, București, Humanitas (1999).
- Rostás**
2000 Rostás, Zoltán, *Monografia ca utopie. Interviuuri cu Henri H. Stahl*, București, Paideia (2000).
- Rostás**
2005 Rostás, Zoltán, *Atelierul gustian. O abordare organizațională*, București, Tritonic (2005).
- Stahl 1981** Stahl, Henri H., *Amintiri și gânduri din vechea școală a “monografiilor sociologice”*, București, Minerva (1981).

“The Most Troubled Times Ever”. Everyday Life in the 1940s Romania

Ionuț BUTOI

University of Bucharest

Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication

E-mail: ionutbutoi@yahoo.com

Abstract. This article presents some fragments of everyday life in Romania in the 1940s just as they were caught in the light of the journal of Mărgărita Ioana Vulcănescu, wife of Mircea Vulcănescu, and the “mood” of the population through the police department reports. I will also note the relationship that Mircea Vulcănescu continued to have during the World War II with the Gusti School, as well as the way in which these have survived the impact of the historic events. The research shows the way in which the traumatic changes in Romania in the 1940s are perceived and rationalized by the members of Bucharest’s elite, in parallel with the way in which the police defined and identified the “internal enemy” of the state on the brink of war and at the beginning of it.

Keywords: the Second World War, the Gusti School, Mircea Vulcănescu, everyday life.

In this article I will present slices of daily life during the period leading up to the world war and the beginning of it, as they were experienced, perceived and retold in Romanian society. This period was a particularly traumatizing one due to the events, changes and bewildering situation reversals which happened in a relatively short period of time. In less than a year, Greater Romania experienced the handover of Bessarabia and Bucovina towards the USSR, Northern Transylvania to Hungary, the resignation of King Carol II, followed by a reorientation of external politics towards the Axis forces, the establishment of the “National Legionary State” through the collaboration of Ion Antonescu and Horia Sima, the chief of the Legionnaire Movement, as well as a civil war that led to the removal of the legionnaires from power and the establishment of the Antonescu autocratic regime.

Among the sources we have used there is the journal of Vulcănescu’s wife, Mărgărita Ioana, different manuscripts from the private Archive of the same family, as well as the “population mood” reports made by the police departments between 1938 and 1940. We therefore have in front of us both the experiences and the rationalization of the astounding events rendered by social actors from a relatively upper class of Bucharest, but also the processing of different social conversations made by the specially trained “eyes” of the police in order to distinguish the position of different social classes and ethnical

groups in relation to the internal and international developments.

The Vulcănescu family is connected to the large historical disturbances in a direct way, as the positions held by Mircea Vulcănescu in the administration (director of the Public Debt, then state undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance). In June 1940, when the German army was assaulting Paris, Vulcănescu was in London where he was negotiating a loan for the Romanian state and the conditions of relaunched commercial relationships, as part of a last attempt to strengthen the relationships with western allies. Right after his return in the country, in August 1940, he was participating at negotiations related to cede the Quadrilateral, then, in December, at the negotiations surrounding the ceding of Transylvania. Two of his professors which he claimed they were his mentors, die in the same year: Nae Ionescu (March 1940) and Virgil Madgearu (November 1940), the last in tragic conditions, assassinated in the Jilava prison.

The year 1939 does not start in Mărgărita Ioana’s journal with anything special. Days pass with the usual routine, from the Matei Basarab High School where she was a teacher, home and from there, in the very frequent visits and occasions to socialize that were specific to the Bucharest social class of the time. The notes, in French, are short, expeditious and although the conversation partners are often important people, ministers, ambassadors, friends who were members of the Gusti School, the content

of the discussions is not reflected, although it is impossible for the daily events not to be noted down during the conversation. The tone changes with the first reflections of the big historical disturbances in daily life. Therefore, in March 1939, she notices that at the school “many professors were concentrated; there is an atmosphere of leaving, of stupor, but also of bravery and determination”. At the same time, at the English Institute, the young Jewish girls “are very alarmed” (Vulcănescu 2013, 339). For the first time, in a more accentuated way, the other is perceived in its ethnic identity and in the increasingly precarious condition caused by the hardships of the time. For Jews, these are times of persecution, and Mărgărita Ioana is sensitive to this aspect. In June 1940, when the situation had worsened at an accelerated rate, she notes that

“At us, the Germans have started to impose themselves, and behold that a huge injustice is being done to the Jews. Without being a Philo-Semite, this injustice is disgusting and revolting to everything that has an arbiter, illogical and absurd. All of their rights are being lifted, although there are amongst them so many which are “well deserved in the homeland” (idem, 481).

It is also noteworthy the perception that the wave of anti-Semitic laws is a direct consequence of the German influence in the country. Furthermore, after a few months, after a visit to an acquaintance, she resumes, maybe a bit more attenuated, but with the same spirit of empathy and contradiction towards the dominant atmosphere:

“I have gone to drink tea with Olga Seligmann. It is not opportune to go to Jews, but I broke up with opportunity and am friendlier than ever with Jews, because I know they are persecuted and scared. Of course, a lot of them have done much evil, but how can one pick good from evil? Finally, fate is now against them, we can try to soothe them a little” (idem, 547).

The imminence of the war is perceived as a horror, bad news being recorded at a crescendo appropriate to the surrender of west European countries attacked by Germany: “this morning, as usual, I read the newspapers: the Netherlands have surrendered! On my god! Oh my God!” (idem, 461). The specter of the German force’s victory is felt as a global calamity in different circles with which the Vulcănescu family has relationships: “we leave together, out little

group, talking about the sad future of humanity if the Germans will win the war” (idem, 464). After only a few days, the offensive was heading towards France, and news was being expected with held breath. The state of revolt is emphasized also by the sympathy that Mărgărita has towards France, doubled by an anti-German stance. After the resignation of King Carol II and the establishment of the “legionary state” regime, in September 1940, Mărgărita writes in her journal:

“We’ve wondered if Antonescu is a legionary or if he is only allowing the legionaries to state their opinion, holding them as much as possible on a leash, if he will be able to rule, if we will be throwing ourselves blindly in German arms. I don’t understand the crazy love for the Germans in the name of patriotism and for the good of the country. I have often heard legionaries saying that it’s better to be under German rule than the current disarray. God spare us! Better our own disarray than foreign order” (idem, 534).

Other times, the negative feelings towards the Germans were manifested emotionally: “German cars are aligned in front of the school. I loathe them, I hate them and I turn around so that I won’t see them, obviously” (idem, 569). Mărgărita also has strong anti-legionnaire feelings and attitude. Their public manifestation is seen with concern. On October 6, 1940, the day of a large legionary parade, which she watches as a show, from the balcony of her husband’s office for Public Debt, after she describes the passing of thousands and thousands of Romanians dressed either in the green uniform, either in the national costume, she adds: “once in a while, a swastika appears on the flag. You can then see, with horror, that behind all of these things is the terrible figure of Hitler” (idem, 525). She often enters contradictory discussions with those close to her, or even friends, especially in moments in which they acted triumphant, after King Carol II ran away and the establishment of the legionary moment: “at my mother-in-law, some ladies are drinking their tea. Amongst them, Nella Ciocâltău, legionary. I profit from criticizing them, but regret, a little that I have given up on the pleasure of annoying them” (idem, 570); she argues with Emil Cioran, who had recently returned from occupied Paris, because he is a legionary (idem, 590). Another close family friend, Herbert Silber, Jew, obviously has a different mood: “this night, Silber’s visit,

scared. Dines with us and leaves at 11 and a half. Mircea walks him home” (idem, 587).

We encounter the same mechanism, now in a mirror, when it comes to the perception of the difference, similarly to the one above, when it comes to the Jews. Namely, if before September 1940 the names of those who frequented Vulcănescu’s house or those with which she is in frequent social contacts are simply mentioned, during and after the events where they are in the foreground, Mărgărita starts to identify the legionaries after their ideological affinities. The social environment of the Vulcănescu family is a broad one from every point of view, both ideologically and ethnically, but these differences become manifested only in certain circumstances. Therefore, “Jew” and “legionary” are not statically perceived identities, but are “seen” as such depending on the context that emphasizes them, either in the depiction of victims, or of “winners”.

The contact with the administration, brought about by different bureaucratic necessities, stirs a revolt towards the mechanism perceived as abusive, chaotic and impersonal, despite her husband’s position: “the human seems to not matter any longer, nor does the job he does. A jumble, a chaos, a terrible indiscretion, an intimidation by any order that comes from above”. In the middle there is a continuity that manifests at a daily level regardless of the changes registered at a political level: “this is how people have usually proceeded, as they lose their head when it comes to the first decision that has come from those above. No judgement, no criticism, no common sense” (idem, 552-553).

The territories lost by Romania during this period from which these moods are captured provoke long meditations linked to auto-critical attitudes. When Bessarabia is lost, Mărgărita wonders: “haven’t we actually not earned Greater Romania?” (idem, 482). The feeling of frustration is strongly felt especially considering that Mircea Vulcănescu participates both at the negotiations to hand over Transylvania, but also those related to the Quadrilateral. The turmoil, for him, is provoked not only by a huge change to the borders, but also to the painful failure of an ideal from youth, as it becomes apparent from this conversation shown in the journal:

“When he came last week, Mircea told me what bitter days he experienced when he knew we were giving away a part of Transylvania. *I don’t know what others would have done, but I know I didn’t deserve this – that I’ve worked*

honestly my entire life, day and night, to be of use to my country – and I believe that’s how many others have done... And I told him *but now we will have a new purpose to fight for*, he replied – *but don’t we had a purpose? Our purpose was a type of person that had to be achieved, the Romanian type, a human ideal*”⁽¹⁾ (idem, 537).

Around the same negotiations, Mărgărita Ioana writes down in the journal: “Good Lord, we are living in the most troubled times that have ever been. You try to turn in some direction and find a straight path, only to see that there is none” (idem, 529). Also, in sharp contrast to the atmosphere from Mărgărita Ioana’s journal, the atmosphere presented by some of the legionary friends in the moments when, after King Carol II’s resignation, it looked as if a long sought after green “victory” had come. Moreover, Mircea Vulcănescu refuses offers from the liberal official Mircea Cancicov to work as a state undersecretary at the Ministry of Economy in the national legionary state (Vulcănescu 2005, 531). Vulcănescu saw the Legionary Movement as one under the influence of Nazi Germany, that would have tried to use it as a “pivot” in internal Romanian politics (idem, 525, 526). Moreover, although the legionaries “insisted a lot around me that I should come with them under any conditions, I did not accept, as I do not like terrorism on one hand, and on the other, did not want to alienate my personal judgement under any circumstances” (idem, 531). In addition to all of these motives, Vulcănescu told Cancicov that the legionaries had “their own program”, therefore conflicts of authority would have been inevitable between a high-ranking official and a minister controlled by them. Moreover, he also considers that the splitting between the legionaries and Antonescu originated exactly in Cancicov’s politics to eliminate the commissions of Romanization through which the Movement had sought to “take control of economic life in their own hands” (Ibid.). During the time of the national legionary state, anti-Semite politics were being

⁽¹⁾ This is not the place for a study of Vulcănescu’s pursuits regarding “the Romanian type” and the Romanian metaphysics. I will do it in an independent study. I will only mention that this “type of Romanian” is a subject of reflection for Vulcănescu in the spirit of cultural typologies, not one of dogmatic definitions or pragmatic ones, as he himself mentions in *The Romanian Dimension of Existence* (Vulcănescu 2005, 1014).

brutally applied. Vulcănescu's attitude regarding this is captured by one of the Jewish peoples' leaders of the time. Making a list of the people from the Romanian administration where Jews found an open door where they could "state their views", Alexandru Șafran recalls, together with Mircea Canciov, Professor Gheorghe Leon (Minister of Economy in the Legionary government) and Vulcănescu, "an active engineer in financial problems" (Șafran 1996, 60).

Following the legionary rebellion, Vulcănescu is once again contacted to become state undersecretary, this time at the Ministry of Finance. Initially, Vulcănescu refuses the position again in a telephone conversation that he seems to have had with General Antonescu himself, telling him that if he is not forced by an order, he would prefer to stay at Public Debt ⁽²⁾ (Vulcănescu 2013, 609). He also recalls the same arguments in a letter this time addressed to Mihai Antonescu (Butoi 2014). Such an ad-hoc console is convened in the family, the two girls – Mariuca and Sandra – also being asked for their opinion. The scene indicates a mixed public mood, in which the attraction of a sizeable promotion in the social life is doubled by the restlessness caused by the implied risks of such an important decision position. Vulcănescu's older daughter, only 10 years old, at first asks him to refuse as "important people are in grave danger now" (Vulcănescu 2013, 610). The mood apparent in Mărgărita Ioana's journal and in some of Vulcănescu's letters varies from desperation and perplexity to the urgent feeling of having to "save the country". "At least from now on, we save what can still be saved", notes Mărgărita Ioana (idem, 558). In the same context as the one described above, in which territory losses alternated with traumatic changes of the political regime, all in the background of the war, getting involved in the government was felt as a duty, a mission for the collective good was being put above personal

⁽²⁾ In a letter from 1943 towards his superior from then, Alexandru Neagu, the moment is evoked like this: "I entered, as you know, in a military government the second day after the rebellion, called to a phone call from Marshall Antonescu – whom I had never seen in my life – at 4 o'clock in the morning and after a bad dream, in a time where everyone was struggling and when the country was at the brink of disaster, I was listening to what seemed to be more of a military call up than a promotion decree in public life. I was then told that the salvation of the country requires the suspension of any political activity" (Butoi 2013, 133).

and family safety. The political violence in which Romania had sunk was perceived as a vicious cycle which poisoned the public atmosphere:

"The wheel of luck is spinning in a hurry worthy of the era in which we are living. Those who were yesterday in prison are now great, but prisons don't remain empty, instead they are filled with those who were in power yesterday. Much time and energy is lost to revenge. Revenge had never been useful, nor fruitful – its result is evil. And more importantly, it is not Christian" (idem, 532).

These feelings were consistent with Vulcănescu's behavior. As a member of the Christian Association of Romanian Christian Students, he publicly condemned the anti-Semitic violence from the 1922s, and as a dignitary voted against Carol II's Constitution due to the stipulations regarding the death penalty. In the second part of the forth inter-war decade, the king's suppression of the legionnaires and their revenge had drowned the country in a "gloomy and police-like" atmosphere, as he was describing it (Vulcănescu 2005, 522). In addition, one of his mentors, Virgil Madgearu, also fell victim to one such retribution (Vulcănescu 1941). Therefore, the statement attributed to Vulcănescu as a final word before his death in the Aiud prison, "Do not avenge us", beyond the hagiographic dimension, could also reflect older attitudes and conviction regarding the Romanian public life and the appropriate ways to exit the slough of violence.

As far as Mircea Vulcănescu's relationships and intellectual pursuits are concerned, these remain, despite the intense program at the Ministry, varied and diverse. Vulcănescu is involved in coordinating the Romanian Encyclopedia, whose last volume actually appears during the war (Butoi, 2014), writes *The Romanian Dimension of Existence*, contributes to the editing of Nae Ionescu's courses, writes about Virgil Madgearu, holds numerous public conferences on philosophical, religious, social history or current themes. In the Vulcănescu Archive I have identified other research themes which he had started. He also develops *The social aspect of the problems and political orientation today* (1944-1945), *Romanian Society* (possibly 1941) and the most well put together file, *Karl Marx and the contemporary economy* (1945). In the *Social Aspect* the idea transpires that in relation to the

various political orientations such as liberalism, socialism, or in a more general sense, individualism and collectivism, what really matters is the socio-economic layer that exists in a given society, more exactly, the way in which trade relationships are structured. "In the capitalist regime," writes Vulcănescu, "workers are destined to irredeemable misery, their salary barely being able to cover their day to day living". In *Karl Marx and the contemporary economy*, Vulcănescu make an exhaustive, but incomplete, analysis of Marxism as a historical philosophy, sociological and economical doctrine, highlighting both theoretical contributions which have broadened the understanding of socio-economical processes, internal contradictions that have led to later developments (Leninism, for instance), as well as the epistemological limits caused especially by the one-sidedness of the economic factor (an idea also present at Dimitrie Gusti).

The relationship between Vulcănescu and the Gusti sociologists are maintained throughout the entire war period. Moreover, some of them are old family friends, especially Henri H. Stahl and Mitu (Dumitru) Georgescu. This social network had activated in the very difficult moments of Vulcănescu's arrest and conviction. H.H. Stahl, Mitu Georgescu and Dimitrie Gusti testify in favor of Vulcănescu during the state undersecretary trial. Anton Golopenția, with whom Vulcănescu had collaborated at multiple projects during the war, will visit him frequently and help the family facing very difficult conditions following his arrest. Moreover, Vulcănescu himself gets involved in helping a monographer facing difficulty: Traian Herseni, for who he intervenes after the legionary rebellion to help free him (Vulcănescu 2013, 609). Herseni was not, however, among the monographic circle frequented by Vulcănescu. Lena Constante is a regular presence in the Vulcănescu house during the war, giving painting lessons to the two girls. Other frequent contacts were maintained with Francisc Rainer, Xenia Costa-Foru, Ion Conea, Sabin Manuilă, etc. The relationships also reflected a certain socializing practice which involved the entire family and their interactions surpassing mere collaboration in academic or professional concerns.

In noting the mood of everyday life, an important source is also the reports made by the police departments of the state. It has to be mentioned that *the accounts given regarding the moods* made through the secret supervision of the population was a probably a widespread

practice in the era. At least in Nazi Germany it was practiced in the form of some reports conducted by professional sociologists who "measured" the morale of the population (Schöttler 1995, 144-145). In the Romanian case, the observers' task was to monitor and identify attitudes of certain ethnic, political, social and religious groups. I have two samples of such reports, one dating from September 1938, carried out on the population from "Bucovina, Bessarabia and Moldavia", the other from November 1939, done from the "summary of the reports done by the police departments from all of the country's regions" (ACNSAS – File no. 8740, vol. 1, regarding the mood, 1933-1941). These reports need to be considered with care, both because they operate with generalizations that are hard to verify, although they have a certain possibility to reflect some common attitudes, but also because they reflect certain ideological predispositions of those who carried them out and then redacted them to be sent to their superiors.

In the first report from 1938, regarding the "Romanian population", the report records an "obvious unease" amongst the "state officials and private individuals". For the other social categories, the unease also has actual consequences. Therefore, as far as traders and industrialists are concerned, the observer notes "an obvious stagnation" which is manifested through the restriction of economic activities due to the fear of war and the international evolution. As far as the "intellectuals" discussions are concerned, it is reported, "our army's equipping failure has been discussed and many haven't shied away to say that in this moment, the Romanian army is equipped worse than in 1916. All intellectuals are unanimous to blame our lack of arming to the democratic politic up until now and the fictive support of the League of Nations" (idem, f. 12-13). The generalization stands out ("all intellectuals", "unanimously"), through which the frustrations are accentuated towards "the democratic politics", term which probably refers to the parliamentary regime that had just been suspended by Carol II. It is hard to differentiate between the real unanimity of the public or an added attribute from the "examiner" to correspond ideologically.

In September 1939 the Munich Accord episode was in full swing. Germany's attitude, the attitude of the Allies and the fate of Czechoslovakia impressed society and aroused worries. As far as the "Romanian population" was concerned, France and England's surrender

in front of Germany's determined attitude as far as the Czechoslovakia matter was concerned was hotly debated and it was affirmed that such a situation could also be created in Romania". In general, the population is eager for peace, "harbors antipathy towards the Germans' action" and is afraid of the fact that if the war starts "the Soviets will pass through this region" (idem, f. 14). Minority groups obviously relate differently to the same event. According to the report, the Hungarian minority would see Hungary's claims towards Czechoslovakia as favorable; in turn, the Ukrainians and Ruthenians had divided themselves into two camps: one favorable towards Germany for the future support of an independent Ukraine, another favorable to Soviet Russia. "The German minority represents a danger" in case of a war, having, according to the document, bigger and bigger claims to the status of a minority and confessional schools in their native tongue (idem, f. 16). As far as Jews are concerned, these manifested "fear towards the German success" and fear towards the possibility that the anti-Semite currents from Italy and Germany to extend in Romania, as well. The document notes that "it is affirmed that the Jewish population, in case of a war against Germany, if Romania would fight together with the USSR against Germany, it would help. USSR is considered the only protector" (idem).

As far as political life is concerned, the report observes the complete failure of the suppression and the fight against the influence exercised by the Legionary Movement: "the recent searches, raids and arrests, as well as the found evidence have proved that the movement is not stifled, instead it enjoys the sympathy of the masses. Manifests and the book "The truth about Codreanu's trial" have spread everywhere. The following rumors have been launched and spread: the Legionary Movement will facilitate His Majesty Michael's ascend to the throne". Exactly a year before Armand Călinescu's assassination, the report records "Mr. Minister A. Călinescu's assassination has been planned". Regarding the international situation, "the representatives and sympathizers of the Legionary Movement will not fight against Germany" (idem, f. 18). The success of the movement was registered especially amongst pupils and students: "the school and university youth especially are almost unanimously sympathizing with this movement (legionary – A/N). This movement is being confused with the nationalist movement".

At the conclusion, the analysis retains the fact that "the psychosis of a new war has influenced the attitude and activity rhythm of the population". Among the monitored groups, according to the observer, "Jews", "Ukrainians", "Communist" and "Legionaries" are designated as having a favorable attitude, for obviously different reasons, towards the start of the war. In general, "all (minorities – A/N) are opportunists and we cannot count on any minority, even if their interests are consistent with the orders and instructions from the different external circles" (idem, f. 20).

In the other report from November 1939, conducted as a summary from all of the areas of the country, an evaluation is made of the "state of affairs" that stir discontent among the people: the difficulty of completing agricultural work due to the requisitions, the stagnation of commerce, the lack of credits, small salaries for functionaries and workers, the existence of some work conflicts and strikes (idem, f. 27). Rumors are recorded regarding the surrender of Bessarabia (f. 45) and about the outbreak of inflation (f. 55) and the rationing of food (f. 49). "Serious" sources draw attention towards the danger of "communization" of the peasant classes due to the famine. The communist danger is mentioned in relation to the Legionary Movement as well, which would have been infiltrated by agents sent from the USSR: "from the missions received by soviet propaganda agents caught in the Eastern frontier area, as well as in the rest of the country, it becomes clear that the Soviets tend to insert communists in legionary organizations, with the aim to supervise and subliminate these organizations. These infiltrations are done especially in the worker's legionary organizations" (f. 295).

The minorities are seen even more intensely as a potential subversive presence: "special attention to the minorities, which in the current situation – as is mentioned in the police department reports – is worth following as it has been observed that the basis of their activities is not the loyalty towards the Romanian State". As far as Jews are concerned, these "are presented according to regions: those from the areas currently bordering the Soviet Union can barely hide the happiness caused by this neighboring. Only those with a good situation are looking for shelter and to move in the Old Kingdom, selling off the goods they had in those regions (Bukovina). Those from Bessarabia are indifferent, but believe in the occupation of this province by the Soviets" (idem, f. 51).

Special attention is given to the population's attitude towards the Legionary Movement, most of all during the period of repression carried out as a reaction to Armand Călinescu's assassination. Therefore, the repressions would have split "public opinion in two camps". "Public opinion considered the repressions as an instinctive reaction of His Majesty the King, caused by the rage of being once again hit in the faithful interpret of his achieving thoughts. People outside of political life attached themselves to the repression, to a group that also attached the democratic and ultra-democratic minority (...) The group forming the public opinion against the repression comprises of the legionary world, the sympathizers of the old Iron Guard, political and instinctive adversaries of the King, the faint-hearted who are scared by the repression" (idem, f. 61-62).

The way in which the police described the attitude of different social categories from the time of the old National Legionary State is interesting. The general note of these reports is negative, the disorganization and uncertainty with which the legionaries exercised power being criticized. Therefore, it is reported in a report "the great majority of the population, although it sympathized with the legionary movement, is worried by the fact that the country's leadership is put in young hands without experience. (...) The young legionaries, those who hold important decision-making positions, although they are often put in a situation that they cannot solve, do not resort to the knowledge and experience of the old clerks, instead, either due to a spirit of wariness or due to considering that their love of self is injured by talking with others, or due to the spirit of authority manifested towards their underlings – do not always give practical solutions" (idem, f. 304). The police and gendarmerie especially were organizations that distrusted the legionaries the most, a mutual thing, considering the former harsh conflicts between the latter and the police forces from the previous political regimes. After the legionaries rose to power, according to the probably exaggerated reports, the police and gendarmerie had become "nonexistent":

"In many parts, these two institutions are almost inexistent. Some of the officers and gendarmes have fallen in a sort of apathy; they are not interested in anything and come to work only to be counted as present. This apathy would be due to the trials and investigations

that are completed against certain acts, which – they say – they only played the part according to the orders they had received. (...) Others cry about the distrust that the legionary circles manifest towards them, even in work related issues. In truth, this lack of trust not only discourages the personnel of these two, but the lack of experience of the young legionary rulers, despite all the zeal they show – gives birth to failures that could have been avoided if some people's zeal would have been corroborated with experience. (...) It is this state of affairs that the communist circles seem to try to take advantage of, who on one hand seek to introduce themselves in the legionary organizations, and on the other hand, under the legionary guise spread certain ideas in a way that is not too different from that of the communists" (idem, f. 302).

Within these reports there are also mentions of the abuse committed against the Jews in the period of the "Romanization" of their properties. The record is made, evidently, only in cases in which they had something "novel" and worthy of reporting in the vision of the police inspectors. Therefore, in an informative note from November 1940 regarding Braşov, the consequences of the rivalry between legionaries and the Transylvanian Saxons are described, regarding the takeover of the shops from the Jews. Due to the hurry, "so that the Transylvanian Saxons won't get ahead of them", the legionaries pushed people in the shops who had no training in this area, which risked creating a "bottleneck" (idem, f. 330). The Jews, the report continues, would have preferred to negotiate with the Transylvanian Saxons because "they had promised to pay the entire buying price" (idem, f. 332), while the legionaries had the following "offer": "concluding a sell-buy contract through which a legionary would buy the store together with the entire inventory for the sum of x lei. The Jew would continue to remain in the shop under the leadership of the legionnaire and from the net income: 40% goes to the Jew as payment of the sale price; 60% goes to the legion, and the leader legionary would be an employee" (idem, f. 331). The aggregation of such reports and the strong reluctance felt by the coercive state towards the legionnaires constituted one of the factors which lead to the rift between Antonescu and Sima.

Romania at the start of the war goes through a series of dramatic and traumatizing events that deeply affect both the Romanian majority and the ethnic minorities. The external enemies become almost overnight, old allies, a thing which will repeat itself towards the end of the war. The reports mentioned above reflect who was identified by the police departments as the “enemy within”: ethnic minorities and radical-extremist political movements. This way of perceiving a “threat” towards “national safety” which manifested since 1938 in the eastern parts of the country, but not only, most likely had a significant role in the continuation and increase in repression and persecution politics from the time of the war, with catastrophic consequences and genocides in Transnistria.

For some members of the young elite from Bucharest, these astounding moments showed that their darkest expectations had been surpassed by reality: Greater Romania, towards whose “prosperity” they had dedicated their lives, had ceased to exist. The reason Vulcănescu got involved as a technocrat in the Antonescu government was based in his belief and that of others in his social circles that he had a duty to “save what could still be saved”. At least in this case, there had been no ideological, “nationalist” or “anti-Semite” reasons or geopolitical sympathies towards the Axis forces as a motivation to enter the Antonescu government. They weren’t doing it from the position of “conquerors” and did not have the feeling that they were approaching a “victory”. On the contrary, their implication was meant as a mission to limit the disaster and a limited recovery following the assaults. At a daily level, life and social relations were the same as before during the war. An example of this is even the social network of monographers, the most reputable of them solidarizing with Vulcănescu when he was judged in the trial for state undersecretaries of Antonescu’s government ⁽³⁾.

⁽³⁾ It is useful to remember that Mircea Vulcănescu was condemned during the trial under subparagraph 2, paragraph a) and subparagraph 1, paragraph b) from the Law 312/1945, or more exactly for “declaring or continuing the war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Nations” and respectively “militating for Hitlerism and fascism and having actual political responsibility, they permitted the entry of the German army on the country’s territory” (Mezdrea 2013, 665). In Vulcănescu’s case, as well as that of others, “militating for Hitlerism and fascism” had been inferred simply from participating in the Antonescu

References

a. Archives

CNSAS Archive File no. 8740, vol. 1, on the population mood (1933-1941).

b. Books

Mezdrea 2013 Mezdrea, Dora, *Nae Ionescu și discipolii săi în arhiva securității. Vol. V: Mircea Vulcănescu*, Cluj-Napoca, Eikon (2013).

Șafran 1996 Șafran, Alexandru, *Un tăciune smuls flăcărilor. Comunitatea evreiască din România, 1939-1947. Memorii*, București, Hasefer (1996).

Vulcănescu 2005 Vulcănescu, Mircea, *Opere I. Dimensiunea românească a existenței*, București, Univers Enciclopedic (2005).

Vulcănescu 2013 Vulcănescu, Mărgărita Ioana, *Memorii – Jurnal*, vol. 1, București, Vitruviu (2013).

c. Papers in periodical journals

Butoi 2013 Butoi, Ionuț, *O corespondență inedită din timpul guvernării antonesciene. Mircea Vulcănescu și Alexandru Neagu*. In: *Sfera Politicii*, 175 (2013).

Butoi 2014 Butoi, Ionuț, *The Young Generation in official clothes. Mircea Vulcănescu’s case*. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca, Series Humanistica*, XII (2014).

Butoi 2014 Butoi, Ionuț, *The Enciclopaedia as a power strategy. A snap-shot of a precarious domination and an unfinished project: Vulcănescu and the national character*. In *Transilvania*, 10-11 (2014).

Vulcănescu 1941 Vulcănescu, Mircea, *Virgil Madgearu – intelectualul*. In: *Revista de studii sociologice și muncitorești*, 28 (1941).

government, given that the defense’s evidence showed the exact contrary. It has to be mentioned that even the court that convicted him to 8 years in prison and the seizing of his property detained, in the appeal, “extenuating circumstances” derived Vulcănescu’s independent activity at the Ministry of Finance. No accusation regarding offenses committed against the Jews has been used in his sentencing.

Henri H. Stahl and the Agricultural Communes during World War II

Alina JURAVLE

University of Bucharest

Faculty of Sociology and Social Work

E-mail: alina.juravle@gmail.com

Abstract. The following paper is an attempt to reconstruct, place, and understand Henri H. Stahl's vision on the rural development of Romania, as it may be found in a series of articles written for the Romanian newspaper *Ecoul* in January-March 1944. Our analysis sheds new light onto little known parts of the history of Romanian rural development policies – the co-operative movement, Dimitrie Gusti's School's conception on social intervention, implemented by the Royal Student Teams and Social Service and the wartime agricultural communes, linking Stahl to a multidimensional context. We thus find that H. H. Stahl's expression of his sociological vision of rural development can only be understood as the result of a complex interaction between personal life course and strategy, social networks, political ideologies, and action and international relations, all within a certain historical course of events.

Keywords: Henri H. Stahl, the Bucharest School of Sociology, co-operative movement, agricultural communes, rural development.

The Solution of the Agricultural Communes

On January 27, 1944, the Romanian sociologist Henri H. Stahl published in the daily newspaper *Ecoul* an article entitled *Sabotări involuntare* ⁽¹⁾. This is the third article that Stahl wrote for this newspaper, as he had already published two others earlier that year – *La răscrucea împărățiilor moarte* ⁽²⁾ (on January 15) and *Centre locale administrative* ⁽³⁾ (on January 21). Earlier, in his first article, Stahl had paid posthumous tribute to Lucien Romier – a French historian, economist, journalist and politician, the author of a book dedicated to Greater Romania, entitled *Au carrefour des empires mortes* ⁽⁴⁾ (Rostás 2013, 56). Beyond his homage to Romier, Stahl underlined a few ideas, which he presented as truths that the French author had captured in his work – the difficulty of Romania's position as against neighbouring empires, be they past or present; the Romanians' efforts and capacity to withstand them; the European states' solidarity of fate, one that exists beyond all appearances, Romania being one of them; the danger that lies in the possibility of some “revărsări răsăritene peste

zăgazurile Europei” ⁽⁵⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 60). Romier, Stahl then notes that Romier is mainly concerned with the future fate of France, which, he mentions, is “și nouă dragă și către care am ținut și noi ochii mari deschiși ca să vedem ce face” ⁽⁶⁾. He then expresses his hope that a united and solidary Europe will be constituted in the future, one that will be protected from the danger of the “eastern overflow” – an expression in which we can easily identify a certain meaning, that of the threat of a Bolshevik invasion.

The following article is entitled *Centre locale și administrative* ⁽⁷⁾ – the first of an entire series dedicated to the development problems of the country. The article begins with a presentation of the problem in focus, namely the scattering of administrative authority in too many locations across the various regions of Romania and its disadvantages – the important losses in time and money for its citizens, administrative inefficiency, the creation and existence of an entire category of property owners that take advantage of the periodical shift of buildings rented by the State and the impossibility of developing urban administrative

⁽¹⁾Transl.: “Involuntary sabotage”.

⁽²⁾Transl.: “At the crossroads of fallen empires”.

⁽³⁾Transl.: “Local and administrative centers”.

⁽⁴⁾Transl.: “At the crossroads of fallen empires”.

⁽⁵⁾Transl.: “Eastern overflows over the borders of Europe”.

⁽⁶⁾Transl.: “Is dear to us as well and whose actions we observe with eyes wide open”.

⁽⁷⁾Transl.: “Local and administrative centres”.

centers that could eventually become kernels of regional development. He then underlines the necessity of concentrating administrative authority in regional centres that are destined to become larger cities. Stahl estimates that, given the peasants' tendency to imitate the lifestyle of regional urban centres, these cities will function as a model for the transformation of their social lives. What remains to be done, Stahl adds, is that these cities rise to the level of models that are worthy of imitating.

The third article that he wrote for the journal is the actual starting point of our research. It is the first of a series of seven articles that Stahl will publish in 1944 in *Ecoul*, sketching and developing his vision on the path towards development that is most appropriate for the Romanian rural space. A new lecture of the works of Ion Ionescu de la Brad is presented as the root of the considerations on the way in which reformist attempts may fail. He concludes that those who wish to sabotage the realization of a reform have nothing more to do than to implement it in unfavorable conditions. Apart from this voluntary type of sabotage is another one, one that is involuntary – those who implement reforms with the best of intentions, yet having insufficient foresight, skills and steadfastness to ensure the conditions necessary to its realization (Stahl, apud Rostás 2013, 82). When it comes to the allotment reform of 1864, Ion Ionescu de la Brad, one of its creators, ends up by being one of its involuntary saboteurs. He hoped to solve the “chestiunea țărănească” ⁽⁸⁾, the central, all-pervasive problem of the era, by establishing private property rights, turning boyars into full owners of their lands and peasants into full owners of their labour. By doing this, he thought that the two categories will slide into their “natural” roles – the first will become employers and the latter employees. But the results were far from this. One of the first reasons for the failure of this reform is that the reformer did not take into account the peasants' fundamental need to access all the types of terrain that their particular type of economic activity depended on. As the allotted pieces of land that did not fully meet this need, they were forced to sign labor agreements with the boyars, which preserved the old terms of labours, namely those of serfdom. The mistakes that reformers made did not stop here. They failed to facilitate the procurement of seeds and the obtaining of credit for sowing. As a severe consequence, the functioning of the

peasants' leasing communes became difficult, if not impossible – and these, in Stahl's opinion, would have been the only economical organizations that could have superseded the great leasing trusts that had caused so much harm to Romania's peasant population. If the development of peasants' leasing communes would have been supported, Stahl argues, Romania would have already implemented the “formula obștiilor agricole satești, formulă care azi este dorită și preconizată de către organele noastre de răspundere” ⁽⁹⁾ (Stahl, apud Rostás 2013, 85). But this “formula obștiilor agricole satești” that Stahl mentions as being desired and planned by the administrative authorities of 1944 intrigues the reader of this article – is he talking about the same type of economic association that he had mentioned earlier – namely leasing co-operatives? Is there any connection between these ones and the “obștile devălmașe”, the village communes that Stahl had researched and to whom he will dedicate the largest part of his works? Which were the main features of these communes? Were they only a plan or a promise, or were they actually already extant? Why were they desired and planned at that particular moment? And why does Stahl choose to speak of them at that particular moment in time? Why does he build a complex argument all along this lengthy article, so that in the end he may underline the need that the authorities take into account all the necessary conditions for the best implementation of agricultural communes? And why does he refer to the subject of the reform of the rural economy, to be realized by way of these agricultural peasant communes, in all his following articles except the last one?

These are the questions which we shall try to give answer to in the pages that follow. We shall thus manage, on the one hand, to shed light onto aspects of the history of agrarian and rural development policies in Romania, which are little known, and which are part of a period that is full of tensions and controversy – that of the beginning and of the course of World War II. On the other hand, we shall try and elucidate an attempt by H. H. Stahl to bring in the creation and implementation of the policies of his age the sociological knowledge that he had stored during the many years of research and social intervention that he conducted as a member of the Bucharest School of Sociology. As we shall

⁽⁸⁾Transl.: “The peasant problem”.

⁽⁹⁾Transl.: “The formula of agricultural peasant communes, a solution that is nowadays desired and planned for”.

see, his articles acquire new meaning when placed in the context of the final years of the war, when Romania's future is debated and new political groups arise, planning ample changes in Romanian policies, both domestic - especially the one for rural development - and foreign.

The Ascent of the Co-operative Movement

From the First Allotment to the Beginning of World War II

In Romania, the awareness of a "peasant problem" rose on the public agenda in the early 19th century. Once such a problem was defined, it became a more and more debated subject – and as the problem did not find a satisfying solution, the debate extended for a very long time. The problem in question had multiple areas of dispute, but one of them was more prominent. The most ample disputes are grouped around property rights for agricultural lands – the right to agricultural property of different social categories (boyars, landlords, or peasants) or entities (the state) is periodically doubted, contested, or affirmed in public debates. It is legislated, it is then won, limited, lost, or conceded – under constraints – by one category or another. Up until the year that Stahl commences writing for *Ecoul*, the peasantry had won or was given property rights to agricultural lands, at the expense of the other categories, which were expropriated. To the reformers, as Stahl shows in his article, a simple allotment of lands and property rights should have been a sufficient and efficient measure in order to eliminate the economic and social difficulties of a predominantly agrarian state.

The first allotment took place in the Old Kingdom in 1864 and led to the disastrous situation which triggered the peasant revolt of 1907. The second one, implemented after World War I, did not lead to the desired results either. The second reform was also accused, by its contemporaries and by others that later analyzed it, of being poorly implemented (to the peasants' disadvantage, leading to an excessive fragmentation of agricultural land, in the end leaving both peasants and landlords without the motivation or possibility of improving their production techniques or of increasing their production, and so on). The debates continue – during the entire time span between the first reform and World War II active voices are heard in the public sphere, supporting one category or another (small vs. large owners and their large or small holdings), and their presumed or argued capacity to significantly contribute to economic growth and Romania's development (Șandru

2000). At the same time, however, another solution to the dispute takes shape, one which draws a growing number of supporters from all political groups – that of the co-operative organization of agriculture. This solution is seen as a viable one for the problems of Romanian rural space, be it that co-operation is desired at the level of production financing, production provisioning, or consumption needs, production itself, marketing products, or all of the above at the same time.

The ideas of the co-operative movement are accessed by the Romanian public since the early nineteenth century and are promoted by intellectuals such as Teodor Mehtupciu-Diamant, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Ion Ghica, Ion Ionescu de la Brad, P. S. Aurelian (Mladenatz, 1938), and Spiru Haret (Rostás 2000; Larionescu 2013). At the same time, in the same century, members of peasant communities began to create co-operative organizations in order to lease boyars' estates. The form that these organizations take is that of leasing communes, a type of organization that allows them to work the lands in an advantageous manner and with good results. The number of such communes remains small until the early twentieth century (only 8 of these existed in 1903, leasing approximately 5,000 hectares, according to Șandru, 1989). At the same time, the number of credit co-operatives rises significantly, as more and more village popular banks are created. Co-operative societies gain political support amongst socialists and populists, but also liberals, and even conservatives, at the turn of the century. Finally, in the interwar period, the members of the National Peasant Party join the heterogeneous group of political supporters of the co-operative movement.

As a consequence of the spread of these organizations and of the political support that they benefit from, their functioning receives legislative recognition and support beginning from 1903-1904, being facilitated by legislative acts in 1905, 1908, 1909, 1910 (Șandru 1989). The creation of leasing communes takes off especially after 1908, their number rising to 496 in 1918 (Șandru 1989, 326). In 1918, during the conservative government of Al. Marghiloman and C. Garoflid ministry in agriculture, a special law is issued, stating that all agricultural holdings larger than 100 hectares should be compulsorily leased to agricultural communes (Șandru 1989, 2000). This law, however, only remained in force for a little while, till the demise of the conservative government. The new liberal government repeals the law and

promulgates another one, which stipulates that the great estates are to be expropriated, and that the resulting available lands will be sold to peasant associations or co-operatives, of the type that had been created so far for the purpose of leasing. Yet, the new allotment communes do not reach the point of implementation either – peasants are unsatisfied by it, as it is highly criticized by the opposition.

Even though a new allotment reform is implemented beginning with 1921, authorities further support the creation of leasing communes (Şandru 1989) and other types of co-operative organizations. After the second allotment, by way of legal measures, the Government develops institutions that function as promoters and supporters of co-operative activities and encourage and facilitate the creation of new co-operatives. In 1920 and 1923, laws that stipulate an institutional unification of co-operation come into force, and in 1928 so does a new Co-operation Code, which is transformed into a Law of Co-operation in 1929 and modified in 1930, 1933 and 1935 (Larionescu 2013; Mladenatz 1935). The consolidation of the legal and institutional base of the co-operation is another proof of its status of priority for Romanian policy makers. Moreover, beginning with 1929, given the widespread negative consequences that the Great Depression had on Romania's agriculture, the authorities intensify their propaganda in favor of co-operation in agriculture, and economists and politicians promote it more intensely as a solution for the "peasant problem" (Şandru 1989).

After 1936, the awareness of the real problems of Romanian rural space rises considerably – this is due to multiple causes, amongst which the publishing of the 1930 census, of the results of the monographic research made by the Bucharest School of Sociology, and of those of an inquiry organized by the Union of the Romanian Agricultural Chambers (Şandru 2000). One speaks more and more of the need for a new allotment reform in favour of the peasants. This idea is launched into the Romanian public space first by the National Peasant Party and is then adopted and promoted by the legionary movement (Şandru, 2000). Meanwhile, though, the co-operative movement, strongly supported by government institutions, political parties, and others, as a viable solution for the problems of peasant agriculture pervades wider and wider layers of the population and extends its size and effects. The number of leasing communes decreases

significantly, only 40 of them still existing in 1939 (Mladenatz 1943, 636, apud Larionescu 2013, 102). On the other hand, though, the creation of co-operatives of all types, especially in villages, intensifies until the beginning of World War II. The peak of the Romanian co-operative movement could be located in 1928, when 8,165 co-operative societies existed in the country (Mladenatz 1943, 636, apud Larionescu 2013, 101). A small decline in their number can be observed during the Great Depression, followed by a new rise in their numbers until 1938. In 1939 – a year of decline in numbers – Romania had 5,365 co-operatives, the largest number of which were credit co-operatives, with 4,616 of them situated in villages and having 813,902 members (Mladenatz 1943, 636, apud Larionescu 2013, 102). If we compare the number of the peasant members of co-operatives with the data of the 1930 census (Manuilă, Georgescu 1937, 16), we may conclude that roughly 5 % of the peasantry was engaged in some sort of co-operative organization. Another estimate, however, could give a different perspective. We could count as beneficiaries of and participants in co-operative organizations not only the peasants that are nominally listed as members, but their household members as well, given the particular economic character of peasant households – that of holistic economic units of production and consumption. With an average of 4.4 family members per household (Manuilă, Georgescu 1937, 14), one could calculate that in 1939 approximately 3.5 million peasants were linked to some form of a co-operative organization – in other words, 24% of the country's rural population.

The State and the Co-operative Movement during the War

The beginning of World War II in 1939 will bring about in Romania, in the first phase, a large mobilization and concentration of troops inside its borders. For the country's agriculture, the impact of mobilizing a large number of peasant soldiers will be a significant one. And this impact can only be understood in the context of Romania's foreign trade policy in the second half of the 1930's.

In 1934, Germany decides to re-orient its trade policy and to consolidate the trade ties it had with the countries of southeastern Europe, including Romania (Hillgruber 2007, 175-176). Germany's desire is met by that of King Carol II to ensure a market for Romania's agricultural products and to facilitate the import of capital that was needed for the development of both

industry and agriculture (Hillgruber 2007, 178). Following the diplomatic efforts of Romania's government, the first trade agreement between the two countries is signed on March 23, 1935, creating grounds for numerous other agreements in the near future, regulating the commodity and payment exchange between the two states (Hillgruber 2007, 177). After the annexation of Austria by Germany, significant German political voices support as an objective of the Reich the creation of an economic and customs union of the states which were the successors of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (Hillgruber 2007, 111). In consequence, in November 1938, in Leipzig, they propose to King Carol II an intensification of Romanian-German trade and economic relations. The king, with the support of the Government, agrees (Hillgruber 2007). The new Romanian-German treaty is signed on March 23, 1939, and is a framework establishing only the general lines of actions, to be later detailed in agreements in specific fields. Until the beginning of World War II, two such agreements will be signed – one on May 15, for forestry, and another one on July 20, concerning the development of agriculture in all its branches (Hillgruber 2007, 118). Although most of the advantages of the signed deal are on Germany's side, Romania hopes to ensure, based upon its provisions, the development of its industry in some of its key branches (oil extraction and weaponry), by way of an increase in German capital investments. Moreover, it aims at increasing German investments in the field of forestry, in hope of improving forest exploitation and eliminating Jewish domination in this economic branch, and ensuring German participation in the construction and development of roads and waterways. A very important point of the treaty for Romania – a vital one, to be more precise – concerns a facilitation of importing German weaponry. As to agriculture, the two signatory parties commit themselves “să stabilească între ele legături sistematice în vederea adaptării producției românești la necesitățile germane”⁽¹⁰⁾ (Hillgruber 2007, 113) – and this in order to support an increase in the export of Romanian agricultural products. For a predominantly agrarian state such as Romania, whose exports are in great part made up of agricultural products, an improvement and adaptation of agricultural production to the growing

consumption needs of industrial German is a thing of vital importance as well.

Once the war begun, Germany becomes interested especially in Romania's oil resources. On the terms of earlier agreements, Romania had exported petrol to Germany – but more to Germany's disadvantage. Given the rising needs, Germany initiates negotiations for a new treaty, facilitating Romanian oil deliveries on the count of deliveries of German weaponry. The new agreement is signed on May 29, 1940. On December 4, 1940, after the abdication of King Carol II and Marshal Antonescu's takeover of power as head of the Council of Ministries, an additional protocol of this treaty is signed by the two parties. Based on this protocol, Germany would produce agricultural tools and machinery to be purchased by Romania, on the count of large amounts of agricultural products and petrol exported to Germany (Ciucă 1998; Hillgruber 2007; Șandru 2000). Until 1944, Romania will buy on the base of this treaty thousands of agricultural machinery and tools – although we do not have precise data to account for this, we know, for example, that in three years, from 1940 to 1944, the number of tractors available in Romania grew from 3,896 to 9,722, a growth of 150 % (Șandru 2000, 52). Comparatively, in the preceding 13 years before the agreement, in the interval 1927-1940, their numbers had grown by only 16 % (Șandru, 2000, 52). Alongside the endowment of the Romanian army with German weaponry, the import of agricultural machinery and tool was an essential part of Romania's strategy during World War Two, as we shall see further.

At the time when Marshal Antonescu took over power, Romania was confronted by great difficulties in the field of agriculture, caused mainly by the mobilization of the country's armed forces. Mobilization brought about a very significant lack of workforce in agriculture and massive commandeering of tools, agricultural machinery, and animals used in farming work, for the necessities of the army (Șandru 2000). This fact was the cause of a crisis in Romanian agriculture. This crisis was, indeed, a very serious one – given that, on the one hand, Romania's exports relied mainly on agricultural products and oil, and that on these exports depended the endowment of the Romanian army with very much needed weaponry, and that, on the other hand, the survival of both the civil population and the Romanian army depended on the same agricultural production.

⁽¹⁰⁾Transl.: “To establish systematical connections, in order to adapt Romanian production to the German demand”.

The crisis in agriculture is linked mainly to a crisis of the large agricultural estates, on which Romania's commercial agriculture depended. Very poorly endowed with agricultural tools and machinery, these estates still depended on extensive peasant labour, peasant tools, machinery, and animals. With the peasants mobilized for the army, these estates were at a high risk of remaining unproductive, thus threatening the fate of the army, the civil population, and the whole of Romania during the war. But not only the agricultural activity of these estates is threatened – peasant holdings, being a significant share of the country's agricultural land, are under the same threat due to the same cause. This is why, for the new government, the only viable solution (besides compulsory work mobilization of the rural population and facilitating work agreements between peasants and estate owners) for the ample problems of all categories of agricultural holdings was to introduce, on a large scale, the use of modern tools and machinery in agriculture. The technology imported from Germany would make possible the realization of agricultural production with a significantly reduced workforce (Şandru 2000).

At the same time though, even after the beginning of the war in 1939, the debate on the efficiency and necessity of large versus small and medium agricultural holdings continues. The problem of the need for a new expropriation and allotment arises again in the public space (Şandru 2000). Marshal Antonescu's Government rejects this solution for the moment, opting in exchange for that of further supporting and promoting the creation of co-operative organizations. Only two days after coming to power, Ion Antonescu outlines in his government platform, as a solution to the problems of agriculture, the creation of co-operative farms or communes (Şandru 2000, 24).

Important for resolving the crisis in peasant agriculture at least, this point of his platform remains unimplemented for a while. The main cause of this fact is the priority acquisition of agricultural machinery imported from Germany by the large estate owners (Şandru 2000, 27). Their interest in modern technology rises abruptly, with the labor force crisis. Depending on its large producers, the state benefits from these acquisitions. But, once Romania entered the war in 1941, the crisis becomes more acute and very large surfaces of agricultural land are at risk of remaining uncultivated. The need to improve the situation

of peasants' holdings becomes urgent as well. Given that, individually, these holdings had no capacity to access modern agricultural technology, the creation of co-operatives – that would allow them to work their lands together, or to lease large estates – could facilitate the access to imported technology, and the use of less labour force, to increase and improve production. It is in such a context that, on June 18, 1941, Marshal Antonescu calls for all village inhabitants to unite and create agricultural communes. With the words of the marshal:

“Trebuie să vă adunați în obștii. Pentru că nu pot să dau fiecăruia dintre voi unelte și nici nu se poate risipi – pentru fiecare din micile voastre loturi – tractoare, batoze și altele. Fiecare dintre obștii se va obliga față de Stat să îngrijească uneltele primite, iar fiecare dintre voi se va îndatora să cultive pământurile după îndemnurile de muncă date de Stat”⁽¹¹⁾.

(Antonescu, apud Chiriacescu 1944)

From this moment on, the state initiates propaganda campaigns to promote peasants' association into communes. Articles are written in the press, promoting co-operative organization (Chiriacescu 1944, Cornăţeanu 1942; Cardaş 1942; Filipescu 1942; Manolescu 1942; Pană 1942; Țiculescu 1942). As I. P. Manolescu informs, “de atunci s-a dat sătenilor, prin presă, diferite îndemnuri de a se constitui în obști și s-a scris scoțându-se în evidență importanța obștilor”⁽¹²⁾ (Manolescu 1942, 65). Initially, all peasant co-operatives that were created functioned on the existing legal base. But on June 24, 1942, the Antonescu government adopted *Decretul-lege numărul 488 pentru organizarea obștiilor agricole*⁽¹³⁾, designed by the vice-president of the Council of Ministers, Mihai Antonescu, and the current minister of agriculture, Aurelian Pană. This decree institutionalized Ion Antonescu's concept

⁽¹¹⁾Transl.: “You must unite in communes. Because I can neither give each of you tools and nor can one disperse – to each and every of your small plots – tractors, threshers, and other tools. Each commune will commit themselves to take care of the tools given to it and each of you will have as a duty to cultivate the lands according to the directives of the State.”

⁽¹²⁾Transl.: “After that, villagers were prompted in the press to associate and form communes, and articles were written highlighting the importance of these communes.”

⁽¹³⁾Transl.: “Decree no. 488 for the organization of agricultural communes”.

of the agricultural communes, as he had outlined it in 1941. The agricultural communes that were created on the basis of the decree were production co-operatives – but not solely production – which were also allowed to lease or buy land, benefiting from incentives to buy tools and machinery from the state, if they agreed to receive guidance and interventions from the state, in their activities, and to work their lands compulsorily (Şandru 2000, 25; Chiriacescu 1944). More precisely, the members of these agricultural communes committed themselves to cultivate their lands according to a plan, with seeds offered by the state, and the agricultural work made according to a schedule established by the directive authorities; if they wanted to, they could implement a cultivation plan that involved land consolidation and crop rotation; the resulting products belonged to the land owners, individually, and they had the right to use it as they wished; but they also had the option of sell their products together, through the Commune; of the resulting earning, the members were obliged to pay 500 lei to the Commune for every hectare they owned (Chiriacescu 1944). The state tried and ensured in this manner the products that were necessary for consumption, requisitions, the supply of the army, and exports. 44 model communes are initially created, at the initiative of the State, in each of the country's counties – and these are given tools and machinery for free (Chiriacescu 1944). Later, the newly created communes receive only facilities for their acquisition – they have the right to buy the needed technology by means of a 5-year credit, paying 20% of their value in advance, and an annual interest of 3.5% (Şandru 2000; Carabella 1942).

Once the legislation for the creation of agricultural communes came into force, the Romanian co-operative movement received a strong impulse from the force of the economic interventionism of the state. Propaganda for co-operatives is intense during the Antonescu period. Moreover, since 1941, the state decides to lease its agricultural lands only to co-operatives (Şandru 1989); then, as agricultural products are massively exported to Germany, the sale of processed foods to villagers is rationalized and may take place only in co-operatives or communes (Şandru 2000); and the distribution of machinery and tools which the state imports and sells to co-operatives is done exclusively by the National Institute of Co-operatives. Since 1941, numerous “Associations for the acquisition and use of tractors and agricultural machinery” are created, and they

purchase from the Institute. In 1944, according to a press release made by Marshal Antonescu, 122 communes, 109 co-operative farms, and 195 agricultural associations with various profiles existed in Romania, all of them created for the purpose of buying and using the technology imported from Germany (Antonescu 1944, apud Şandru 2000, 26). But the situation of the agricultural communes is uncertain – in an article published on January 28, 1944 in the journal *Curentul* ⁽¹⁴⁾, Em. Chiriacescu, the head of the Agricultural Communes' Department in the Ministry of Agriculture and Domains at the time, claims that 272 such communes existed at the time of the publication of the article (Chiriacescu 1944). We have no available data on the percentage of arable land that these organizations cultivated in Romania, on the number of landowners, and households that were part of these communes. Yet, what we can say is that agricultural co-operatives, especially production co-operatives, are, indeed, the solution “dorită şi preconizată de către organele noastre de răspundere” ⁽¹⁵⁾ (Stahl, apud Rostás 2013, 84) during World War II.

Henri H. Stahl and the Co-operative Movement

Stahl becomes acquainted with and joins the co-operative movement early in his life. In 1919, when he was only 18, he meets Virgil Madgearu (Stahl 1984), the main theoretician of the political doctrine of the Peasant Party, initially, and, later, of the National Peasant Party. At that time, Madgearu was in the early years of his career and held evening lectures on subjects of political economy at the “Mihai Viteazul” high school in Bucharest, designed to train future co-operative leaders (Stahl 1984, 30-31). As he was in the same high school teaching a stenography class, Stahl is invited by Madgearu to write down his own class – he accepts and thus becomes acquainted first with the ideas of the co-operative movement and those of Madgearu, a very important promoter of the movement. In Stahl's view, Madgearu turns out to be a great professor (Stahl 1984, 31), and one of exceptional clarity (Rostás 2000, 48).

But not only the Peasant's Party members influence Stahl to the point of becoming an active supporter of the co-operative movement. His sympathy for the Romanian social democrat movement will have

⁽¹⁴⁾ Transl.: “The daily”

⁽¹⁵⁾ Transl.: “Desired and planned for by our authorities”.

a very important role in his formative experiences. It is also from early on that he becomes attracted to socialist ideas and ideals, initially accessed in his talks with his brother Șerban Voinea, an important member of the Social Democrat Party, and from the writings of Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea. Voinea introduces him to the movement's bookstore – it is from here that Stahl procures the bulk of his formative reading material, and it is also here that he meets a number of important leaders of the movement, that end up shaping a great deal of his political beliefs. Besides Bucharest-based members of the movement, Stahl is also influenced by member of its Austrian-Marxist faction, both from the region of Bucovina and from abroad. But he becomes a rather atypical socialist – having a passion for the interests and problems not of the industrial proletariat, but for those of the peasantry. The socialist theories that interest him most are those that concern the social history and the future of the peasantry. He reads the works of all the influent socialist theoreticians of the age and then formulates his own opinions and beliefs, which can be reconstructed, at least in part, by lecturing and analyzing the interviews with him, which Zoltan Rostas recorded in the 1980s (Rostás 2000). As far as co-operative ideas go, alongside the vast majority of the Social Democrats, Stahl views co-operative activity as the main way in which the life standards of the peasantry may rise and economic growth in agriculture may be achieved. The most efficient forms of co-operatives, from his point of view, are co-operative farms, created by way of leasing (the old leasing communes), or by the common use of production means – but he does not reject other forms of co-operatives either.

So far, there is a significant overlay of the political views of Socialists and of the members of the Peasant Party. But there are significant differences too, some to which Stahl adheres, on the side of the Socialists. As other Socialists, Stahl considers that organizing these co-operatives is not an effective and sufficient measure for bypassing capitalism. As other Socialists, he thinks that capitalism is a stage of development that is unavoidable and necessary and does not believe it can be avoided on the path towards socialism. To him, co-operatives remain only a type of defense from the negative effects of capitalism and a way in which peasant livelihoods may be improved. A common ground for the two political groups is a preference for a specific type of property – working property. It may be explained as

follows – only that which is used for one's own work, be it land or other means of production, is rightful property, so that peasants may only own what they use or can use during their work. But unlike the members of the Peasant Party, socialists have as a distant goal a transition from production co-operatives where, beyond the associative form, private property remains in force to co-operatives in which the means of production are collective, belonging to the commune. Finally, Stahl thinks that members of co-operative units should be free to decide on the crops they produce and on the manner in which the results of their work should be divided between members.

Further on, beginning from 1926, once he joins the Bucharest School of Sociology, Stahl finds himself in another group of promoters of the co-operative movement. This new environment is made up of such co-operative propaganda tools as the Section for Co-operative Studies of the Romanian Social Institute – founded and led by Dimitrie Gusti with the participation of Virgil Madgearu – which periodically publishes its own Bulletin (IȘSR 1944). Articles on the co-operative movement in Romania are also published in other reviews of the Romanian Social Institute, namely *Arhiva pentru Știința și Reforma Socială* ⁽¹⁶⁾ and *Sociologie Românească* ⁽¹⁷⁾ – and Stahl is actively involved in the activity of both these journals. Dimitrie Gusti himself holds, among other public positions, that of president of the National Office of Co-operation (Vulcănescu 1936). The School goes on even further and includes the co-operative organization of agriculture in its programmatic vision on rural development, as a solution to the economic problems of villages (Apolzan 1945; Golopenția 2002; Stahl 1935), a vision that is implemented through the actions of the Royal Student Teams and of the Social Service. H. H. Stahl also has an important role in the functioning of both of these two waves of social intervention.

Moreover, by participating in the research conducted by the School, Stahl arrived to know not only the problems of Romanian villages and villagers – among which, the two major ones were diseases and poverty – but also the intrinsic development potential that they still had. It is during this period of research that Stahl familiarizes and thoroughly analyzes the realities of Romanian village communes. In

⁽¹⁶⁾ Transl.: *The Archive for Social Science and Reform.*

⁽¹⁷⁾ Transl.: *Romanian Sociology.*

their typical social organization, he finds community solidarity and the potential and capacity to manage on their own, by way of their communal organization, community problems and development – this potential, he finds, is one that deserves to be regenerated and consolidated by way of co-operative organization.

To conclude, thanks to the contact he had with social democrat and peasant-party co-operative ideas, with the co-operative ideas, propaganda, and actions of the School of Dimitrie Gusti, and with what remained of the age-old village communes, Stahl becomes convinced of the benefits that co-operative organization of agriculture would have for the peasantry and becomes another promoter of its virtues. His status as a promoter remains valid even during World War II, a period when, as we have seen, for reasons identified above, the Romanian Government intervenes even more intensely or actively for the promotion of the co-operative movement and various political groupings, as we shall see further, are in line in support of its intentions and actions.

Times of decline – Stahl and the Bucharest School of Sociology during the War

To understand the School's and Stahl's situation during the war, we must first go back a few years. By 1938, the Bucharest School of Sociology had reached a peak in its evolution. After the research campaigns of the second half of the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s, given their rich results, their popularization and Dimitrie Gusti's relentless organizational developments, his achievement of dignitary positions and his growing public recognition, the School's prestige grows considerably. In 1934, the king appoints Gusti leader of the Prince Carol Royal Cultural Foundations, an institution designed to promote social development through the spread of culture. Gusti reforms this institution alongside some of his collaborators, such as Henri H. Stahl, Octavian Neamțu, and Anton Golopenția, thus making the leap from social studies to social intervention. His system promotes a multi-dimensional development of Romanian villages, equating "culture" with "development" and dealing with health, education, economy, infrastructure, culture, and morals. Voluntary teams of university students visit villages in lengthy summer campaigns, guiding, teaching, and assisting communities, trying to activate in them an interest for their own development. They also build what they call "Cămine

Culturale" – or "Cultural Houses" – institutions designed to serve after their departure as forums which call together peasants, activate them, and facilitate community development. As far as economical development progresses, the promotion of co-operative organization is a central tool for the intervening teams, alongside others such as the promotion of modern techniques, selected seeds and breeds, and so on.

The first years of intervention campaigns in Romanian villages are successful or satisfactory to a considerable extent and the School's prestige, recognition and influence grow further. King Carol II finds it opportune to generalize Gusti's model of social intervention, making participation to it compulsory for all university graduates beginning with 1938, by promulgating the Social Service Law. This act serves not only Gusti's interests and intentions but, to a large extent, those of the king as well – he uses Gusti's mainly teams to counter the growing influence and success of the legionary movement.

After the years of social intervention, organizing a village museum in Bucharest and organizing and chairing the Romanian pavilions in two international exhibitions, in 1939, Dimitrie Gusti should have also hosted and organized in Bucharest the International Sociology Congress – but with the start of the war this important and highly prestigious event and task is cancelled. 1939 is also the year when the Social Service Law is abrogated, due to the war and pressures in the king's court. This is the beginning of years of stagnation, followed by decline for Gusti's School. During the war, after Carol's abdication and the installment of the legionary regime, Gusti is even forced to hide for a while (Rostas 2011, 609). After this period, for the rest of the war, the School's activity is restricted to teaching activities at the University and preparing a few numbers of *Sociologie Românească* ⁽¹⁸⁾ – and as many of Gusti's collaborators had been appointed at the Central Statistics Office, the little and yet valuable research done during the war was done mainly through it, with the exception of a small body of research made in one of Bucharest's poorest neighborhoods by the members of the Superior School of Social Work (Rostas 2011, 609).

In this lengthy interval, Stahl is also strongly involved in the School's development platform, contributing significantly to its implementation and to its improvement over the years, holding an important position in the

⁽¹⁸⁾Transl.: *Romanian Sociology*.

Foundation. With Carol's abdication, Gusti resigns and so does his staff – Stahl including. He too is forced to hide from legionary terror during their takeover of the Government. Afterwards, he keeps his teaching position and a position at the Central Institute of Statistics. But the School is not what it used to be during the war years and neither are its members, Stahl included. And this, we argue later, is another influential factor in Stahl's decision to write for *Ecoul* and in the messages that he conveys in it, in an attempt to restore some of the School's influence and prestige and to make good use of the body of knowledge it had stored.

Ecoul ⁽¹⁹⁾

On January 15, 1944, in a note of the Romanian Special Information Service, the daily newspaper *Ecoul* is mentioned (the note belongs to the Archive of C.N.S.A.S. ⁽²⁰⁾, volume 34, f. 138 and is published in Buzatu and Bichineț 2005, 259-260). The note contains a few suppositions on the political grounds of the newspaper. An analysis of the context in which this note is written and of the political actors mentioned in it may lead us to a first clue on the reasons for which Stahl writes in this particular publication about agricultural communes and the development of Romanian rural space in the early 1944.

According to this note, in January 1944, negotiations had been taking place between the National Peasant Party and the Social Democratic Party for more than six month, with the purpose of the fusion and consolidation of their political powers. The negotiations were stagnating though, “din cauza unei abile manevre a D-lui Gheorghe Tătărescu, care intenționează să atragă pe social-democrați” ⁽²¹⁾ (Buzatu, Bichineț 2005, 259-260). Amongst the members of the National Peasant Party, rumours are afloat that Tătărescu is trying to establish, alongside Mihai Antonescu, the vice-president of the Government, the base of a social-liberal party (Buzatu, Bichineț 2005, 260). Further along, the note informs that:

“Se spune că unul din agenții care fac legătura între social-democrați ar fi și Dl. Mircea Grigorescu, căruia Dl.

Gafencu, pe care M. Grigorescu l-a vizitat de mai multe ori la Geneva în cursul trecutului an, i-ar fi dat sfatul fortificării unuia din marile partide existente prin fuziunea cu social-democrații. *Ecoul*, după câte se spune în cercurile maniste, n-ar fi decât organul de presă al acestui viitor partid Tătărescu-Mihai-Antonescu-Gafencu și social-democrații” ⁽²²⁾.

(Buzatu, Bichineț 2005, 260).

Thus, we find that *Ecoul* was supposedly intended to be a propaganda tool for a new political alliance, a social-liberal one. Based on the available historical documents, it is not yet possible to prove, beyond all doubt, that this is the actual truth. Nonetheless, if we analyze the available data, its creation for such a purpose seems probable. The reason behind the creation of this newspaper may be found, firstly, if we proceed to an analysis of the historical context of the moment. Moreover, the connections between the persons that are mentioned in this note and the consensus of their political ideas in many areas of domestic and foreign policy make plausible their political collaboration and the founding of their own publication – *Ecoul*.

In December 1943, Romania is marked by disputes around two issues – the first is that of the country's withdrawal from the war, and the second is that of transfer of power that was expected to occur after this moment. The political scene was dominated by two main groupings, which seemed clearly separated in their views by a dividing line, between the current holders of Power, namely Antonescu's Government, and the Opposition, made up of the Brătianu wing of the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party, dominated by the figure of Iuliu Maniu. In reality, though, beyond the lively voice of the Opposition against the Power, its dictatorship and its apparently implacable decision to continue the war against the U.S.S.R beyond the river Dniester, there was a general consensus over the need to end the war as soon as possible

⁽¹⁹⁾ Transl.: *The Echo*.

⁽²⁰⁾ Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității, transl. as “The National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives”.

⁽²¹⁾ Transl.: “Due to skilful interventions from Mr. Gheorghe Tătărescu, which intends to attract the Social Democrats”.

⁽²²⁾ Transl.: “It is said that one of the connection agents of the social-democrats is Mr. Mircea Grigorescu, which was advised by Mr. Gafencu, whom he has repeatedly visited in Geneva during the last year, to consolidate one of the major parties of the country, by fusion with the Social-Democrats. *The Echo*, as the followers of Mr. Iuliu Maniu say, is nothing more than a voice in the press for this future Tătărescu-Mihai Antonescu-Gafencu-and-the-Social-Democrats-party”.

(Hillgruber 2007; Ciucă 1998; Buzatu 2005). Moreover, the marshal himself had invited the Opposition to take over Power and end the war against the U.S.S.R – but it refused to do so (Ciucă 1998; Hillgruber 2007).

Meanwhile, though, Gh. Tătărescu, a liberal which had been excluded from the N.L.P., was striving to create a new political movement, namely a block in whose name he would then negotiate Romania's exit from the war. Tătărescu's group tries to conciliate its plans with those of the Government and of the N.L.P. – N.P.P. Opposition. He is convinced, first and foremost, that fighting against the U.S.S.R is a fatal mistake, and that, after the war, the U.S.S.R will be a decisive power in an area of Europe that includes Romania – and this is the reason why Romania needs a new foreign policy, one of understanding and collaboration (Ion 2003, 30-31). He then believes that the truce should be directly negotiated with the Soviets. As to the domestic policy of Romania, he believes that, after the war, radical reforms will be needed – only this way could social peace be reached, a necessary condition for national reconstruction. In this manner, he states, Romania will become a country of freedom, social justice, and prosperity (Ion 2003, 30).

His political intentions and opinions go back a couple of years. Since May 1942, Tătărescu is urged to initiate a new political movement (Ion 2003, 31). During the winter of 1942, he approaches the Government with a proposing to take over power and establish a new Government, which included the two Antonescus (Ion 2003, 32). Mihai Antonescu would have been appointed minister of internal affairs in this Government, whereas Ion Antonescu would have had much reduced powers. His initiative was supported by some members of the current Government and some liberals – especially one, Ionel Vântu, a close friend of Mihai Antonescu's, which was an ex-liberal party member himself (Ion 2003, 32). But Tătărescu's plan did not materialize and we know not how Government's leaders considered it.

From the spring of 1943 on, Tătărescu concentrates on creating a coalition that would try to end Romania's participation in the war. With this purpose in mind, he first addresses the Opposition – but he is categorically refused by the two parties, given the antipathy that their leaders have for him. He then re-orientes towards the leftist parties of the countries, with which he negotiates the creation of a block in whose name

he wishes to negotiate the truce with the U.S.S.R. and which would later take over power. In December 1943, he contacts Mihai Antonescu (Ion 2003, 47) – he will later have repeated meetings with him, especially in the house of professor Ion Fiñescu (Ion 2003; Ciucă, 1998). After the meetings and the discussions between the two, N.L.P and N.P.P members become worried, suspecting a possible political alliance between M. Antonescu and Gh. Tătărescu (Buzatu, Bichineț 2005; Ion 2003). In their circles, rumours spread of the negotiations taking place between Tătărescu and leftist parties and their intentions to create a social-liberal alliance (Ion 2003, 47). And, in December 1943, the first edition of *Ecoul* is published.

A few months later, Tătărescu's attempts to form a block of parties whose negotiator he would become are finally successful. On May 26, 1944, the National Democratic Coalition is created, joining the Romanian Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist Peasant's Party, the Nationalist Democratic Party, and Tătărescu's wing of the National Liberal Party. Talks with the leader of the S.D.P., Constantin Titel Petrescu, had been initiated during the summer of 1943 (Ion 2003, 54), while those with the leaders of the other parties in the block are initiated at a later date – with Mihai Ralea, the leader of the socialist-peasant party that was once a member of the left wing of the N.P.P., in January 1944; with Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, the communist leader, at about the same time; with dr. Topa of the N.D.P., in May 1944 (Ion 2003, 51-52). Mihai Antonescu also remains in contact with Tătărescu throughout the year 1944, and through Tătărescu with the rest of the block's leaders. As proof of this, we may invoke the fact that, in July 1944, Ioan Hudiță, member of the N.P.P., reproaches to Antonescu these very connections (Ion 2003, 48). Even in July 1944, Iuliu Maniu, who had in the meantime formed his own alliance with leftist parties, dissolving Tătărescu's block, reproaches to his new ally Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu his maintaining contact with Antonescu and Tătărescu.

At this point, we may identify three sure facts. The first is that collaboration, at least at the level of discussions and exchanges of information, existed between Mihai Antonescu, Gheorghe Tătărescu, and leftist leaders. The second one is that Gheorghe Tătărescu was indeed open to a future collaboration with the Government's members, or at least with Mihai Antonescu. The third certainty is that Tătărescu

had intended to start a new political movement ever since 1942 and that, beginning with 1943, he envisioned it as a strongly reformist, social-liberal one. But is there other evidence that might confirm the suspicions of the Opposition and the Special Information Service when it comes to *Ecoul* and its political substratum?

Firstly, as we lack direct evidence, we may find useful some indirect clues, namely information on the shared political principles of the persons indicated in the S.I.S. note. In fact, at least as far as the political ideas concerning the peasantry go, Mihai Antonescu, Gheorghe Tătărescu, and the Romanian left, especially the Social Democrat Party, have similar, if not identical opinions.

Questioned in his 1946 trial, Mihai Antonescu declares that the Government intended to implement a radical allotment reform since 1941 – but that it was forced to renounce it, because of the unfavorable circumstances of the war (Ciucă 1998, 99). He considers that the problem of land ownership is in fact highly related to that of the need to re-organize production – and it is for such reason that he proposes the organization of agricultural communes (Ciucă 1998, 100). By the end of 1943, however, when the marshal considers, for a while, that he will be able to sign a truce and remain the Government's leader, M. Antonescu discusses with him the political measures that would be useful in such a context. A new agrarian reform, providing for a new expropriation of large estates, the creation of a state-owned land fund, and a new allotment for the benefit of peasants, is considered necessary. M. Antonescu also thinks, further on, that “reformele sociale înaintate sunt necesare pentru păstrarea ordinii după război”⁽²³⁾ (Ciucă 1998, 103). Gheorghe Tătărescu shares the same political views and seems to be a supporter of the continuation of the agricultural policies promoted by the Antonescu Government. He also is a supporter of ample reforms after the war, as he states beginning with 1943. As to his conceptions concerning the peasantry, they are expressed and promoted by Tătărescu himself and the ideologists of his wing of the N.L.P. in 1945 – they wish to implement a new allotment for the benefit of the peasantry by a new expropriation process, to involve the state in supporting and guiding peasant agriculture, to develop agricultural education, and to facilitate

the peasants' access to modern agricultural technologies (Ion 2003, 114). Most important, “instrumentul de realizare a acestui program trebuia să fie, în fiecare sat, obștea liber consimțită și organizată pe baze cooperatiste”⁽²⁴⁾ (Ion 2003, 114). The Social Democrats' platform in the same field is also perfectly compatible – a new allotment, respect for the principle of working property, the mechanization of agriculture, an improvement in agricultural practices through education, and guidance from the state (Rădăceanu 1945). A final point on which M. Antonescu, Gh. Tătărescu, and the Romanian left all agree on is the necessity to negotiate directly with the Soviets and to carry these negotiations on U.S.S.R. territory. M. Antonescu, on Tătărescu's request, is open to sending negotiators from the latter's grouping into Soviet land – but all projects of this type are eventually, for one reason or another, abandoned or rejected. Given the similarities of political platform, at least as far as rural development and agrarian policies go, an attempt to create a social-liberal alliance by the initiative of Gh. Tătărescu, together with Mihai Antonescu, and with membership from Romanian leftist parties, seems even more plausible.

But why would *Ecoul* in particular be the propaganda tool of this political grouping? The same S.I.S. note mentions Mircea Grigorescu, the manager of the newspaper. Mircea Grigorescu, as we shall see, has similar political opinions with M. Antonescu and Gh. Tătărescu. Moreover, he serves as a link between Mihai Antonescu and Grigore Gafencu. Even though he had studied at the Faculty of Law, Grigorescu turns to a career in journalism (Neagu 2008). Clues to his political orientation, apparently a center-leftist one, may be found in an analysis of the newspapers for which he works during his career, most of them being voices for such political views. An important one of these is *Timpul*⁽²⁵⁾ – a newspaper run by Grigore Gafencu, a left-wing member of the N.P.P. Grigorescu is also part of the *Criterion* movement, participating in one of its symposiums on October 18, 1932, with a presentation on *Lenin în lumina propagandei*⁽²⁶⁾ (Vulcănescu 2005, XCII), and holding the

⁽²³⁾ Transl.: “Ample social reforms are necessary so that order may be maintained after the war”.

⁽²⁴⁾ Transl.: “The instrument by which this platform should be realized in each village is the organization of an agricultural commune, based on free consent and organized on co-operative principles”.

⁽²⁵⁾ Transl.: *The Time*.

⁽²⁶⁾ Transl.: *Lenin in the light of propaganda*.

job of editorial secretary for the *Criterion* magazine. Mircea Vulcănescu, as he knew Grigorescu, recalls him as a pure Marxist (Vulcănescu 2005, 20). Such a political orientation makes plausible his participation in an initiative that aims at promoting the ideas of a group that includes the Romanian left and his role as a mediator between the Social Democrats and Tătărescu on the one hand and Antonescu on the other hand. Moreover, given his participation in the *Criterion* movement, we may suspect that it is here that Stahl met him – and his political orientation, his preference for social democracy made him even more convincing for the Social Democrat Stahl.

One may then establish connections between M. Grigorescu, M. Antonescu, and Gr. Gafencu. The existence of a connection between M. Grigorescu, chief editor for *Timpul*, and Grigore Gafencu, the newspaper's owner, is obvious. It is also known that M. Grigorescu visits Gafencu in Switzerland multiple times during the war, discussing the situation of *Timpul* and the country's general situation as well (Gafencu 2008). But the hypothesis that Gafencu suggested to Grigorescu that he contribute to the consolidation of one of the major parties by fusing with the Social Democrats remains, for the moment, impossible to prove in the absence of any documented evidence.

Even more interesting is the fact that, during the war, a *Marxist* Mircea Grigorescu is ministry councillor and director for Internal Press in the Ministry of Propaganda that Mihai Antonescu leads (Ciucă 1998; Neagu 2008). Antonescu had met Grigorescu at the time when he was working for *Adevărul* ⁽²⁷⁾, a leftist journal in which Antonescu published articles from time to time and in whose editorial staff he had many friends, according to his own statements (Ciucă 1998, 106). The tight collaboration between the two and Antonescu's publishing history must be important signs of his real political orientation – that is, a leftist one. We then find that Mircea Grigorescu was, according to Antonescu's statements in 1946, the middleman between Antonescu and Gafencu in various affairs – finalizing a commercial operation between Gafencu and the Ministry of National Economy (Ciucă 1998, 134); an exception from mobilization that is granted to Gafencu in January 1943 (Gafencu 2008, 198); a proposal to sell some stocks (or all of them) to the *Timpul* newspaper to Mihai Antonescu after

January 1943 (Ciucă 1998, 134). Besides these three matters, the collaboration between the two is limited, according to the available written accounts, to an exchange of information and opinions on the foreign policy of Romania. But the two have similar beliefs in this matter – they share an enthusiasm for the idea of a united Europe (Hillgruber 2007; Chinezu 2004; Gafencu 2007); a belief in the necessity to find a way to communicate with the U.S.S.R. and to directly negotiate, in Moscow, the truce, in the name of a political block (Ciucă 1998; Gafencu 2008); a belief in the important role that the U.S.S.R. will have in South-East Europe after the war (Gafencu 2000, 2008); finding Romania and the states between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea to be a barrier that protects Europe from Soviet expansion (Ciucă 1998; Gafencu 2000). We thus find that, beyond common political beliefs in the field of domestic politics, namely leftist ones, M. Antonescu and Gr. Gafencu also share very important principles concerning Romania's foreign policy – and we can underline here the need to directly negotiate with the Soviets, in Moscow, in the name of a political block. It is here that their beliefs meet perfectly those of Gh. Tătărescu.

But if the creation of *Ecoul* may find its motives in the connections between M. Antonescu, Gh. Tătărescu, Mircea Grigorescu, and Grigore Gafencu in the context of the moment, H. H Stahl's decision to write for this newspaper probably has a number of other, connected motives, as we shall see. First of all, there is a significant compatibility of political ideas shared by Stahl with those of Grigorescu and the others when it comes to the policies that are necessary for the development of Romanian rural space and even a compatibility of vision when it comes to foreign policy. The need to support the creation and spread of co-operatives, to technologically modernize agriculture, to consolidate lands, and to transform the state so that it assumes a stronger role in agricultural education and guidance are political principals that are common to all of them. Stahl then appears to agree with Gr. Gafencu and M. Antonescu when it comes to foreign policy as well, or so it is suggested in his article entitled *La răscrucea împărățiilor moarte* ⁽²⁸⁾ – in which underlines Romania's difficult position, its place amongst European states and its role as a barrier of a united and solidary Europe faced with a Soviet invasion. But we may not go as far as to state that Stahl wrote for *Ecoul* fully aware of

⁽²⁷⁾ Transl.: *The truth*.

⁽²⁸⁾ Transl.: "At the crossroads of dead empires".

the plans for the future of Romania which were shared by all of its alleged creators, thus voluntarily becoming a propaganda voice for an emergent political movement. But we may propose a supposition that seems highly plausible yet still uncertain, as we lack more compelling evidence. As he is highly interested, as we have seen, in the theme of rural development and agrees at least in part with the development policies that the Antonescu Government had initiated, called for – with unknown arguments – by Mircea Grigorescu, who he had known since his activity with *Criterion*, or by the other two monographers, Ion Conea and Octavian Neamțu, with whom Grigorescu was also acquainted, Stahl decides to write for *Ecoul*. But what he writes in the newspaper is not mere propaganda for Government policy – he subjects agricultural communes to a critical analysis, underlining not only their strong points, but their potential weak points as well, all the while inviting public opinion and authorities to take into consideration all the factors necessary for their success. Moreover, most likely in an attempt to regain a more respected position for his own and the School's experience and survey in defining rural development policies, Stahl presents once more his own findings, ideas, and contributions, and those of Gusti's School as well, suggesting that they would be valuable for improving the current policy. We cannot know if Stahl had any certainty as to the impact of his writings in current or future Government circles. But he finds it convenient – and of his duty, as well – to write about these things. Yet, it is a curious fact that, at a time when the fate of the war was far from being visibly decided and Romania was still at war, both H. H. Stahl and Octavian Neamțu write for *Ecoul* of the development of Romania after the war. Perhaps the advance of Soviet troops is a sign for them, signaling the future defeat of Germany or an approaching truce. It still remains possible, however, that they were aware of Romanian politicians' current attempts to establish alliances, to change the country's foreign policy, to take Romania out of the war, and to change its domestic policy in a direction that was compatible that of the School's sociologists.

Henri H. Stahl on Romanian Rural Development

Without a prior investigation of these little known pages in the history of Romanian foreign and domestic (especially rural development) policies until 1944, H. H. Stahl's writings in the

newspaper *Ecoul* would seem, to the uninformed eye, just a simple and interesting episode of Stahl's sociological thought process. Isolated, extracted from the context in which they were written, these texts may even offer to their reader an illusory impression that they represent a personal and deeply original vision of H. H. Stahl on Romanian rural development. Replaced in their context, they convey the image of an acting sociologist, situated in a particular historical context, commenting the development policies of the moment, adding his own and the School's contributions, perhaps in an attempt to regain a better position on Romania's public scene. Thus analyzed, his vision may be understood as the result of a complex interaction between his own particular life course, his and his group's strategies for the future, the interactions of social networks, ideologies, political actions, and international relations – all placed in a particular context, a particular historic succession. His actions and his conception on rural development and their place in the wider ensemble of history along with their impact may only be understood and known in this manner – re-integrated in the context in which they existed.

Finally, we may now proceed to a short exposure of H. H. Stahl's thought on rural development, as it is stated in the pages of *Ecoul*, in the January-March 1944 interval.

In *Răfuiala cu scopurile noastre* ⁽²⁹⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 95-99), he brings into question, once again, the agricultural communes, whose purposes, he notes, are yet unclear to the public and to himself. He underlines that the creators of Romanian development policy should really take upon themselves the mission of clarifying them. In his opinion, the development that they wish to generate should be for the benefit of broad sectors of the population. It is not something simple to obtain – you cannot obtain it either simply by way of a new allotment, or by way of a rise in production. In fact, rural development in Stahl's sociological vision implies much more than mere economic development – it also implies an improvement in the health of the peasantry and an increase and facilitation of its access to cultural and moral goods.

In *Tractorul* (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 113-117), he salutes the Government's efforts to facilitate peasants' access to modern agricultural machinery, especially tractors. As

⁽²⁹⁾ Transl.: "A confrontation with our own purposes".

they can be neither acquired nor used, because of a strong fragmentation of lands and resources, Stahl presents the solution of land consolidation, which would ideally take place only during the months of agricultural activity. This would be a continuation of the ancient model of communal lots and with the tradition of plowing associations and a re-vitalization of the ancient communal social organization of the peasantry. Moreover, if they organized themselves in such a manner, peasants could benefit from support and guidance from the state and its specialists. The solution that Stahl proposes – land consolidation, mechanization, and state intervention in directing agricultural activities – is precisely that described in the 1942 Decree on the organization of agricultural communes. And perhaps it is also significant that this article was published just a few days after the Romanian press – including *Ecoul* – had published a speech given by Mihai Antonescu on February the 6th 1944 during a meeting of the Romanian Union of Agricultural Syndicates, a speech that presented the massive imports of agricultural tools and machinery that the Romanian state had made as yet. Was it that Stahl had just found out with this occasion of the process taking place, affecting Romanian agriculture? Or was he joining a propaganda campaign? These questions must be left unanswered.

In *Prejudecăți și tradiții* ⁽³⁰⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 126-128), he underlines the need for a real knowledge of the needs of the peasantry and for building its future to the measure of its possibilities. He rejects the arguments that peasants are individualists and argues once more for their association, the temporary consolidation of their lands, so that they be cultivated using modern technology, especially since an excessive fragmentation of their lands is a real hindrance to the improvement of their life quality. In his opinion, it is our duty to promote and use modern science, which generates welfare, along with the many benefits of social solidarity, especially since solidarity has survived in villages in spite of all difficulties. He adds that one must shed light onto peasants' objections to consolidation and association in a modern style, so that the truth behind them could be identified and solutions be found. He finally adds more arguments to his pleading – he first is that the peasantry is very able to keep abreast of the changing times and that its old tradition can very

well be a new spring of life for many centuries to come.

Dușmanii dinlăuntru ⁽³¹⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 135-138) is a new pleading for solidarity and promoting development. The peasants' biggest foes, he finds, are disease and poverty. Each of us must become involved and work to make a small contribution to a better guidance of the peasantry. The Cultural Houses ⁽³²⁾ of the King Mihai Cultural Foundation had organized visits for advice, guidance, and help. But each one of our interventions in the direction of informing and sanitary education of the peasantry could literally save the lives of thousands of children. It is not just the state's business to intervene – it is our common responsibility. And of all, Stahl emphasizes, village intellectuals are most responsible for becoming models and support for peasants.

Then, perhaps responding to a polemic dialogue, Stahl returns to argue in *Este țărâtimea retrogradă?* ⁽³³⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 148-151) for the peasantry's capacity and availability to participate in the progress of agriculture and of the country. The peasantry, he adds, is willing and capable to adapt to modern technology. Moreover, boyars were never models or promoters of progress, as they always relied on peasants' work and inventory. Small holdings, he concludes, will find in themselves and in the state's support the strength that they need, so that they become the base of national prosperity (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 151).

In *Preotul Ion Zamă din Cornova* ⁽³⁴⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 157-160), he pays tribute to a priest he met during the research campaign in Cornova, a true example of service for the benefit of the peasantry. As he pays homage, he underlines once again the role of local leaders and intellectuals in the activities that promote development and in activating the peasantry for its own development.

The last article he dedicates to development problems is *La porunci în satele ardelene* ⁽³⁵⁾ (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 165-169). He starts from the example of villages from the region of Transylvania, which hold community council meetings each Sunday in front of the village church. These are true

⁽³⁰⁾ Transl.: *Prejudice and traditions*.

⁽³¹⁾ Transl.: *The foes within*.

⁽³²⁾ Original: *Căminele Culturale*.

⁽³³⁾ Transl.: *Is the peasantry a backward one?*

⁽³⁴⁾ Transl.: *Ion Zeama, the priest from Cornova*.

⁽³⁵⁾ Transl.: *Community councils in the villages of the Ardeal*.

community forums and are an occasion to discuss, exchange advice, and information and, most importantly, involve and commit community members to communal activities. At the same time, a growing number of Romanian villages are threatened by or lack cohesion and community participation, leaving their problems to be solved, hopefully, by the state or by individuals. But the development problems of the peasantry are multiple and their overcoming is a complex matter – they must ensure good health (by accessing the benefits of modern science and technology), economic welfare (by practicing rational agriculture), a greater purchase power, and the ability to sell their products. And they will achieve this only if they achieve what in Gusti's development methodology is termed "cultura sufletului și a minții" ⁽³⁶⁾. Stahl's proposed solution is once again inspired by the traditional life of villages, materialized in the above-mentioned community meetings – peasants should develop a joint interest for their development and participate in the process. This is because the development objectives of the community may only be reached through joint efforts, with the state and the local authorities only having a limited role in its realization – namely to guide and administrate community life. To activate the whole social group, he adds, one only needs to change habits. Moreover, institutions that can support this change already exist – they were created to support the social cohesion of the village and its active organization and to contribute with its full initiative power to promote a common platform and a development that may touch all aspects of community life – health, work, mind, and soul (Stahl 1944, apud Rostás 2013, 168). These institutions are the Cultural Houses that already exist and that should be used to their full potential, avoiding the risk of becoming only a good intention.

And so we find that, in his articles, beyond promoting, questioning, and critically analyzing agricultural communes as they were conceived by Romanian politicians – perhaps exactly those that were behind the existence of *Ecoul* – Henri H. Stahl draws the lines of a valuable but little known sociological vision. To the agricultural communes that politicians envisioned, he wishes to add the virtues of the old peasant communes – communal solidarity and community participation in the resolution of its own development problems – in order to build the base of a better social organization of

the peasantry in parallel to its economic re-organization. In his view, rural development is a multi-dimensional one, and is not limited to the spread of economical welfare. The whole of the peasant population must benefit from it without discrimination. Intellectuals, village leaders, townspeople, the state and its institutions (especially Cultural Houses) have as their main responsibilities the activating, guiding, and supporting the peasantry in its development efforts. In fact, the ideas that Stahl outlines as he writes on the matter of agricultural communes make up a community development model whose validity one may argue for the present day, as well.

References

a. Books

- Apolzan, L. 1945** Apolzan, L., *Sate și orașe și regiuni cercetate de Institutul Social Român*. București, Institutul de Cercetări Sociale al României (1945).
- Buzatu, Bichineț 2005** Buzatu, G., Bichineț, C., *Arhive secrete, secretele arhivelor*, vol. 2. București, Mica Valahie (2005).
- Chinez 2004** Chinez, Cl. (ed.), *Provocarea Europei. Exilul european al lui Grigore Gafencu, 1941-1957*, București, Pro Historia (2004).
- Ciucă 1998** Ciucă, M. D., *Procesul mareșalului Antonescu. Documente*, vol. 3, București, Saeculum I. O (1998).
- Gafencu 2000** Gafencu, G., *Politica în exil: 1942-1957*, București, Oscar Print (2000).
- Golopenția 2002** Golopenția, A., *Opere complete. Sociologie*, vol. 1. București, Ed. Enciclopedică (2002).
- Hillgruber 2007** Hillgruber, A., *Hitler, regele Carol și mareșalul Antonescu*, București, Humanitas (2007).
- Ion 2003** Ion, N. D., *Gheorghe Tătărescu și Partidul Național Liberal: 1944-1948*, București, Tritonic (2003).
- I.Ș.S.R. 1944** Institutul de Științe Sociale al României, *Institutul de Științe Sociale al României: 25 de ani de publicații, 1919-1944*, București, Institutul de Științe Sociale al României,

⁽³⁶⁾ Transl.: "A culture of the soul and of the mind".

- Biblioteca de Sociologie, Etică și Politică (1944).
- Larionescu 2013** Larionescu, M., *Economia socială și cooperația. O perspectivă socioistorică comparată*, Iași, Polirom (2013).
- Manuilă, Georgescu 1937** Manuilă, S., Georgescu, D. C., *Populația României*, București, Imprimeria Națională (1937).
- Mladenatz 1938** Mladenatz, G., *Gândirea cooperativă în România*, București, Independența Economică (1938).
- Mladenatz, Madgearu 1935** Mladenatz, G., Madgearu, V., *Reforma cooperației*, București, Cultura Națională (1935).
- Rădăceanu 1945** Rădăceanu, L., *Programul agrar social-democrat*, București, Ed. Partidului Social Democrat (1945).
- Rostás 2000** Rostás, Z., *Monografia ca utopie. Interviu cu H.H. Stahl (1985-1987)*, București, Paideia (2000).
- Rostás 2011** Rostás, Z., "Dimitrie Gusti, schiță pentru un portret de fondator". In Dimitrie Gusti (et al.), *Cornova 1931*, Chișinău, Quant (2011).
- Rostás 2013** Rostás, Z., *Răfuiala cu scopurile noastre*, București, Paideia (2013).
- Șandru 1989** Șandru, D., *Obștile de arendare din România*, Iași, Universitatea Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1989).
- Șandru 2000** Șandru, D., *Reforma agrară din 1945 în România*, București, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului (2000).
- Vulcănescu 2005** Vulcănescu, M., *Opere*, vol. 1, București, Ed. Fundației Naționale pentru Științe și Artă (2005).
- agricolă hotărâtoare pentru ridicarea materială și morală a satelor.* In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, 6-7, București (1942).
- Chiriacescu 1944** Chiriacescu, Em., *Obștea Agricolă*. In: *Curentul*, XVII, 5728, 28 ianuarie, București (1944).
- Cornățeanu 1942** Cornățeanu, N. D., *Raționalizarea agriculturii românești în cadrul noii economii Europene*. In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, nr. 3-4, București (1942).
- Filipescu 1942** Filipescu, C., *Obștea obligatorie*. In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, 8-10, București (1942).
- Manolescu 1942** Manolescu, I. P., *Organizarea de Stat a vieții agricole*. In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, 3-4, București (1942).
- Neagu 2008** Neagu, M., *Un mare jurnalist: Mircea Grigorescu (1908-1976)*. In: *Pro Saeculum*, VIII, 8, Focșani (2008).
- Pănă 1942** Pănă, A., *Agricultura românească în noul cadru european. Condițiunile grele în care a lucrat agricultura românească*. In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, 8-10, București (1942).
- Stahl 1935** Stahl, H. H., *Experiența echipelor regale studențești*. In: *Revista Fundațiilor Regale*, II, 1(1935).
- Țiculescu 1942** Țiculescu, D. I., *Actualizarea problemei obștilor satești*. In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, 5, București (1942).
- Timpul 1944** *Obștile agricole*. In: *Timpul*, VIII, 2428, 6, duminică 13 februarie (1944).
- Țincu 1944** Țincu, P., *Un bilanț agricol pozitiv. Biruința Tractorului*. In: *Curentul*, XVII, 5715, sâmbătă 15 ianuarie (1944).
- Vulcănescu 1936** Vulcănescu, M., *Dimitrie Gusti, profesorul*. In: *Arhiva pentru Știința și Reforma Socială*, 2, XIV, (1936).
- b. Papers in periodical journals**
- Carabella 1942** Carabella, A. D., *Dl. Aurelian Pănă – agricultor și ministru al agriculturii*. In: *Pagini Agrare și Sociale*, XIX, 6-7, București (1942).
- Cardaș 1942** Cardaș, A., *Cooperația*

Gusti in Northern Transylvania

The Gustist Sociology Pursued by József Venczel in the 1940-1945 Period

Balázs TELEGDY

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania

E-mail: telegdybalazs@sapientia.siculorum.ro

Abstract. In this paper I shall analyse the effects of Bucharest School of Sociology on József Venczel's work during World War II. Without presenting in detail the events which led Venczel to turn to the Bucharest School of Sociology, led by Dimitrie Gusti, presented in previous studies (Telegdy 2014), I shall focus on those aspects which prove that Venczel remained a disciple of Romanian sociology pursued by the Bucharest School of Sociology. This is all the more important, taking into account that during 1940-1945 József Venczel was living and working in Cluj, which, in the period under review, was being once again part of Hungary.

Keywords: *Gustism*, Venczel, Romanian sociology, Transylvanian Hungarian sociology, World War II.

The Interwar Institutional Context

Scientific Publications

First, it is important to note that in 1935, József Venczel became the founder and editor of the *Hitel* [Credit] journal, which was started as final proof of the split between J. Venczel and the *Erdélyi Fiatalok* [Transylvanian Youth], as this new journal practically addressed the same public as the Transylvanian Youth. The essential difference is to be found in the orientation of the two journals towards the knowledge of village life: while *Erdélyi Fiatalok* [Transylvanian Youth] tried and better understand and reveal the village and the villagers' life through literary means, the founders of *Hitel* [Credit] were engaged on the side of scientific research.

About the same time, as an expression of his alienation from the path followed by the *Erdélyi Fiatalok* [Transylvanian Youth], Venczel also began to publish in the *Erdélyi Múzeum* [Transylvanian Museum], the publication of the Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület [Transylvanian Museum Society], founded in 1859, and engaged on the side of the upholding Hungarian science in Transylvania by way of museum exhibitions and scientific publications. After World War I, the exhibits of the Society, handled on contractual bases by the Cluj University, were confiscated by the Romanian government, on grounds of being the legal successor to the contract concluded with the Hungarian government. The assets of the Society, invested in state bonds, were also

forfeit, and, being denied any financing from the Romanian government, it mainly survived on the proceeds of donations (Szabó 1942).

Venczel's connections and his scientific orientation towards the Bucharest School of Sociology, also manifested by forming part of Venczel's belief concerning the role of intellectuals in Hungarian society in Transylvania, started in the course of 1935, when initially Venczel wrote reviews on three book recently published in Bucharest, signed by leading representatives of the School. These three books were:

- Gusti, D., *Sociologia monografică, știință a realității social[e]*. Studiu introductiv la volumul lui Traian Herseni: *Teoria monografiei sociale* [Gusti, D.: The monographic sociology, science of the social reality. Introductory study to Traian Herseni's The theory of monographic sociology]
- Herseni, Traian, *Teoria monografiei sociologice*. Cu un studiu introductiv: *Sociologia monografică, știință a realității sociale*, de D. Gusti. [Traian Herseni, The theory of monographic sociology. With an introductory study by Gusti. D: The monographic sociology, science of the social reality]
- Stahl, H. H., *Tehnica monografiei sociologice*. [Stahl, H.H. The techniques of monographic sociology].

The reviews of these books were published in the journal *Erdélyi Múzeum* [Transylvanian Museum], proving Venczel's final break with the Transylvanian Youth Movement.

At the same time, in the next issue, 7-9, the same journal – *Erdélyi Múzeum* [Transylvanian Museum] – there appeared Venczel's first important field work, *A falumunka és a falumunka-mozgalom* [Rural labor and the rural labor movement], which later appeared as an independent publication in the series *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* [Transylvanian Scientific Notebooks], and which basically sums up the Hungarian specialized literature and initiates the readership in the concepts and methods developed by the Bucharest School of Sociology. But this work is much more than a simple review, since it provides a broad description of the history of this movement and of the more or less successful attempts of the Hungarians from Transylvania in this domain. This work stands out, however, through the fact that the monographic method developed by Professor D. Gusti and his disciples is placed in a broader, international context, within which J. Venczel refers to both the results of authors from Hungary and from the West, especially from Germany and France.

József Venczel also used this study as a means to express a constructive criticism about the Hungarian attempts of rural labour in Transylvania, marking and the way which is supposed to be taken by the Hungarian society involved in rural labor in order to become a professional one, rising to the standards of the Bucharest School of Sociology.

After presenting this prominent antecedent in J. Venczel's scientific life, I would like to give some more details about the *Hitel* [Credit] ⁽¹⁾ journal; the fact that he was its

⁽¹⁾ The importance of Széchenyi's work in J. Venczel's conceptions and scientific works is presented in his article published in the June 1936 issue of the journal *Romanian Sociology*, entitled "From National Self-Awareness to the Science of the Nation – Research Notes over Attempts of Hungarian Village Research", where it develops the idea that there is a spiritual connection between Széchenyi's perception of the nation's self-knowledge with the similar ideas of Dimitrie Gusti. As he kept the name of the magazine *Hitel* [Credit], Venczel make a direct reference to the work of the same title by I. Széchenyi, suggesting the ultimate goal of the magazine, which is serving an objective national self-knowledge with the help of social sciences.

founder and redactor played a major part in Venczel's scientific and public career, and the journal also grew in importance to becoming an important aspect of the Hungarian scene of social sciences in Transylvania.

The evolution of the *Hitel* journal can be divided into three periods. The first period was the briefest, beginning with the first issue of 1935 and ending in July the same year. During this time, the magazine was published monthly, its editors being in effect László Makkai and József Venczel, and with István Koós-Kocsis as a nominal editor. In the first period, the journal outspokenly propagated the idea achieving a real national self-knowledge with the help of the younger generation, those born in Transylvania in the 1920s. In this first format, magazine editors proposed that, in addition to putting forward the results of field research, it should become a means to bring literature of high quality to the readers – both Hungarian and Romanian, German, and universal. As a result, outside scientific works, every number contained stories or poems of eminent members of Romanian literature translated into Hungarian.

Despite all efforts, this format lasted for only six months. The reasons are manifold, and I will mention them only briefly. The biggest problem was related to the financing of the journal, which in the absence of a supporter group and due to non-paying subscribers could no longer appear. Apart from the financial problem, the two above-named editors were unable to be there for the journal during the crisis: Venczel was publishing in the *Erdélyi Múzeum* [Transylvanian Museum] journal as well, even in the mentioned period working on his draft of the *A falumunka és a falumunka-mozgalom* [Rural labor and the rural labor movement].

The second format of the magazine began in January 1936. After the collapse of the first editorial team, Venczel formed a new one with the participation of Dezső Albrecht ⁽²⁾,

⁽²⁾ Dezső Albrecht (26 February 26, 1908, Huedin - September 6, 1976, Paris, France) was a lawyer, journalist, editor, and politician. He graduated from the Faculty of Law in Cluj. He takes part in restarting the *Hitel* [Credit] journal, where after an allusion to a new order, made in the first issue's editorial, is called a Fascist by Edgar Balogh, the publisher of the journal *Korunk* [Our time], a convinced Communist. This mark accompanied him in the collective memory of Transylvanian Hungarian literature, despite the fact that, for example, the editorial team from *Hitel* participated along with that of *Korunk*

Sándor Vita ⁽³⁾, and Béla Keki ⁽⁴⁾, keeping the name of the journal. In this new format, it succeeded in finding its scope, becoming a journal with quarterly appearance.

Regarding the differences between the two periods of the journal, in this second version literary works were no longer published, the journal being open only for scientific publishing, with possible implications in the Romanian social policies, mainly those affecting the Hungarian minority. The accepted standard was the high level and professionalism of the published studies.

Although *Hitel* [Credit] was not an ideological journal, focusing primarily on “self-revision”, based on editorials, it was, however, rated as a magazine of a politically right orientation, having got different inside groups with more or less of a tinge towards right-wing extremism.

Avowedly, the magazine wanted to be the forum of those young professionals who were able and willing to promote national self-

awareness objectives, based on a positivist scientific outlook, consistent with the ideas of the Bucharest School of Sociology. In the words of J. Venczel, this self-knowledge had to be characterized by a frank criticism about and towards ourselves. In his own words: “speaking of the Transylvanian Hungarian social perspective we shouldn’t understand some highbrow theory. It is a simple form of self-knowledge. On the one hand, a kind of statistical report on the demographic proportion of our people, its geographical spread, distribution by occupation, the volume, and economic opportunities of our forces, the situation of public education, sanitation, the role of ecclesiastical and social organizations, our cultural weight, social-economic, and political strength in the Romanian state, and on the other hand, a honest critical reflection: reviewing and assessing our opportunities, our untapped economic forces, institutions, and cultural bodies, legal or medical organizations, absent and necessary, the contradictions in our social development. Including, of course, an evolutionary diagram of the life of the Hungarians in Transylvania, as it was constituted after the geopolitical transformations: what remained, what was lost, what was missing, and what have we created?” (Venczel 1936, 77).

The idea of national self-awareness was a crucial issue in the journals supervised by Dimitrie Gusti as well, who said about *Sociologie Românească* [Romanian Sociology] that “[t]he journal, which we put out today to the Romanian public, as well as *Archiva pentru Știința și Reforma Socială* [Archive for Science and Social Reform] “will be a forum dedicated to Romanian social Truth” (Gusti 1936, 8). The difference between *The Archive for Science and Social Reform* and *The Romanian Sociology* was that “[i]n the *Archive* will appear, as until now, studies that are more developed than a magazine article, although not a volume, and contributions that will connect with foreign sociological science; while *Romanian Sociology* will comment and primarily communicate facts and data collected from the rich archive of the material gathered in our villages by the sociology department of the *Institutul Social Român* [Romanian Social Institute]” (Gusti 1936, 8).

A clear evidence that J. Venczel considered the work of the Gustist school as an example becomes apparent from the following quote: “Not only for the pillars of our new public awareness is evident that Transylvanian

[Our time], in organizing the meeting in Targu Mures. Between 1941 and 1944, he is the executive vicepresident of *Erdélyi Párt* [Transylvanian Party].

⁽³⁾ Sándor Vita (February 1, 1904, Sibiu - January 26, 1993, Budapest, Hungary) was a writer specializing in economics and an editor. After graduating from the Bethlen College from Aiud, he attends the *Budapesti Kereskedelmi Akadémia* [Commercial Academy of Budapest] and Vienna. After returning to Transylvania, in addition to positions held as an economist, he is involved in organizing the youth. He is a member of the editorial team of the journal *Hitel* [Credit]. In the period 1940-1944, he is a member of the Hungarian Parliament, delegated by the *Erdélyi Párt* [Transylvanian Party], where he represents the moderate line – openly opposing the deportation of Jews after 1944. From 1944 on, he is a member of the faction which began negotiations with the leftist intelligentsia members and signed – together with Imre Miko – Miklós Horthy’s memorandum asking the exit of Hungary from the war.

⁽⁴⁾ Béla Kéki (December 30, 1907, Petroșani - April 5, 1993, Budapest, Hungary) was a librarian, editor, and music critic. After graduating from the Roman Catholic High School in Targu Mures, he finished his studies in Cluj, specializing in Hungarian literature, pedagogy, and aesthetics. He becomes an assistant of the Lyceum Library, where Venczel worked, and it is there that they must have met. Since 1936, he is an editor at *Hitel* [Credit]. After World War II, he becomes a librarian within the Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár [National Széchenyi Library] in Budapest, and finally retires as ex- Deputy chairman of the Műszaki Egyetem Központi Könyvtára [Central Library of the Technical University] in Budapest.

Hungarian social perspective is not meaningless, but among them there are some supporting, relying on scientific and practical results, that without a full knowledge of the society and a correct vision upon it we cannot speak of social building (ex. Professor Gusti)” (Venczel 1936, 79).

According to these ideas, the journal *Hitel* [Credit] was somewhere between the two magazines, as it basically followed the format of *Sociologie Românească* [Romanian Sociology], but it also published larger studies over several numbers.

I do not think, however, that the simultaneous appearance of the two journals – *Sociologia Românească* [Romanian Sociology] and *Hitel* [Credit] was incidental – both proposing a realistic and objective national knowledge, removing themselves from the ranks of current political trends and daily magazine publishing. What seems a plausible answer – given that the economic, political, and social contexts were similar in both cases – is that both the editorial team led by Dimitrie Gusti and the editorial team where J. Venczel was the embodiment of scientific rigour, gave the same in response to the same need and requirement of the readers.

This point of view appears in the first article by Professor Gusti in *Sociologie Românească* [Romanian Sociology], according to which “[w]e begin with the hope to meet a real need: the knowledge of country movement, which constitutes the only grounds of a true national sociology. The truth does not exist and cannot be found by anything but a continuous and perpetuated experience: *verum index sui*. (...) In this way *Romanian Sociology* will not be a mere collection of facts and precepts, but will maintain a Policy and an Ethics of Social Truth, as demonstrated by the science of the Nation” (Gusti 1936, 8).

This quote is comparable to Venczel’s idea, according to which “yet, we need to clarify at the beginning that self-knowledge and honesty compels us to bluntly refuse the illusions of those who expect miracles” (Venczel 1935, 22), revealing the essential similarity: the need for understanding the social reality without illusions and half truths.

Another landmark that can explain the simultaneous launching of the two journals may be that in the shared political context, the tension in the political life by the polarization towards the extremes was steadily growing. As he was this polarization, both Gusti and J. Venczel felt a real need for a platform where the

publications of the scientific community can find a place regardless of the political orientation of the writers, which could be manifested in other daily newspapers, the only standard being the high scientific level that unquestionably requested the objectivity of a good researcher.

Furthermore, on the political neutrality of the *Hitel* [Credit], Sándor Balázs claims – quoting Zoltán Szabó – that this endeavour was encouraged by some authors in Hungary. According to this quote, which originally appeared even in the *Hitel* [Credit] journal, Zoltán Szabó stated: “the sociography or the sociologist can be neither right nor left-oriented, in the common sense of the words” (Szabó 1936, 171).

As a result, it can be concluded that the appearance of the *Hitel* [Credit] was the same answer to the challenges and social issues of the day as was the *Sociologia Românească* [Romanian Sociology] journal, and that Venczel József spent the second semester of the school year 1935/1936 in Bucharest, in the company of the members of the Bucharest School of Sociology further helped this rapprochement among representatives of different nationalities belonging to the same generation, on the objective platform of social sciences.

University

After World War I, the University of Cluj was initially re-named the University of “Upper Dacia” and after 3 November 1919, Vasile Parvan inaugurated the “King Ferdinand I” University, which introduced study lines only in Romanian, leading to a significant reduction of Hungarian students in this university. As a suggestive presentation of Hungarian sentiment after the dictate of Trianon, this decrease in the number of Hungarian students who enrolled in Romanian colleges was mainly due to the following two reasons: firstly, an objective cause was the language barrier, as before 1920, Romanian language had not been taught to the Hungarians from Transylvania.

A second, much more subjective reason stemmed from the negative attitudes towards the new, Romanian institutions. As a result, state schools in Transylvania were regarded with a certain resentment, leading to the extreme that every Hungarian student enrolled in a State college in Romania would be considered a traitor (Vita 2014, 42). This resentment was significantly fuelled by the sequence of events that led to the dissolution of the Hungarian University of Cluj. Initially, the Romanian

government, under the leadership of Nicolae Iorga, was in favour of maintaining the university. Arguments in favour of this decision were multiple: at first, Iorga believed that each nationality has the right to a specific culture, and high-quality education system is part of this culture. Secondly, Iorga knew cultural and spiritual life in Romania well, and he did not want professors that would lead to a provincialisation of the Cluj University.

He proposed setting up a new university in Cluj with Romanian as the teaching language, which initially would have taught science applied sciences such as mining, forestry, and trade. N. Iorga knew that creating a good university takes decades or centuries, and as such, the merger of the two universities appeared only as a distant goal. This strategy was endorsed by the majority of Romanian intellectuals.

But on the stage of Romanian national and educational policy Onisifor Ghibu made his appearance, who, by his nationalist rhetoric, obtained the dissolution of the Hungarian University of Cluj. O. Ghibu states in his subjective argumentation about minority rights to a higher education in Romania that the Saxons of Transylvania, due to their low number cannot have any claim to a German university, and Hungarians are not a nation of a culture that would require a Hungarian university ⁽⁵⁾. The objective arguments refer to the antecedents of the time, namely that the University of Strasbourg was given over to the French authorities, and the University of Bratislava, to the Czechoslovak authorities. Therefore, by its actions, Ghibu managed to fulfil his aspirations, and the university professors from Cluj were ordered to swear an oath of loyalty that they, referring to university autonomy, they refused to take on May 12, 1919. Most of the faculty chose to go to Szeged, where the Ferenc József University continued to exist. Even the same day, the takeover of the university was enforced, although Ghibu received a mandate to do this as early as 8 May 1919. On 3 November 1919, the

courses began at the Romanian state University of Cluj ⁽⁶⁾.

In this institutional context, those who wanted to go to college usually had to choose between two alternatives: they could go to Hungary to learn the chosen profession in Hungarian (usually to Szeged and Budapest), or they could enrol in the faculty of theology, where Hungarian remained the teaching language.

Choosing this alternative – enrolling in theological colleges – explain why a significant group of the Hungarian publicists in Transylvania during the interwar period were priests of various denominations. Therefore, this basic training of these publicists designated a different style to problematize and to describe the issues they perceived in the everyday life of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

By the late 1920s, this attitude towards educational institutions in Romania gradually transformed, due to two major changes: the Hungarian youth schooled in the second decade of the last century learned the Romanian language, since it was introduced as a mandatory official language in all schools in Transylvania; since 1930, the Romanian State did not recognize the diplomas issued by the Hungarian state.

As a result, increasingly more Hungarian students enrolled to colleges having Romanian as the teaching language, eventually leading to the establishment of a small community of Hungarian students in Bucharest, rallied around the “Ferenc Koós” circle.

The *Gustism* Practiced by József Venczel in 1940-1945

In the aftermath of the Second Vienna Award, signed on August 30, 1940, Northern Transylvania became, once again, part of Hungary. This fundamental change in the political context entailed many changes, both at institutional and personal level. In this study I will present only those changes which directly affected the institutional status of Venczel, and had a direct effect on his work.

These major changes reached the bottom and scientific life in Northern Transylvania.

⁽⁵⁾ Bíró, S. (1997). *A kolozsvári egyetem román uralom alatt* [The University of Cluj under the Romanian domination]. *Magyar Kisebbség* [Hungarian Minority], 1997, III. 3-4. (<http://www.jakabffy.ro/magyarkisebbsseg/index.php?action=cimek&cikk=M970312.HTM>, accessed on 8/30/2014)

⁽⁶⁾ Cseke, P. (2009) *Az Erdélyi Fiatalok Történelemszemlélete* [The view on history of the Transilvanian Youth]. *Kisebbségkutatás* [Minority Research], 2009, 4. (http://www.hhrf.org/kisebbssegkutatasa/kk_2009_04/cikk.php?id=1798, accessed on 8/30/2014)

By summarizing the institutional context, I have tried and sketch that particular Hungarian intellectual space in Northern Transylvania, in which Venczel has conducted most of his intellectual labor.

Hitel [Credit] Journal

In 1940, the war between the two competing journals – *Hitel [Credit]* and *Erdélyi Fiatalok* [Transylvanian Youth] came to an end. In the case of *Erdélyi Fiatalok* [Transylvanian Youth] journal, the pursuit of its own policy of not getting involved with anything that has to do with the interwar political life in Transylvania practically led to its self-isolation, and as a result, after the issue no. 2 of 1940, it ceased to exist.

This had a significant effect on *Hitel* magazine, which remained the only scientific journal in Northern Transylvania. Here I must mention that the left-oriented magazine – *Korunk* – was also dissolved in 1940, and thus *Hitel* gained a position of monopoly. At the same time, due to the changes, it was renamed *Nemzetpolitikai Szemle* [National Political Observatory].

In this new context, Venczel remained one of the editors of the journal and its perception formed – among others – and the Romanian Social Institute, had a marked effect on the conceptual orientation of the magazine.

An eloquent example is found even in the editorial article of the first number of the restarted journal. Although the article is signed as “publishers”, it is likely that it was Venczel’s knowledge leaving its mark on the following text:

“A group of people left alone, lacking the beneficial help of the state, and impeded in developing its national existence, needs four groups of activities:

1. Protection of the souls, i.e. protection of the morals,
2. Protection of the bodies, i.e. healthcare,
3. Ensuring their well-being, i.e. protection of the economy,
4. Preserving their culture, i.e. protection of the culture.

These four activities are protected and provided by political activity”.

(*Hitel* 1940-41, 96)

These four areas are very close to the four areas of activity and intervention of the Bucharest School of Sociology, initiated by Dimitrie Gusti. These areas, which initially (in 1920), according

to Mircea Vulcănescu, were three, “its objectives [eg. works towards raising the cultural level of the people] were: a) physical education; b) economic culture; c) development of the soul” (Vulcănescu 1936, 1275). These initial objectives have undergone some changes since Henry H. Stahl’s enumeration already shows four cultures: the culture of health, the culture of work, the culture of the mind, and the culture of the soul (Stahl 1981, 284-301).

Universities

The university system was toppled as well. The *Ferenc József* University was moved back from Szeged to Cluj, whereas *Regele Ferdinand I* was moved to Sibiu and Timișoara.

In 1944, the Hungarian Government asked the teachers, in the light of the current military situation of Hungary in that year, to forfeit the academic year, but the teachers did not comply with this request and began the academic year 1944/1945. The opening ceremony was held in the basement, doubled as a bomb shelter.

After the end of World War II and the placement of Northern Transylvania back under Romanian authority, the reconstruction of the university system began once again, the universities changing back their places to where they were before the war.

ETI (Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet) [Scientific Institute of Transylvania]

Besides the *Ferencz József* University in Cluj, respectively the *Erdélyi Múzeum Intézet* [Transylvanian Museum Society], I must present another scientific institute that played a key role in Hungarian scientific life in Northern Transylvania. The Scientific Institute of Transylvania was founded in 1940 in order to address scientific issues specific to Transylvania. As a result, the main areas of interest of the Institute were the humanities, such as history and ethnographic analysis, but its scientific repertoire also included statistical analysis. The units of analysis were both people living in Transylvania and from neighbouring areas. The internal structure of the Institute was organized into 11 departments: “Geography, ethnography, history, archaeology, sociology, linguistics, Hungarian-Romanian relations, Hungarian-Saxon relations, literature, anthropology, and physiology” (Tamás 19, 412).

The human basis of the Institute was constituted of prominent representatives of Hungarian scientific life, mainly from Transylvania, being appointed as guest or

associate professors. In this institutional framework, Venczel appears as an associate professor of the Institute, which he also led for a short time in 1945.

It was in part this institutional affiliation the chance that offered Venczel a scientific framework to put in practice his knowledge acquired in Bucharest, at the Romanian Social Institute.

Venczel's main research field within the Institute was the analysis of the actual effects of the Agrarian Reform in Romania, specifically in Transylvania. In this paper I will present only the context of the research and the shared scientific outlook between the members of Sociological School of Bucharest. I have developed this theme in detail in another article (Telegdy 2015), whereas the agrarian policy in Northern Transylvania has been detailed by Tóth-Bartos (Tóth-Bartos 2015).

The first critics of the agrarian reform in Romania coming from members of the Bucharest School of Sociology were made even after the period when József Venczel was in Bucharest. In 1937, in the Romanian Sociology appear the first articles by Mircea Vulcănescu (Vulcănescu 1937), N. Cornăţeanu (Cornăţeanu 1937), and R. Cresin (Cresin 1937). Both the critical spirit and the methods used by the three appear in the works of Venczel, adapted and developed.

Taking advantage of the freedom offered by the new political situation, Venczel based his initial analysis on the 1910 census, the last by that date which was conducted in Transylvania by the Hungarian authorities. It should be noted here that Venczel does not appeal to this particular database only because it was made by the Hungarian authorities, but also because the subsequent agricultural censuses, conducted by the Romanian authorities were mistaken in several respects. The first result of this analysis was published in Italian in 1941 in Budapest, entitled "La Transilvania e La Riforma Agraria Rumena". In 1942 he publishes in Cluj, in Hungarian, an extensive analysis of the effects of the 1921 agrarian reform. Without presenting in detail the results of this research ⁽⁷⁾, the conclusion that can be inferred is that

⁽⁷⁾ For a better understanding of the political and economic context it should be noted that, in Romania, the Agrarian Reform of 1921 was regulated by two different laws: one regulating the reform carried out in Oltenia, Muntenia, Moldova, and Dobrogea (issued on July 17, 1921), and the other regulating, in a different spirit, the reform in

while the members of Bucharest School of Sociology – as M. Vulcănescu, R. Cresin, or N. Cornăţeanu – published in the *Sociologie Românească* [Romanian Sociology] articles in which they show, by analysis of the land reform performed in the Old Kingdom of Romania in 1921 – was more motivated by populist politics than by economic reasoning, Venczel also proves, in his analysis, that the land reform in Romania – realised in the new territories in 1921, as well – was more motivated by national politics than economic reasoning ⁽⁸⁾.

In 1943 he publishes a volume that concludes the results of the Romanian land reform after going through all the documents that had been published on this issue, pointing out the different methods of calculation used to manipulate the final results of the reform assessment.

In this topic also falls his work published in 1944, entitled *A Volt Határőrezredek Vagyonának Sorsa* [The faith of the assets of the former border companies] which presents the effects of the agrarian reform on the property of companies at the Transylvanian border.

What the prominent members of the Bucharest School of Sociology – who stayed in Bucharest or in Romania after the Vienna Dictate – and Venczel have in common is that they remained followers of the knowledge of reality, because they believed that a realistic future of a nation can be only built on a basis consisting of real data. As a result, many followers of scientific reality were subject to sufferings under various political regimes whose operating logic was based on false premises and ideals, and who could be exposed by these champions of reality.

As a conclusion, we can say that in this politically tense period the real scientists, motivated by their objective knowledge of reality, belonged to the same elite group, able to exceed the current polemics, and to mutually recognize the scientific value of their colleagues.

Monographic Research at Unguraş

Although József Venczel was not an employee of the *Ferencz József* University in Cluj, his name was well-known in the Hungarian scientific circles of Cluj. An eloquent proof for

Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, and Maramureş (issued on July 3, 1921).

⁽⁸⁾ A more detailed analysis of the article can be read in my paper (Telegdy 2015).

that is the fact that Venczel was appointed as the manager of the largest monographic research – in the Gustist sense of the word – performed by Hungarian students. Although the research was initiated by students who were members of the Social Sciences and Ethnographic Work Group [Társadalomtudományi Néprajzi Munkaközösség] which operated under the aegis “KMDSZ” ⁽⁹⁾, [The Hungarian Students’ Union of Cluj], this institutional difference was overcome and the analyzed documents show that Venczel accepted this appointment and began to prepare the monographic campaign.

As a clear demonstration that Venczel practiced monographs in the spirit of the Bucharest School of Sociology results from the fact that not only the field practice was similar, but most stages of preparation were, as well. In the spirit of multidisciplinary, therefore, in the recruitment phase, Venczel and the other organizers tried and gather students from different fields of science.

This recruitment process yielded the following results: the first monographic campaign involved a total of 33 people, out of which 5 girls and 28 boys and, by their professional formation there were law students, medical students, students preparing to become economics, teachers, Roman Catholic, and Protestant priests, and a student of agriculture.

Besides ensuring the multidisciplinary, Venczel followed the preparation steps learned in Bucharest, as during the run-up period the students and attended a one-week professional training session. In this period of preparation, Venczel invited the most prominent representatives of the areas aimed in the research, and, as a result, the participants received an “intellectual starting package” even before moving on to the fieldwork.

Without getting into details, I have to say that, on the field, the similarities with campaigns organized by Professor Gusti or his collaborators continued. This similarity can be detected beginning with the camp’s daily schedule of the camp, and continuing with the methods of gathering information, the way of divisioning the research themes by teams, and the meetings with the students, directly supervised and coordinated by Venczel. Of course, the similarities continue in the development of the research reports as well. Even if the vast majority of the documents were

lost, due to an article signed by Venczel himself, we can figure out how the data collection was organized during this first monographic campaign.

Outside the similarities, it should be noted that there were also notable differences between the campaign organized by Venczel and those organized by the close members of the Bucharest School of Sociology. These differences can be divided into two categories: the first category is of those differences that were imposed by the objective constraints. I think that in this category is enough indication that the financial basis of Professor Gusti and Venczel’s researches were not by far of the same magnitude: while Professor Gusti had got a Royal Foundation to support his work, Venczel had to organize a monographic campaign in the eve of Hungary’s entering the war, in times where the vast majority of funds were automatically redirected to the army. On another level were the different views of Professor Gusti’s various disciples, such as H.H. Stahl and A. Golopenția who, on the field, tried and tweak the method of monographic sociology in the same way as Venczel tried and further develop this method, that is, synthesizing the knowledge gathered from Hungarian authors with the vast treasure of ethnologic knowledge stored in Transylvanian scientific life.

Nonetheless, in spite of all the changes, Venczel remained committed to the methods of the Bucharest School of Sociology and never lost sight of the basic scientific characteristics of the method – the Unguraș monographic campaign still remained, therefore, a campaign carried out in the Gustist paradigm.

References

a. Books

- Stahl 1981** Stahl, Henry H., *Amintiri și Gânduri: din vechea școală a “monografiilor sociologice”*, București, Minerva (1981).
- Szabó 1942** Szabó, Attila T., *Az erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Története és Feladata*, Cluj, Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület Kiadása (1942).
- Venczel 1942** Venczel, József, *Az Erdélyi Román Földbirtokreform* Cluj, Minerva (1942).
- Venczel 1944** Venczel, József, *A Volt Határőrezredek Vagyonának Sorsa*, Cluj, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület (1944).
- Vita 2014** Vita, Sándor, *A Hiteltől a*

⁽⁹⁾ Kolozsvári Magyar Diák Szövetség – The Hungarian Students’ Union of Cluj.

Tisztelt Házig – Visszemlékezés, Napló (1943-1944), *Országgyűlési beszédek*, Cluj-Napoca, Polis (2014).

b. Chapter in books

- Tamás 1941** Tamás, Lajos, "Az Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet". In Gyula Bisztray, Attila T. Szabó, Lajos Tamás (eds.), *Az erdélyi egyetemi gondolat és a M. Kir. Ferencz József Tudományegyetem Története*, Cluj-Napoca (1941), p. 409-416.
- Tóth-Bartos 2015** Tóth-Bartos, András, "Erdélyi magyar birtokpolitika és Venczel József munkássága (1940-1945)". In Valér Veres, Tivadar Magyari (eds.), *Tanulmányok Venczel József munkásságáról: az erdélyi magyar szociológiai társadalomkutatás kezdetei*, Cluj-Napoca (2015), p. 87-110.

c. Papers in periodical journals

- Bíró 1997** Bíró, Sándor, *A kolozsvári egyetem román uralom alatt*. In: *Magyar Kisebbség*, 3-4 (1997).
- Cornățeanu 1937** Cornățeanu, Nicolae, *Problema lotului țărănesc, indivizibil*. In: *Sociologie Românească*, 2 (1937).
- Cresin 1937** Cresin, Roman, *Care este structura proprietății agrare din România?* In: *Sociologie Românească*, 2 (1937).
- Cseke 2009** Cseke, Péter, *Az Erdélyi Fiatalok Történelemszemlélete*. In: *Kisebbségkutatás*, 4 (2009).
- Gusti 1936** Gusti, Dimitrie, *Sociologie Românească*. In: *Sociologie Românească*, 1 (1936).
- Imreh 1967** Imreh, István, *A bálványosváraljai falukutatás*. In: *Korunk*, 16 (1967).
- Szabó 1936** Szabó, Zoltán, *A társadalomkutatás célja*. In: *Hitel*, 3 (1936).
- Telegdy 2015** Telegdy, Balázs, *The 1921 Agrarian Reform in Transylvania and its Reflection in the Considerations of the Members of the Bucharest School of Sociology*. In:

Belvedere Meridionale, 1 (2015).

- Venczel 1935** József Venczel, *Az falumunka és az erdélyi falumunka mozgalom*, In: *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek*, 78 (1935)
- Venczel 1936** Venczel, József, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*. In: *Hitel*, 1 (1936).
- Venczel 1943** Venczel József, *Tallózás az erdélyi földreform román irodalmában*. In: *Hitel*, 1(1943).
- Vulcănescu 1936** Vulcănescu, Mircea, *Omagiu Profesorului D. Gusti: II. XXV de ani de Învățământ Universitar (1910-1935)*. In: *Arhiva Pentru Știința și Reforma Socială* (1936).
- Vulcănescu 1937** Vulcănescu, Mircea, *Excedentul populației agricole și perspectivele gospodăriei țărănești*. In: *Sociologie Românească*, 2 (1937).

Everyday Life in the Countryside of Kazakhstan during World War II (The Example of Kustanay Region)

Gulmira ORYNBAYEVA

Institute of History and Ethnology named after Ch.Ch. Valikhanov,

Almaty, Kazakhstan

E-mail: orinbaevag@mail.ru

Abstract. In the present article the author touches upon such aspects of villagers' life in the Soviet home front during World War II, as their participation in public economy, schoolchildren labor, severe living conditions of villagers, state of evacuated and deported citizens, epidemics spreading, infringements of the law, *etc.* The picture of rural everyday life is shown on the materials of Kustanay region of Kazakh SSR with use of archival documents, which are stored in the State Archive of Kostanay region [*Gosudarstvennyi arhiv Kostanaiskoi oblasti* – GAKO], and have “top secret” status as a rule, and also, memoirs of contemporaries of those years, epistolary and other sources.

Keywords: rural everyday life, public economy, collective farms, World War II, Soviet Union, Kazakhstan.

Everyday life of people in the Soviet home front during World War II still remains a low-studied subject. During the Soviet period historians and ethnographers were forced more or less to adhere to the Soviet propaganda myths and policy of reality disguise, unattractive even for conditions of war years. It was required to express mass patriotic enthusiasm among the population; no attention was focused on extremely tough life of rural citizens, on prevalence of manual labor in agriculture, wide use of child labor, mass epidemics and starvation deaths, *etc.* The matter is that all these tragic moments would indicate insolvency of the Soviet economics, and in particular, collective-farm and state-farm systems imposed on the peasantry.

By the beginning of the war of USSR and Germany, Kustanay region was an agrarian area. The industry was presented by a small amount of enterprises. Each district of the region developed animal husbandry and grain crops direction. Up to 1941 agriculture failed to be restored completely after collectivization. Objects of social infrastructure constantly suffered of lack of financing that was considerably reflected in their general state (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 81). At the beginning of 1941 in certain districts of the region there were cases of mass starvation ⁽¹⁾. The war made the situation even worse. The region starts supplying the front with working horses, the most and the best part of motor transportation

equipment. Most skilled workers, heads of agricultural enterprises went to the front from collective farms, state farms, MTS (machine-tractor station); the number of able-bodied population was considerably reduced. The most part of hard peasant labor put down on the shoulders of women, teenagers and old men. Collective farmers fulfilled the plans of supply of grain, meat, other agricultural products for the front, working from dawn till dusk, suffering inconceivable difficulties and privations.

Memories of the beginning of the war of eyewitnesses of those events are interesting to analyze. According to K.K. Uspanov, a bell in the center of the village, which usually beat time informed on the outbreak of the war. Three men, probably, authorized by the power, walked up a tribune near the bell on village square and reported about the outbreak of war with fascist Germany. Villagers hung their heads, women began to sob, and children were perplexed why the village got so agitated (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 782).

However the Soviet propaganda operating with all its might affected not everyone. It happened that those who were called up for the Red Army eventually came back to their residences from Tashkent, Akmolinsk and Fergana after some time. And, not individuals, but the whole groups of 150–200 people. There were citizens who were openly declaring their refusal of military service; somebody would run away just during transportation (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 63).

⁽¹⁾ GAKO, 72–6–29–31, February 20, 1941.

In order to establish a new tough regime, “initiatives” of some collectives were proclaimed at the suggestion of the leading party bodies whose employees of other organizations had to “support”. Thus, collective farmers of the region took up an initiative of agricultural artel “Red mountain eagles” of Urzharsky district of Semipalatinsk region:

“We establish a new order in our collective farm – every worker will work from dawn till dusk, and machines will work day and night, we will increase production rate for all kinds of works from 20 to 50 percent, considerably reduce breaks for breakfast, lunches, rest”.

(Balakayev 1971, 68).

Participation in Public Economy

Villagers – employees of collective farms and state farms – were generally occupied in field and livestock production. Workers of the machine and tractor stations (MTS) served for mechanization needs of several nearby collective farms at the same time. Sowing and harvest seasons were the most important types of works in grain-growing.

The sowing season in the years of war was carried out basically in antiquated way, without tractors and machines. Two old bulls were put to a 2-share plough, two young bulls – into the middle, and two cows were put ahead. Three workers operated one plough. The plugalter (plough operator) held handles of a plough and operated the plough regulating ploughing depth. The driver directed bulls and cows. Cows were taken away from owners for the period of spring sowing. Often the cows’ owners became drivers trying to save cattle (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 784). And still one had to deliver butter and milk to the state from the same cow – 8 and 47 kg accordingly (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 740).

During the war people were compelled to work for 20–22 hours daily, falling asleep on their feet, sometimes losing hold of reality (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 791). In the period of ploughing, both workers and bulls were ready to drop. Great strength was required to lift the cattle. Sometimes the bulls falling in exhaustion had to be knifed to death. Bulls in the war years were the main draft force in field husbandry, in animal husbandry and on transport (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 719). There also happened mass murrain of working oxen and horses in a furrow ⁽²⁾.

⁽²⁾ GAKO, 268–11–56–27, May 5, 1944.

Seeds were scattered manually across the field due to lack of equipment. People were built in one row with a bag on their shoulder in which was about a bucket of seed grain. They would walk across the ploughed land “marching by the right foot”, take the seeds with their hand and scatter it between fingers. After that the land was harrowed, sealing the seeds in that way.

In summertime, collective farmers prepared fuel for the winter that basically served *kizyak* (bricks of dry cows’ dung). For that purpose manure was kneaded with feet, and then stacked in layers. Dried layers of *kizyak* divided into squares were given to collective farmers for their workdays. It is necessary to notice that *kizyak* – traditional fuel of nomads, had insufficient or little effect for dwellings heating in conditions of severe Kustanay winter. Haymaking and also digging the weeds were carried out widely with involvement of school children (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 193). Then there came the harvest-time. For harvesting from all means of mechanization “lobogreykas” (reapers) on horse traction with which they reaped even before revolution were more often used. However, “lobogreykas” (reapers), as well as light carriages, carts, and all other collective-farm stock were in great deficiency in the years of war. Therefore, bread was generally harvested manually on the fields. All urban and country population of the region was involved in harvesting; school and university students were taken away from their lessons. Due to lack of transport they had to reach their destinations walking on foot (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 324). It happened that children of preschool age were involved in collecting ears (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 194). In order to eliminate stealing, authorized commissioners were on duty in the fields, supervising even little children. It is widely known that in the wartime anybody could get into a jail even for ten cones (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 719).

Women, teenagers, young men and girls had to master profession of rural machine operator. Ivan Filippovich Tokarchuk, worked as tractor driver at Sorochinsky MTS from 1941 to 1957 in his teenage remembers:

“The U-2 tractor with spurs on back wheels, without light, without brakes, to turn a wheel you will be exhausted. We were put by 3 teenagers on such a tractor after courses. In a night shift one drives, and the second runs ahead of the tractor “at a breakneck pace”, lighting the road. No way to fall down – you’ll be crushed, step aside – God forbid! –

Your fault, – you will run 2 km, then your workmate turn around and we interchange our positions”.

A punishment followed a breach of labor discipline, which included also the non-performance of the day overestimated norm of the wartime. As I.F. Tokarchuk remembers, for being late you would be deprived of scanty payment in 60 kopeiks on a workday for 2-3 months. And one day, a chairman of collective farm threatened to shoot him, a 13-year-old teenager, with a revolver. Also, according to him, boys were beaten and closed in cold barns as a punishment (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 742).

Often qualification of tractor drivers trained during the war appeared to be of low level. As it was indicated in one of the reports about training of agriculture machine operators:

“Many of school leavers, having come to MTS, are afraid to get in a tractor, aren’t able to drive a tractor in a furrow or able to work while the tractor drives, and once it stops, due to slightest malfunction – they don’t know what to do, and often stand idle for hours because of trifles, until the mechanic comes”

(Balakayev 1971, 128).

Teenage girls worked at a farm together with adult women. If adult milkmaids were allocated with 45 heads of cattle, then children had less – 12–15 heads. Workers of farms combined duties of milkmaids and cattlemen. They cleaned manure, milked cows, pumped water from a well to water cattle, prepared hay. When cows calved, it was necessary to milk them and then feed their calves with milk for 20 days. Members of collective farms were obliged to participate yet in other agricultural works. For example, milkmaids in a harvest-time still blew and scattered the grain at night. On memoirs, workers received frostbites in the winter quite often and shouted from pain at night, but still were forced to go to work in that state. Nobody had watches in those years; therefore, milkmaids used to come to a farm earlier and made the first milking at sunrise (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 751).

12-year-old boys also worked as shepherds in livestock collective farms. Teenagers grazed cattle in severe conditions: both during a summer heat, and in a winter icy cold. And that was almost in lack of necessary clothes and food with which workers had to provide themselves. Demand for each sheep or a lamb was extremely strict (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 771).

In 1941–1942 in Kazakhstan the distant-pasture animal husbandry was applied in a planned order and on a large scale for the first time after a violent sedentarisation. The distance between summer and winter pastures often exceeded 300 km (Libkind 1942, 9). Thus, centuries-old experience of Kazakh mobile animal husbandry, which was declared by Bolsheviks-modernizers in due time as primitive and backward, was used. As a result, the expense of forages, murrain of cattle kept on winter pastures was considerably reduced; it proved to be less than installed keeping (Balakayev 1971, 161). In Kustanay region the cattle pasture on summer and winter pastures was organized inside the region. Its Northern districts accepted herds for a summer pasture in July-August. In the winter the cattle was driven to the Southern districts – Amangeldinsky and Turgaysky. For wintering of cattle in 1941-1942 about 1000 horses (except breeding and working), and also cattle up to 1000 heads were allocated ⁽³⁾.

Soviet know-how – socialist competitions: Stakhanov movement, movement of two hundredths, three hundredths, combining professions, *etc.* was used for motivation of people on increasing their return in work. People had to compete among themselves when performing the most different tasks, and not only production. For example, such as female personnel training, collecting warm clothes and food for the front, collecting cash means and valuables for the fund of defense, assistance to wounded fighters, *etc.* (Skvortsov 1942, 27).

Incomings of Collective Farmers

Remuneration of labor of collective farmers was carried out for so-called workdays that villagers commonly called “sticks” as foremen put them down in the form of hyphens in their notebooks. Workdays measured expenses of work of collective farmers in public economy and their individual share in the distributed income from 1930 to 1966. For example, in 1941 according to USSR Narkomat of agriculture instruction, for each 100 liters of obtained milk 1,7 and 1,8 workdays are provided. For cultivation of calves till 15-20 day age and for cow preparation for calving – 8 workdays, for heifers training for calving – 7 workdays, *etc.* ⁽⁴⁾.

Judging by memoirs of eyewitnesses, in pre-war years in Kustanay collective farms, payment for workdays was basically made in

⁽³⁾ GAKO, 72–6–24 –56, August 21, 1941.

⁽⁴⁾ GAKO, 72–6–106–78, November 24, 1941.

wheat, millet, peas, and all that was cultivated in collective farms (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 796). And in the years of war the payment in kind intended for collective farmers on workdays was cut off in favor of the Red Army (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 222). On memoirs of E. V. Gil, teenage girl in the wartime working as the turner, there was practically no compensation; everything flowed away to help orphans, or for a loan, *etc.* According to her, every month a family was given only 18 kg of flour, there was no bread in shops at all (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 793).

At the same time, it is known that collective-farm peasantry transferred considerable funds for construction of tank columns, warships, air squadrons, *etc.* Big sums of money appeared in hands of peasantry as a result of multiple food price increase, and villagers gained rather essential income from collective-farm marketing. However, there was no opportunity to receive goods for the money. The part of this money was left to the state for payment of taxes: agricultural, military, childlessness. In case of lack of money for payment of taxes peasants were compelled to sell production of their private economy. And also considerable money supply was withdrawn through mass subscriptions to military loans and cash and prize lotteries (Abylkhozhin 1998, 224).

The subscription to military loans was carried out under pressure quite often, taking away all poor income⁽⁵⁾.

Very informative for research appeared the data received from the war participant I. I. Dyachkov who went to the front from Taranovsky district. According to the veteran:

“During wartime people survived consuming stuff that grew up in their kitchen garden. In sheds – cattle, in a kitchen garden – vegetables. All that earned on workdays was completely given away for needs of the army. These workdays in the wartime were taken only by those who had already nothing to live on. All our family: mother, sisters, brothers handed over all earned in the fund of victory. The family consisted of eight people: mother, five children, my wife – the daughter-in-law, my son. We had one cow and a big kitchen garden of hectare. There we cultivated potatoes, vegetables, sunflower, and survived on it. And collective farm supported us as a big

family having two veterans, especially small children”⁽⁶⁾.

The separate subject is the correspondence of Ivan Ivanovich, in those years the young fighter Ivan Dyachkov, with his wife Galina. Those letters brightly, without official notes and pathos, which was present in periodicals, testify both about life of simple people in the home front, and ordinary fighters at the front. Along with descriptions of everyday life, they contain expressions of feelings of young spouses to each other, making an impression by their strength and purity.

Trade in the Years of War

In the deep rear in the first year of war the sharpest commodity deficiency was observed. No state commerce was carried out; there was a considerable rise in price of all goods in the market. People would sell out the things and property they had.

“Mother wanted to sell your felt boots without you, but I don’t let her to, they say that they could lie for 2 or 3 years. And Marusya says that we should sell our bicycle that supposedly we will stay without a cow. But as to bicycle I tell nothing. Meanwhile we bought a calf and stopped on that”, – Galina Dyachkova writes (20.12.1941).

Being prepared to become a mother, at the end of December, 1941 she writes to her husband who is trained at radio operator’s school in Alma-Ata:

“If there’s a chance to buy Almaty apples there, do buy them and eat them to your fill for yourself and for me. I feel well so far. The only thing is I am not hungry at all; everything is lean as a smoke. But it’s all right, we will survive somehow. And there’s nothing to buy anywhere at any price” (20.12.1941 г.).

According to I.I. Dyachkov’s story, their first-born was born so weak that its entrails were seen through the abdominal wall.

As E. Kozhevnikov, the chief of Kustanay regional management of Workers’ and Peasants’ militia wrote in his report:

“... there is no trade in any collective farm, but everybody eats meat and drinks milk, but they buy it not in the market, and exchange it at home” (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 266).

The barter or sale of personal belongings were equated to speculation and was

⁽⁵⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–197 06, June 15, 1942.

⁽⁶⁾ Author’s own materials.

subject to punishment. Questions of supply of population with industrial goods start being raised since 1943. It was supposed to solve this problem, generally at the expense of the enterprises of local and cooperative industry (Skvortsov 1943, 5). In 1944 they began to deliver goods to rural shops, though overpriced and inaccessible for majority of the population.

As again G.V. Dyachkova wrote:

“Now they start to supply us with different goods, alcohol. And all for bread, potato, you can take, but everything is very expensive. 1 meter of a simple drapery – 40 kg of potatoes ...” (January 16, 1944).

Concerning clothes stocks in Kustanay region countryside, we may also extract data from Galina Dyachkova's letters:

“What I wear, I think, you didn't forget yet, what I wore before I am still wearing now in the working day as old, and on a holiday as new clothes. In two years nothing gained and on the contrary all worn out. Father went to the army in your new boots, quilted coat and a fur coat, and he left his overcoat, it was ripped and a new coat is being sewed for Misha, new felt boots were rolled for him, and for both Marusya, and Vasya” (24.01.1944).

In Dyachkov's family the situation with clothes and footwear may be called tolerable as “pimas” (felt boots), that is “valenki”, were a prosperity sign for those times. Often inhabitants of collective farms had no replaceable clothes. However, bread, matches, kerosene, salt became the most vital goods during the years of war.

Food. Bread

Almost in all letters of Dyachkov spouses they talk about food, about how satiated is he or she. So, for example, Galina writes about feeding of people and trade in the rear:

“... and can you believe how we are sick with such a bread: corn bunting and millet, bitter, you won't swallow it dry, and there are people who envy even for this bread... Our breadwinner provides only 6,5–7 liters per day, it is enough milk for 8 people. In the market butter costs 250–300 rubles, eggs about 40–50 rubles. Pood of potatoes – 350 rubles. 1 liter of milk - 25 rubles” (June 16, 1944.).

Since October, 1942 the special resolution had allowed baking of bread with addition from 5 to 10 percent of potatoes. The same resolution had

liquidated sale of bread without cards at the overrated prices, except for commercial restaurants. Since 1943 they had begun to add to bread baking flour up to 25–30 percent of barley, oats and millet (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 71).

In rural areas there was no bread-tickets applied. Here sale of bread was asserted according to lists, which were drawn up by executive committees of Soviets of the villages (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 70). In 1943 in the countryside workers received 500 grams of bread a day, employees – 300, dependents and children – 200. Meanwhile district executive committees considered existence of personal farms at rural workers and employees, establishing reduced norm for this category of persons and removing members of their families from supply list (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 71).

Also Galina Dyachkova reports: “Now all the people wander across the steppe and all pick up an ear, corn bunting and eat it” (April 30, 1944) (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 376). Such phenomenon was very characteristic for grain farms during the hungry periods. People dug out ears from under snow in the winter, and looked for wintered wheat on the fields in the spring. As a result there were mass diseases of septic quinsy on which special instructions of the regional authorities were issued ⁽⁷⁾.

On memoirs of residents of Amangeldinsky district, people in wartime were compelled to eat grass (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 773). Perhaps, here it is the case of an “orach”, as exactly this grass was traditionally used for food during hungry periods in Slavic, Caucasian and other ethnos. Kazakhs in a situation of hopelessness began to adopt this experiment from the people living in the neighborhood.

School in the Years of War

In the years of war the number of schools and classes was reduced in the region (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 195). We may learn about the situation at regional schools from the following official report:

“there are no notebooks in any school; there aren't enough textbooks, in the available school buffets pupils receive ¼ bun two-three times a week. Only pupils of primary classes study at schools, and pupils of 5–10 classes work in the fields, kitchen gardens till October 1. In most cases, especially pupils of primary classes aren't provided with footwear and clothes. So,

⁽⁷⁾ GAKO, 268–11–56–28, May 6, 1944 г.

for example, in the collective farm of Voroshilov of the Zatobolsky district, 19 pupils out of 32 don't attend school due to lack of footwear and clothes, at city school named after Krupskaya 120 children walk barefoot ...”

(Ukin *et al.* 2010, 345).

For purposes of fight against pediculosis from which the most part of population of the country suffered, obligatory haircut for school students inclusive 6th class was asserted at schools (except for girls) and daily examination of children was applied (Ukin *et al.*, 2010, 355).

During the war, schools became serious production units. Pupils of city and rural high schools, since the 7th class, were trained in agricultural labor: how to look after crops, carry out spring and field and harvest works (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 193). After two lessons, all the children were sent for work – in the fields, for haymaking, to the threshing floor; children collected tops of tubers of potatoes, for fertilizer – ashes and chicken dung (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 738). Children were broken up in groups, in which militarized order was established: routine, getting up on a signal, coming to work marching in a column, implicit obedience and most strict execution of orders of teachers, heads of collective farms, state farms, MTS (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 199). Both pupils and teachers were occupied in field works. So, Zakiryanova Kusni Kalikyzy remembers that, being a schoolgirl, she had to work as “a night teacher”, because of shortage of teachers and she had to plow on bulls in the afternoon (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 742). Besides, schoolchildren were obliged to be engaged in propaganda, cultural and mass, and military and sports work. At schools children were taught to shoot, throw grenades, to crawl on their bellies (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 205). And moreover, the pioneers took part in collecting warm clothes, gifts for the front, finances for construction of military equipment (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 194).

Children's homelessness was a big problem in those years. Street children were detected in the cities, districts, at railway stations and accommodated in the homeless placement centre of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and orphanages. 14-15-year-old teenagers weren't kept in the children's homes, but instead they were employed on the enterprises, in collective farms and state farms (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 195). From memoirs of one of the pupils of Fedorovsky orphanage:

“... then there were evacuated orphans from Belarus, Ukraine, Caucasus in the

orphanage. First there were quarrels, fights; many children (Ingushes, Chechens, and Germans) didn't speak Russian. Thanks to our tutors. They managed to rally us, to make us feel at home. In a year we became amicable, though life in orphanage was severe. We slept by two in one bed, the food was poor: thin soup, beet with potato, bread was only at the lunchtime and that was with impurity of waste. Children older 10 years cultivated potatoes in subsidiary plot, and also garden radish, onions, cucumbers and tomatoes. And also we went looking for a sorrel, wild garlic, ate dandelions. Picked berries for compotes”.

At manual training lessons, children sewed pillowcases, sheets, spun wool and knitted socks for veterans, embroidered tobacco pouches. Also pupils of orphanages went to villages with concerts, weeded kitchen gardens, washed the floors and lime washed huts at disabled people and lonely old women (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 355).

In one of references of regional committee of KP(b)K it is noted that in orphanages

“children' nutrition is very unvaried and deprived of vitamins. The orphanage receives only flour from the state funds. There was one order for butter, but only 34 kg was redeemed, and about 100 kg weren't redeemed. According to standards it is supposed to give children 17g of fats a day, pupils received in July – 13g, in August – 7,5g. Milk received in July 306g, in August – 145g. All orphanage buildings – earthwork constructions, they need urgent repair. It isn't started yet. There is piercing cold in bedrooms and in the dining room. The bakery gapes with holes, the bathhouse collapses”

(Ukin *et al.* 2010, 355).

For supplying school canteens the officials recommended to use local food resources, for example, to fish in local reservoirs, to hunt, *etc.* (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 184).

Evacuation

As of October 1, 1941 altogether 11681 persons arrived to Kustanay region including 1131 men, 4830 women and 5720 children. In total able-bodied were 5244 people. The most number of arrived – 6420 people was placed in collective farms, 679 – in state farms, 42 – in MTS, 2052 –

in Kostanay city, the others – in regional organizations (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 105).

There was actually not the state housing stock in collective farms; therefore, the arrived people were accommodated in private houses of collective farmers (Balakayev 1971, 98). Generally dwellings for inhabitants of collective farms and state farms in Kustanay region those years served semi-dugouts and log huts (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 677, 751) ⁽⁸⁾. The evacuated citizens paid to owners of houses a rent for accommodation, which sometimes could be of “grabbing” character. Apartments cost 50–70 rub. /month, which was very expensive (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 248) ⁽⁹⁾. Where there was no living space, hostels were organized. All available buildings were given for housing: buildings of board of collective farms, clubs and other premises (Balakayev 1971, 98). Quite often they weren’t suitable for dwelling at all. For example, in villages of Kustanay district, people were settled in rooms, in which there were lambs before (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 124).

Hoping to settle down better with material and living conditions, people moved from one place to another, left out of the region limits (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 106). Living conditions in the collective-farm village for capital inhabitants – Muscovites – were especially painful. Despite the proceeding military operations in places of their former accommodation, people often tried to leave back. Governing bodies issued the instruction in reply:

“... to carry out explanatory work, not to sell tickets, to impose upon station masters a duty to stop unauthorized departure of the evacuated”
(Ukin *et al.* 2012, 112).

“Endless complaints from military personnel families” came to regional executive committee from districts. Generally speaking, the evacuated people arrived without stocks of clothes, food. Due to lack of fuel people lived in cold rooms, suffered from irregularities with bread supply lasting sometimes for several days. Having quickly sold out their clothes and footwear, the evacuated citizens often had no replaceable or warm clothes, couldn’t come to work in winter time. They had no personal economy, unlike locals who could gain though some food from their property. In 1942 with warm days coming, many families tried to put up their own kitchen gardens (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 252).

⁽⁸⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–221, July 18, 1942.

⁽⁹⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–58, January 23, 1942.

Concerning families of ordinary, command and political structure of the Red Army, measures about their food supply were taken, and again at the expense of locals ⁽¹⁰⁾. The evacuated families, which didn’t have members of families – military personnel, were in the hardest situation. In Ryazanovka village, Ignatyev’s family evacuated from Leningrad region having six children and deprived of the father-provider as a result of his death, was making ends meet on the verge of starvation that resulted in protein-free edema. In collective farm named after Molotov of Uritsky district, the evacuated went begging to the nearby collective farm “Record” (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 124).

The agriculture was the main economic sector where newly arrived human resources were sent. Authorized bodies attentively traced both evacuated and all other citizens to be employed and actively working (Skvortsov 1942, 11). Newspapers agitated them for active participation in collective-farm works. In the newspaper of Ubagansky district “Bolshevik” in one of the articles named “Work Even Better” it was written:

“In the collective farm “New life” there are some evacuated families. All of them from the first days of arrival to collective farm were employed at different works and are already so involved in collective-farm life that you will hardly distinguish them from the old collective farmers. For example, Kuzmina N. has never worked near cattle before evacuation, and now she proved to be a remarkable calf-tender: all winter long she looked after 42 calves; there was no case of murrain in her group, all calves are well-fed. Also pig-tender Semenova is working well...” ⁽¹¹⁾.

Deported Nations

If local population and the evacuated people suffered from severe malnutrition, numerous facts of starvation among deported citizens took place. In Kustanay region, thousands of Germans, Poles, Chechens and Ingushes were settled during the war. Many tens of thousands of them were lost in the first months after deportation because of starvation and diseases. On the penalty of a forced labor they were

⁽¹⁰⁾ GAKO, 268–11–41–22, February 1943.

⁽¹¹⁾ *Bolshevik* (newspaper of Ubaganskiy district of Kustanay region), 1942, 34, 2.

forbidden to leave their new residence (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 41).

Deported German M. Ts. Kessler says, following about the heart-rending experiences that fell to her lot:

“In 1941 we were driven to a station, loaded into the wagons, gone more than a week, not fed, there was no water. Brought to the settlement of Okrainka of Ordzhonikidzevsky (Denisovsky) district of Kustanay region. People starved to death, mother died in 1943, then brother and two sisters died, they were wrapped in rags and buried. The chairman of collective farm Mikhaylyuk allocated us a cow, assigned a woman who fed me with milk to recover. And in the spring I was assigned to work in the kindergarten. As I remained alone from my family, I was placed in Bayev’s family. We gathered tall weeds for heating, dug out last year’s wheat from under the snow. Had nothing to eat for 3–4 days at all, people died and were buried directly in snow in the winter, and in the spring everything thawed, we saw corpses at which birds pecked out their eyes... People in collective farm worked for “sticks” (workdays), there was a creamery in Okrainka (Molchanova Tamara managed it), we cooked dairy products for the front, helped the German families with lacto serum, stood in a queue for placenta after calving to boil it and eat, ate dead animals, potato skins... All lived equally badly, both Germans, and Russians, and Kazakhs starved... Our family belonged to the Catholic church, we believe in God still, in the years of war and after there were no churches, therefore we prayed, gathering in one house, we were afraid, we closed the windows and doors, but still prayed, and it helped us to survive in those inhuman difficulties”

(Ukin *et al.* 2012, 139).

Unlike other deported nations, Poles had defenders in the person of diplomatic employees of the Polish representation. On the basis of the Soviet-Polish agreement of July 30, 1941, Poles were transferred to position of free citizens and lived temporarily in the territory of the Soviet Union, before granting them an opportunity to leave for home ⁽¹²⁾. According to Kustanay

historian D. M. Legkiy, among exiles in the territory of the region there were relatives of the officers shot in Katyn, and also members of the Polish emigrant government in London (Legkiy 2014, 85).

However, the status of deported Poles after their liberation hardly improved. So, the representative of command of the Polish army in Kustanay, M. F. Romansky in his letter to the chairman of regional executive committee, addressed with indignation:

“The Polish citizens are forcibly sent to work, and in case of impossibility of performance, the authorities threaten them with court, deprivation of apartments, refuse delivery of bread and a right of use of shops, don’t allow to mill the earned grain. The Polish citizens can’t work, in particular in steppe, – as they do not have neither appropriate clothes, nor footwear. Having worn out their clothes at work, they are out literally in rags and barefoot. Besides, it is necessary to take into account that very poor health of the Polish citizens, which is a result of long stay in prisons, severe conditions of work in camps and bad food – leads to waste of strengths and disability. The serious diseases spreading among the Polish citizens and very big, unfortunately, mortality percentage is a clear proof of their tragic situation...”⁽¹³⁾.

If evacuated Soviet citizens could receive bread in collective farms, irrespective of existence of workdays, Poles, even though working steadily all summer long, remained without livelihood in the winter ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The Polish representation in the region launched 7 schools for Polish children with training Polish language. Catholic public prayers were carried out at schools ⁽¹⁵⁾. Also Poles tried to perform paid concerts in Polish and parties for fund raising for the benefit of the Polish army ⁽¹⁶⁾. However, all these actions were forbidden, and schools were subject to closing ⁽¹⁷⁾.

At the beginning of 1944, a number of the nations of North Caucasus, mostly Chechens

⁽¹²⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–135, April 13, 1942.

⁽¹³⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–4, December 6, 1941.

⁽¹⁴⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–24, January 26, 1942; 26, January 20, 1942.

⁽¹⁵⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–216, July 19, 1942.

⁽¹⁶⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–235, September 8, 1942.

⁽¹⁷⁾ GAKO, 268–11–27–236, September 9, 1942.

and Ingushs were deported to Kazakhstan. In one of the documents of that time it was reported:

“In January, 1944 there took place a delay of 3 wagons with sanitary untreated special immigrants at the station of Kostanay with extremely hard pediculosis and even corpses with unspecified cause of death”

(Ukin *et al.* 2012, 297).

A large number of deported Chechens and Ingushs in the years of war were compelled to beg. For this purpose, immigrants even left to other cities, to Chelyabinsk and Troitsk (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 163). Also we read in one of the documents:

“... inspection of material and living condition of special immigrants of Checheno-Ingush nationality accommodated in Presnogorskovsky district in amount of 460 families or 2446 people showed up their difficult situation... We have cases of swelling and mortality in the district. In collective farm “Rosa Luxemburg” of Krutoyarsky Soviet of village Tadayeva of 49 years old died of malnutrition, in collective farm “Red Army” Botayev Usman of 40 years died. In one of the collective farms, five people died for the same reason...”

(Ukin *et al.* 2012, 164).

Ordinary citizens treated the people experiencing severe sufferings with sympathy though actions on formation of the attitude of mistrust towards special immigrants were carried out among local population. For example, as Zh.B. Kalmukhambetova from village of Denisovka, in whose house Germans were placed, remembers:

“Our family treated Germans kindly. We did not live in poverty; we had horses, cows, and sheep. Together we grazed, looked after them. My father-in-law – Aubakir Kalmukhambetov – appreciated lodgers for diligence and honesty, helped them with food and clothes. What we had on our dastarkhan, that was exactly they had, too”

(Ukin *et al.* 2012, 139).

Epidemics. Diseases

Cold, insanitary conditions, constant malnutrition and low-quality food often resulted in the outbreaks of various serious illnesses: flu, louse-borne typhus, dysentery, tuberculosis,

malaria, septic quinsy, *etc.* ⁽¹⁸⁾. Typhus became a scourge, both for civilian population, and for soldiers in camps of preparation and at the front ⁽¹⁹⁾. Disease carriers, as we know, are louses. Archival documents report that in the region “a high lousiness of the population, especially among “special contingents” is observed ⁽²⁰⁾. It seems that during the war in Kustanay region the deported Poles became one of the first victims of epidemic typhus. The document addressed to the chairman of Kustanay regional executive committee D. Kerimbayev testifies:

“Due to epidemic of diseases among Polish citizens settled in the territory of your region, Soviet of People’s Commissars (SPC) of KazSSR obligates you according to the resolution of SPC of KazSSR as of February 4, 1942 – from assigned to you laundry soap to give out 5,0 tons to Polish citizens. Provide sale of the soap assigned for Polish citizens through a distribution network... Deputy Chairman of SPC of KazSSR N. Babkin”.

It should be noted, that even in pre-war years there was insufficient soap available. Usage of soap, toothbrushes and powders, and also other hygienic accessories didn’t become current yet for Kazakhstan villagers in those years. That is then, having become strategically necessary, it was decided to produce means of hygiene out of local raw materials – the fat received out of corpses of fallen cattle and killed animals, which were supposed to be bought up from population (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 226).

Epidemics extended also because there were not enough bathhouses. In most of settlements there was no public baths, as well as vitally required hygiene facilities in those years – disinfection chambers for destruction of louses (louse-killer) ⁽²¹⁾. Documents report that in one district the bathhouse was reconstructed in a broadcasting center, in other district bathhouses were filled up with grain ⁽²²⁾.

It seems that epidemic of typhus raged all the war long and every year situation was getting worse. Apparently, peak of epidemic fell on 1944. At the beginning of 1944, in connection with the arrival of a large amount of special immigrants (Chechens and Ingushs) in districts of the region, the disease of typhus

⁽¹⁸⁾ GAKO, 268–11–54–21, February 19, 1944.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Author’s field materials.

⁽²⁰⁾ GAKO, 268–11–54–23, October 25, 1944.

⁽²¹⁾ GAKO, 268–11–56–40, July 8, 1944.

⁽²²⁾ GAKO, 268–11–54–23, October 25, 1944.

sharply raised ⁽²³⁾. G.V. Dyachkova, (her correspondence with her husband was considered above), in one of her letters reported:

“There is a typhus disease in settlement. Nyura Golubova, Nyura Minkina, Nyura Soboleva, and others. And the same is in the other villages”

(June 13, 1944) (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 377).

During war, collective farms and state farms began to be filled with disabled veterans: blind, deaf, without one arm, legs, *etc.* Disabled people without both legs moved on wooden boards with castors. Galina Dyachkova wrote in a letter to her husband about such a disabled veteran:

“Yesterday, on May 29, there arrived Nikolay Maksimovich Bryzhakha from a hospital, he is wounded near Kirovograd, and God forbid! being such a cripple. He is wounded in the eyes. He doesn’t see any percent. The right eye is absolutely absent and the left one just slightly glimmers. Eh, Vanya you know how we all cried. He was brought by the guide, he only learns him by voice. And what’s he supposed to do now, the eternal cripple. He took an accordion and played, and these minutes all people around sobbed violently. I write this letter and remember him, and my tears drip down ...” (May 30, 1944)

(Ukin *et al.* 2010, 378).

Law and Order

Plunder, squandering and damage of socialist property, speculation, desertion and alarmism became the most widespread offenses in the years of war in Kustanay region. The first one was in the lead among them.

People, being on the verge of starvation, went for petty thefts at their own risk. For example, on the facts given by the chief of Kustanay regional management of militia E. Kozhevnikov, during herd driving to Troitsk, shepherds kill cattle on the way, or make its exchange. Also, for example, in the Southern cattle breeding districts Turgaysky and Amangeldinsky, purchase and sale of cattle was carried out, which was under a ban too (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 267). Of course, the fact is that members of collective farms had no personal interest in preservation of collective-farm, which is socialist property. In general, the collective-farm system contradicted peasantry private-ownership psychology. Indignant words of secretary of Central Committee of KP(b)K N. A.

Skvortsov point out to the fact that collective farmers in 1940 cared more about their personal cattle, than of collective-farm’s. And he gives an example of Ordzhonikidzevsky district, where with huge murrain in collective-farm herds, the cattle in private use hardly suffered (Skvortsov 1941, 20).

One of the facts of “squandering of the state production” in the region is brought by the secretary of the Central Committee of KP(b)K N. A. Skvortsov. “Squandering” lied in the fact that director Artamonov of Karabalyksky state farm (probably, the person who isn’t deprived of compassion) distributed to workers of state farm 2228 centners of hay, 236 centners of grain waste, 38 centners of meat, 1,1 centners of fat, 0,6 centners of butter, 212 centners of wheat, 44 centners of potatoes, 38,5 centners of whole milk (Skvortsov 1942, 26). Sale of personal belongings by citizens also was considered an offense – speculation. However, in the situation of total deficiency, it was a widespread phenomenon.

Like in the years of World War I, and during World War II, the Kazakh steppes were flooded with deserters, running from fronts and labor armies. E. Kozhevnikov, the chief of Kustanay regional management of RKM, informed in his report:

“in some Soviets of village, auls and in the city there is a great influx of deserters. There are facts of leaving from fronts and from labor armies. Sometimes they huddle together in settlements, dwell at certain collective farmers, in empty camps, dugouts, *etc.*” (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 266).

In the region, as well as in the Kazakh republic in general, there was a high level of armed gangsterism in connection with inflow of deserters (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 845). Among the evacuated people, quite often there were criminals of every stripe, previously convicted and who tried to live on in a former way (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 840).

The facts of political “crimes” were also known. So, for example, in Semiozerny district, the youth organization “Group of Hunger and Poverty” of 17 people was engaged in production and distribution of leaflets containing a negative message (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 129).

Moral and Psychological Condition of the Population

Under the circumstances of constant fatigue from back-breaking toil, worrying for relatives serving in the Army and sad front news at the

⁽²³⁾ GAKO, 268–11–56–40, July 8, 1944.

beginning of war, it was difficult to remain calm and collected. Heavy life: chronic malnutrition, lack of change of clothes and means of hygiene, of course, depressed people who even in pre-war years weren't spoiled by conveniences. Confused, anxious, desperate people waited only for one thing – the fastest end of the war.

G. V. Dyachkova's letters testify to it:

"Now in our settlement there are no messages from many people, or even "killed in battle" notice. And when will it come to an end, probably, we won't live to see. There are no joyful days, all people move as dead to the world". (August 30, 1943)

(Ukin *et al.* 2010, 374).

At the beginning of the war, people still believed in its fast termination. In this way, Soviet propaganda presented the situation at the front, aiming to eliminate the panic in society. So, in May, 1942 Galya Dyachkova wrote:

"So Vanya, already the reservations are revoked, of course not all. But, apparently, all will go after a sowing campaign. After all, the war is flaring up. Still there was a hope that they will win in the winter, in the spring, and now they say in the summer. And how many people were lost, both young and old" (²⁴).

People lived in a constant stressful state caused first of all by fear for life of their husbands, sons, fathers and brothers, who were at the front. Galina Vasilyevna's letters to her husband brightly testify that:

"As I come from work, come into my log hut, silence around, emptiness, and so bad I long to weep for my sweet darling Vanya. As though I talk to somebody and it gets easier for me... How I wish that it would be so: I would stay at home alone and deep in thought, suddenly you approach and I wouldn't hear at once, and then I see... The situation at the front doesn't please. Dudka M. was killed too, some friend from Elizavetinka sent. There is news every day. And therefore we also feel a heartache for you" (01.06.1942) (²⁵).

Interesting is also G.V. Dyachkova's message of April 30, 1944 that people was allowed to pray: "We have here at Tobol station something like a church opened, they go there and pray to God" (Ukin *et al.* 2010, 377).

(²⁴) Author's own materials.

(²⁵) Author's own materials.

However, it was forbidden to show up negative moods in public at large; it was called as "alarmism", "disorganization" and "provocation". Tough repressive system prevented possibility of manifestations of discontent. Population was given the following directions by the authorities:

"Let there be as little as possible noise, fruitless talks on the situation, on conditions, on war events, *etc.*, instead, let there be more organization, persistent everyday work multiplied by enthusiasm, by Bolshevik understanding of patriotic duties" (Skvortsov 1941, 25).

At the same time, in the Soviet state, traditionally great attention was paid to agitation and propaganda work, and very active and considered activities for formation of patriotic feelings were carried out in this field. "Though then we were children, but we well understood that it is necessary to help the front. Nobody couldn't even think to complain of difficulties", – E.N. Samokhvalova, inhabitant of the village of Sretenka of Uzunkolsky district remembers (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 751).

Leisure-time

Surprisingly, but even in the hardest conditions of the wartime, the youth didn't despond. According to the story of the above mentioned E.V. Gil, the youth had a good time in moments of rest, sitting on "zavalinka" (mound of earth), singing songs to the balalaika and dancing "krakowiak" (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 793). Here and there even clubs worked. On memoirs of other inhabitant of one of the villages, teenagers with an oil lamp danced in a club – former church. An exile woman was manager of the club. Meanwhile, in spite of the fact that the day shift was fulfilled by girls, officials of district committee took away youth from dances to work in a night shift (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 790).

Teenagers considered the evening time was their time of rest when they knitted socks and mittens for front soldiers. Soviets of village obliged to knit mittens, gauntlets, socks – two couples on a person (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 790). At this time girls sang, and even danced to the balalaika (Ukin *et al.* 2012, 719).

Thus, considered the archival documents of the wartime, memoirs of home front workers and letters to the front, recreate a picture of life of ordinary inhabitants of Kazakhstan rural remote places – collective farms and state farms of Kustanay region in period of World War II. It is

necessary to remember that the war brought with itself incalculable sufferings not only at the front, but also in the rear, proved in broad operation of child labor, children's homelessness, malnutrition, starvation and epidemics, which resulted in high mortality

among civilian population. The inefficient command of the economic system and machine of repression in the Soviet conditions aggravated the inevitable difficulties of the martial law, having turned life of ordinary people into an everyday test for survival.

References

a. Books

- Abylkhozhin 1998** Abylkhozhin, Zhulduzbek, *Ocherki social'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Kazakhstana. XX vek*, Almaty, Gylm (1998).
- Balakaev 1971** Balakayev, Toltay, *Kolhoznoe krest'yanstvo Kazakhstana v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (1941–1945 gg.)*, Alma-Ata, Nauka (1971).
- Ukin et al. 2010** Ukin, K., Ahmetchin, G., Duanbaeva, A., et al. (eds.) *Kustanaiskaya oblast' v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny: edinstvo fronta i tyla (Sbornik dokumentov i materialov)*, Kostanay, Kostanaiskii pechatnyi dvor (2010).
- Ukin et al. 2012** Ukin, K., Akhmetchin, G., Legkiy, D., et al. (eds.) *Kustanaicy – geroi tyla. Lichnyi vklad*, Kostanai, Kostanaiskii pechatnyi dvor (2012).

b. Papers in periodical journals

- Skvortsov 1941** Skvortsov, Nikolay, *Vse sily, vse resursy Kazakhstana – dlya pobedy nad vragom!* In: *Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, 7 (1941).
- Skvortsov 1942** Skvortsov, Nikolay, *Doklad sekretarya CK KP(b) Kazakhstana tov. N.A. Skvorcova na respublikanskom soveshanii-seminare nachal'nikov politotdelov MTS i sovhozov 15 yanvarya 1942 g.* In: *Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, 3 (1942).
- Libkind 1942** Libkind, A., *Ob otgonnom zhivotnovodstve*. In: *Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, 16 (1942).
- Skvortsov 1943** Skvortsov, Nikolay, *Bol'she tovarov shirokogo potrebleniya naseleniyu (Rech' na respublikanskom soveshanii rabotnikov mestnoi i*

kooperativnoi promyshlennosti 16 iyulya 1943 g.). In: *Bol'shevik Kazakhstana*, 11–12 (1943).

Legkiy 2014 Legkiy, Dmitry, *O sud'be deportirovannykh polyakov*. In: *Mysl'*, 10 (2014).

The Memory of the War (Second World War) in the Villages of the Chernovtsy Region (Ukraine)

Marius TĂRÎȚĂ

Academy of Science of Moldova

Institute of History

E-mail: maris@nichita.org

Abstract. The paper is based on the interviews with persons who were young in 1944 – some conscripted for the Army and others teenagers-pupils, from the former Northern Bukovina and Khotyn county. The interviewed paid attention to other aspects than those which are dominant in the official discourse till nowadays, but also presented their own views or self-censored until 1989 aspects – the recruitment, the image of Auschwitz, the last day of the war, children's fears and others. One of the common treasures of the testimonies is that the tragic aspects were mainly avoided.

Key words: Russians, Germans, war, fear, come back

The paper is based on a group of interviews taken mainly in August 2012 ⁽¹⁾ and one in May 2013 in the villages Arburent (ukr. Hay), Boyan, Cherlena and Malineshty of the Chernovtsy region from Ukraine. The first two villages belong to the region of the former Bukovina and the last two to the north-western part of the former Khotyn county of Bessarabia. At the arrival of the Red Army units in March-April 1944 the interviewed were teenagers-pupils or young men who were conscripted soon to the Army ⁽²⁾. In interviews appear aspects less known in the official positivist historiographical and/or patriotic discourse and also at the commemoration events – in Ukraine till soon and in Moldavia till now, this day (the 9th of May) is a holiday. The paper is divided in paragraphs which deal with the memory of those who were taken to war as soldiers in May 1944 or to labour camp, children's remembrance and what new or different brought these interviews. I hadn't found somebody whose testimony could argue the philo-historians believe, that the conflict brings progress or that the participation to the war is a cause for proud. On the other hand, it is important to notice that the interviewed, in their narrations, usually change with facility the topic and pass easily through

the time. For example, two interviewed who were militaries simply avoided in their narration the fact that they were injured, when and how it happened. This information appeared in other context.

In general, this kind of research is important because it reveals, beside the official memory, this unofficial memory, which becomes part of the private memory (or of the families/villagers), and exists in parallel with the first one, which is "heroic, edited and brushed" (Rebrova 2012, 152). And here I could pay attention to another aspect – it exists a difference between the villager's memory (to which I pay attention in this paper) and the memory of the recruited from the urban area or from the villages which were Sovietized. In this case, that of the Northern Bukovina and former Khotyn county, it appears an additional difference because of the strong traditionalism and religiosity from these villages.

All the interviews, except one, were taken in Romanian language because the villages I selected are populated in majority by Romanians (or Moldavians, as they are declared in statistics). It still remains unknown what could be the result of a similar research on the war's memory in the Ukrainian villages of the Chernovtsy region. I also have to notice the fact that when speaking about the Soviets (Army, authorities), the interviewed mainly dealt with the word "Russians" and rarely used "Soviets".

Teenagers Remembrance of the War Age

For Eleonora Bizovi who was 11 years old when the Soviets came in March 1944, the main

⁽¹⁾ The interviews were taken as part of the project 12111 of the call "War, Post War, Cold War" of the Geschichtswerkstatt Europa programme of the German Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future", in August 2012.

⁽²⁾ A separate case is that of Nikolaye Skripkaryu from Arbureny who was taken in August 1944 to the labour camp from Onega Lake.

remembrance is linked with the entrance of a Red Army unit in Boyan.

"The situation in the village was awful. When the Soviets entered the village, they bombed the National House. There was a remarkable library in the name of "Mihai Eminescu"... our house was near the National House. When they bombed the House, on our home fell bricks. It was awful".

In this case, a military fact, minor at the scale of the Soviet offensive in March 1944, has a central place for the biography of somebody from the Boyan village.

Other main thoughts of Bizoviare linked with the fact that her father died soon after the arrival of the Soviets and that the father of her future husband (this should be a later perception), was sent him to Onega Lake labour camp where he died. Also she couldn't forget that the family of one of her classmates was thrown out from the house by the new authorities.

The memory of what happened in 1944 has very clear coordinates in the village of Boyan, even in the cases in which the person who was forcibly recruited died before 1989 and didn't spoke about this to his nephews. Ludmila Patsurovskaya ⁽³⁾ (b. 1960) told us that for the first time she heard that her grandfather was driven to Onega in 1991. "He, in general, disliked speaking about this. The life made him severe". She knows that in their village there were men "taken to Onega and Ladoga. Mostly to Onega. Around 40 persons were taken. Only two came back home... They cut wood". Her grandfather Porozhnyi Nikolay, after he came back, was sent to Kazakhstan and after a time run from there. He died in 1979. What is important to notice is that even if Ludmila Patsurovskaya didn't know details about the deportation of her grandfather (as it could be told *e.g.* by Nikolaye Skripkaryu from Arboreny), this phenomena is the main which exists in her perception towards that age. And that is an interesting fact, because in the case of the Boyan village, the people mainly deal with the remembrance of the Onega and Ladoga, not of the war itself.

An important issue is the perception of the causality/guiltiness of what and why it happened. In the case of Patsurovskaya this aspect didn't appeared because her testimony is only a reflection of how the information on a repression from 1944 was recorded in the

family. The only person who could directly indicate a guilty man, was her grandfather who died in 1979 and who didn't spoke in general on this topic. In the case of Bizovi Eleonora, who was child in 1944, there exists an image on the guilty ones, even if not so strong. I asked her who took the people in 1944 – the soldiers. She responded that there were the soldiers, but they were helped by some villagers whom she named "axe-handles". Below this paragraph, in the testimony of Nikolaye Skripkaryu, we have a clear opinion on guiltiness. His perspective is that of a person who was directly kicked by the Soviet system.

Soldiers and Recruited for Force Labour Perspective

In this case I dealt with several perspectives – two interviewed were conscripted to the Red Army, one fought in the Romanian Army and was sent home in October 1944, and one, originary from Astrakhan, was soldier of a so called "disciplinary battalion" ⁽⁴⁾.

Vasile Diomidovich ⁽⁵⁾ (b. 1924) from Cherlena (former Knotyn county) was conscripted to the Red Army in May 1944. His narration has several steps – the recruitment, transfer to Syberia and the stay on the Sandomierz place of arms (Poland), the liberation of Auschwitz, the stay in Czechoslovakia, the stay in Breslau and the come back to the village. His story till he reached Auschwitz, in January 1945, is very short. In comparison with another interviewed, from Malineshty, Pintiley Kioresku, he wasn't impressed by the recruitment or maybe he forgot this moment.

About the Auschwitz camp he remembered

"that jail where the crematorium was. The Fascists burned there alive the prisoners – Jews, Communists, Komsomol. There was the crematorium. If we wouldn't go there, one thousand and more men who still were there would be killed, but we freed them from death. There were [prisoners] from other countries, somewhere from Yugoslavia, from all European countries and from Russia... prisoners [of war]".

He referred especially to a group of ten Soviet soldiers taken in prison at Stalingrad. He also expressed how high the wire walls were. The

⁽³⁾ Interview taken together with Maryan Lopata in Boyan, on 7th of August 2013.

⁽⁴⁾ He came to Malineshty after 1953.

⁽⁵⁾ I interviewed him in Cherlena, on 29th of May 2013.

meeting with Auschwitz shocked this young man recruited from Cherlena village. His emotion was also expressed by the sentence construction – “Not to see what was there! The men were so tall! They felt down. Very hard”.

Another day which he described in details twice was the day of 8th May 1945. It is interesting that in each version he put other accents. In the first one he was impressed by the lots of tanks on the roads beside Prague. In the second one he pointed that there were fights near one forest and that in the evening a group of 70-80 German militaries surrendered. He was surprised by the fact that his comrades took the clocks of the Germans despite the fact that those still were armed. After that he laugh and recognized that he usually took from prisoners only the cigarettes. He explained that in the Army they smoked only Soviet shag (rus. “makhorka”) which “was as it was”. He also remembered a special type of cigarettes named “Churchill” cigarettes. In the case of the first remembrance of the 8th of May 1945, I asked him if they communicated with the locals (Czechs) and he pointed – “we hadn’t such a right”.

After that, in June 1945, the healthiest soldiers were selected for the Japan, and the rest, including Vasile Diomidovich, were sent to Breslau by foot to join the “northern group” of the marshal Rokossovsky. At that moment of the interview he recognized that he was injured and that’s why they hadn’t selected him for Japan. It is strange that in his narrative, the moment of when he was injured hadn’t a distinct place.

In Breslau he was marching round with a group of comrades in the area of the railway station during July-October 1945. Concerning this beginning of the post-war period for the Central Europe, he remembered many details – which currency the soldiers and the locals used, how they spent the time with the Polish patrols, how the cases of abuses were punished by their superiors. One another moment which was distinct in his story is the attitude towards the prisoners. He had mixed feelings towards them. He remembered – “it was bad [for them], this prisoners. They [the Soviets] took their greatcoats and by night it was frozen. What could you do? You freeze over”. After that he remembered that before the end of the war the German militaries, after a short discussion, usually executed the Soviet prisoners. It could be the internal propaganda in the Red Army against Nazis, but it also could be the ferocity of the enemy about which they heard. It is important to notice that Vasile Diomidovich

underlined that he was afraid of German militaries even when they were prisoners.

The last stage of the Diomidovich’s story of the war, is his come back to home. He didn’t expected when they will sent him home and that’s why he hadn’t time to take something for him from Breslau, but he also specified that he wasn’t “hungry as others” to take something. From the Army he received 8 kg of white meal, 3 kg of sugar and 8 m of draperies. He remembered the fact that the train was very slow and the last stations were Ternopol, Ivano-Frankovsk, Chernovtsy and Noua Sulitsa (ukr. Novoselitsya). Because he arrived by night to Noua Sulitsa he went to his village by foot. This last distance between Noua Sulitsa and Cherlena took him two hours.

Another young man recruited in May 1944 was Pintiley Kioresku ⁽⁶⁾ (b. 1921) from Malineshty. The first moment to which he paid attention was linked with the clothes and the felt boots which he received after he was conscripted. After three days the boots broke. He remarked that at that moment he had 21 years and that in general all the men older than 18-19 till the age of 50 were recruited. Later I asked him if he remembers other villagers who were recruited. He mentioned two persons – Elisiy Moroz and Ion Sofroniy Rusu. The first one knew the Russian language only a little and was appointed “commander of the section”. After this, Kioresku described the recruitment – “The Russian soldiers came. Whether you wanted or not, you had to leave”. I asked him if somebody tried to escape from conscription and he responded shortly – “Where could you run? If you tried, they shot you”.

He sang a song in Russian which also had the words – “you may find a young wife for the husband, but you never find a father for the children”. This song referred mainly to the couples which could not resist at the distance in times of war and the main accent was on the children.

Concerning the last day of war, he remembered – “The Russians pursued the Germans till a mountain where I was injured, because they had weapon with sniper and they kicked you where they wanted”. After that, he remained in Germany till 1947. He studied the German language “because they didn’t know Russian”. He remembered that he was in Gronberg and Altenburg (south-eastern part of the post-war Germany). I asked him if he was in

⁽⁶⁾ Interview taken together with Andrey Mastyka, on 11th of August 2012.

Berlin. He responded shortly – “Everywhere I was... up to the mountains at the border of Germany”. He exited Germany in October 1947 and was glad of coming back home – “I enjoyed when they left me at home”.

In general, in comparison with Diomidovich from Cherlena, the discourse of Kioresku was disrupted. And there could be two explanations – he forgot many details or he was afraid to speak about them now. When I tried to ask him about the UPA partisans whom he saw crossing the village after the war, he was yet afraid of them. When I repeated the question he said that he remembers nothing about these.

In the both cases, the most important thing despite the differences or self-censor is that it appears something new in comparison with the festive/official discourse. Till recent, the soldier was lost in the back of the very well-constructed and influenced by official policy images of the fights and events (Rebrova 2013, 153). Now things are more particular, but also human and deep. And, the story of Diomidovich could serve as an example. For him, one of the most important moments he had was not a battle, but the shock he had when his unity liberated Auschwitz.

Another type of experience was that of Ion Skripkaryu from Arboreny (ukr. Hay) village, in Northern Bukovina, born in 1925. In August 1944, he and other young men were taken to the “Labour army”. Officially they were not arrested, but in reality their destiny was cruel. When I asked Skripkaryu what he remembered from the age of war, he responded – “I don’t even know how to tell you. The war was a difficult age for the humanity. When they [=the Soviets] took us, the war hadn’t ended, when they mobilized us from these parts of Bukovina, of Moldova, from all these parts – Moldovans, Romanians – they took us for labour, did you know?.. We were taken to different directions. We were taken to Finland, to Onega, to work, where the Finland’s front was” (Lopata 2013, 91).

According to him, the work camp was a former German camp for the Soviet prisoners and now it was used by the Soviets for those conscripted for forced labour and for Russians’ prisoners liberated from the Finnish prison. There were around 2000 men, from whom only around 500 survived till January 1945. After that, he was sent to work in copper mine in Armenia (Tărlă 2012, 253-254). He came back to Arboreny in 1947 without any document which could explain his stay. He was accused by the UPA partisans (who killed the Militia from

the Arboreny village) of “collaborationism” with the Soviet power. He had to explain them that it was not his will to work in the camp. The partisans proposed him to join them, but he refused.

In the previous paragraph I referred to the manner in which Eleonora Bizovi appreciates the guilt. In the case of Skripkaryu, it is important that he is still pursued by the question: “why, what guiltiness had he?” He remembers very well the attitude of the guards of the labour camp who told to the workers several times “we took you here... to lose you” and he also remembered that the Ukrainians who declared themselves Romanians also had no luck and were taken to Onega. He explained that there existed several causes of death – the hard conditions, the food and the fact that the smokers changed their food for “mahorka”. During the interview he ascertained some conclusions several times. Among them there was the next one – “there were many difficulties and all of them were made by the regime”.

In antithesis with the testimonies of those who were conscripted for Army in 1944, Skripkaryu mentioned several times that men without guilt died at Onega and in Armenia. He also mentioned how the bodies of the dead were thrown simply into the snow “like garbage”. In my opinion, in the case of the “silence” of Diomidovich and Kioresku about the death of their military comrades, one explanation could be that they simply avoided/censored these images from their memory of the war experience. On the other hand, Diomidovich expressed sincerely his shock at Auschwitz and recognized that he was even afraid of the disarmed German prisoners.

The last testimonies on war to which I refer belong to other two inhabitants of Malineshty village, who spoke shortly or in a style which didn’t offer clear facts or opinions to include together with the testimonies to which we referred upper.

Evgeniy Kupriashin ⁽⁷⁾ (b. 1924, in Astrakhan) told us that he fought under Stalingrad voluntarily. “I wasn’t recruited, but I was in jail”. He hadn’t specified for which guilt he was in jail. To the question of when did he arrive on the Stalingrad front, he responded – “When the German(s) began to retreat. Later I was in the disciplinary battalion”. He didn’t offer details on how he got from infantry to cavalry. The only moment which he explained

⁽⁷⁾ Interview taken together with Andrey Mastyka in Malineshty, on 11th of August 2012.

better was his arrest in Astrakhan. His echelon stayed at the railway station waiting the approval to take off for the region of the Northern Caucasus. Kupriashin asked the commander to permit him to go see his mother who lived in that city. He hadn't found his mother. When he came back the train was gone. The chief of the station accused him of being deserter. He responded to the station's chief – "you, the rear's rat, I came to you by my own will. Help me!" He was sent to the commendatory of the city. There he was arrested and condemned to 10 years in camps. He didn't offer any other detail of how he got to infantry, how he was transferred to cavalry, and when he was in the disciplinary battalion. He spoke about how he came sometime after the Stalin's death, to Malineshty, the village in which his mother grew. At the end, we asked him if he fought and he responded laconic – "Yes, sure, I was wounded, I was confused".

After Kupriashin, we interviewed Porfir Sandulyak (b. 1922). His narration was more dynamic; he interrupted many times and repeated twice the same information. He was recruited to the Romanian Army with other young men from 1923 and 1924. In April 1944, he was taken at the so-called "before Army" (rom. premilitar) and in May 1944 he became soldier of the Army. He remembers that until

23rd of October 1944, he was in the Romanian Army. He participated, on the 23rd of August, at the disarmament of the German unities. "Till now we fought against Russians, now we fought with the Germans... It's a long history". He remembered a bloody fight between Germans and Russians on the river Bistritsa, but without details. I asked him if he reached Berlin and he said that the recruited from Bessarabia and Bukovina were sent home when the front was close to Budapest. This action was imposed to the Romanian Army by the Soviets. After that, until April 1945, he worked in the Chernautsy region at a railway station together with soldiers from the Lviv region, making packages for the front. In his story there are no details or personal opinions about Russians or Germans, about his comrades, about what shocked him. He told many jokes. Here appears the essential difference between the testimonies of the Diomidovich and Kioresku on the one hand and Sandulyak on another hand. Complementary, the story of Kupriashin is a linear one with his autobiographic details which he censored and without any clear opinions. The only moment is his dialogue with the station's chief from Astrakhany. There appeared the underestimation of somebody who fought on the front towards somebody who worked in the rear ("rat").

References

a. Books

Lopata 2013 Lopata, Maryan, Mastyka, Andrey, Marius, Tăriță, *The deportations from the neighbouring Chernivtsy region (Ukraine) in 1944-1953 and from the Bricheny, Oknitsa and Edinets regions (Moldova), in 1949-1951*, Chișinău (2013).

b. Chapter in books

Rebrova 2012 Rebrova, Irina, "Istoria orală în Rusia contemporană: analiza proiectelor privind Marele Război pentru Apărarea Patriei" ["The oral history in the contemporary Russia: analysis of the projects

concerning the Great War for the defense of the Country"]. In ***, *Al Doilea Război Mondial: memorie și istorie în Estul și Vestul Europei*, Chișinău, Cartier (2012).

c. Papers in periodical journals

Tăriță 2012 Tăriță, Marius, *Mărturii orale despre munca forțată și deportări din regiunea Cernăuți în anii 1944-1945* [Oral testimonies about the forced labour and deportations from the Chernautsy region in 1944-1945]. In: *Promemoria. Revista Institutului de Istorie Socială*, vol. III, no. 4 (2012).

The Memory of the World War II: Ukrainian Breakdown or Reconciliation?

Tetiana PERGA

State institution “Institute of World History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine”

E-mail: perga@list.ru

Abstract. The memory of World War II is a powerful tool that contributes to both consolidation and division of the society. This is shown by the experience of Ukraine, in which it has become battleground for national identity. Although, after receiving the independence, Ukraine began the revaluation of national history and developed a Ukrainian centric vision of World War II. Policy of memory in this field carried out in the mainstream of receiving compromises, which rather adapted the historical policy to situational circumstances than solve urgent inner problems, and translated the controversial problem of historical past in a latent state. The study analyzes the ways and methods of reconciling different memories on the war, which is one of the important steps in implementing the idea of reconciliation in the Ukrainian society and the preservation of its independence. The results can be used as a basis for exploring the ways of solving internal conflicts on important national events around the world.

Keywords: World War II, national identity, memory, historical policy, Ukraine, USSR, conflict, reconciliation.

Introduction

World War II is the largest military conflict in the human history which left an indelible mark in the fate of many nations. For decades the memory of this war resisted mythologizing and was used for the legitimizing the dominant ideological principles. Even today in mass consciousness and not only of the Ukrainians, it is a mixture of objective knowledge and historical myths. The debate about key problems of this war is highly politicized, especially in CIS countries.

After the collapse and disintegration of the socialist camp, the process of decommunization, which included the radical reassessment of the national history, began in Ukraine. However, up to this day, World War II, and particularly its component – the Great Patriotic War –, has become a *hot topic* for *debate* and struggle for political power. It remains the watershed in the historical memory of the Ukrainians, which divides them politically, ideologically and mentally, and effects on their views on the civilizational choice.

This situation suggests that the historical memory of the war in Ukraine was a field of struggle for national identity. The danger of this approach means the extrapolation of the past events to the present and using its negative effect by the extreme circles to escalate the tension in the society. The cultivation of separation on friend

or foe principle helps to form the modern image of the enemy. Accusing other of xenophobia, the opposite political parties use persistent stereotypes and call each other “ukrainophobes” and “fascists”, which provoke the conflicts.

Meanwhile, the historical memory of the World War II has a great unifying potential and is one of the most important factors in the formation of national identity and the consolidation of Ukrainian society, which in the conditions of saving the state independence is very important. Now, it can be stated the awareness of the political elite of this fact and as a result – the formulation of new accents in the national politics of memory in Ukraine.

Rethinking the History of World War II in Ukraine

The collapse of the Soviet Union opened a new chapter in the research of the history of World War II in Ukraine. This was facilitated by the discovery of previously banned archives and the natural desire of the newly independent states, including Ukraine, to fill state policy of memory by the national component. In Ukraine, there was a coincidence and synchronization of public expectations. The state's interests and motivation of scientists that stimulated the activity of scientific research and led to the development of Ukrainian view on World War II. Although

research is ongoing (new opportunity is also given by the adoption in 2015 of the Law “On access to the archives of the repressive organs of the communist totalitarian regimes of 1917-1991”) at the moment, there are some basic provisions of the Ukrainian concept of World War II. It can be assessed as a cornerstone of the formatting the modern politics of memory of the war.

“Ukrainian question” and the national liberation movement on the territory of the Western Ukraine in 1940-1950s occupied the central place in it. These problems became hot topics in discussions of scientists and policymakers not only in Ukraine and Russia, but also in many other countries

In the Soviet historiography, “Ukrainian question”, in particular, the struggle for national independence before and during World War II did not receive an appropriate value for a long time. Meanwhile, with the help of this factor, Germany pressed on Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. In addition, it was the main mechanism in motivation representatives of the Ukrainian national movement in the Western Ukraine to interact with the Germans (Trubaychuk 1996).

A number of Ukrainian researchers consider that on the eve of World War II, no state in the world recognized Ukraine’s right to establish a completely independent state in the ethnic boundaries. The territory of Ukraine was considered as object of geopolitical territorial expansion that caused using the “Ukrainian card” in the interests of different states.

For example, Nazi Germany raised “Ukrainian question” only for the fight against Poland or the Soviet Union. At the same time, it has paid the “Carpathian Ukraine” to Hungarian ally. As a result, this independent “state” had existed only for a few months. The ruling circles of Poland were ready to support independent Ukraine, but only as a buffer state and in the context of weakening the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union covered its own expansionist ambitions and attempted to export revolution to Europe through the rhetoric about the reunification of Western Ukrainians with the Ukrainian SSR.

It should be noted that many Ukrainian scientists dealt with the liberation movement in the Western Ukraine in the war and post-war period and the solving of the “Ukrainian question”. In their opinion, the main reason for situational interaction and collaboration of

representatives of this movement with the Germans was the desire to build an independent Ukraine. In a similar manner, it was conceived the accession of Galicia, Volyn, Northern Bukovina and a part of Bessarabia to the Soviet Ukraine (Koval 1999; Kirichuk 2003; Lytvyn 2004; Shaykan 2005; Patryliak, Borovik 2010).

In general, there are several different points of view on the national liberation movement in Ukraine: the glorification of representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA), equating their representatives to the fascists and the attempt to objectively evaluate their actions in the spatial and situational context (Ivanenko, Yakunin 2006; Starodubets 2006; Kentiy 2010). Now, the researchers of the national liberation movement revealed many contradictory facts that require an objective and unbiased assessment. It is necessary to analyze not only the aspects of collaboration, but also the struggle with the Nazis. For example, in 1943, OUN adopted the decision about the large-scale offensive against the Germans, which resulted, in summer, with the attack of UIA by the regular German army. Only in July 1943, the UIA has made 295 attacks on German strongholds, 682 shares of sabotage on the railway, 119 attacks on economic objects (Kentiy 1999, 50).

In this context we think that the most balanced view have such research, who affirm, that veterans of all armies deserves the equal honoring and memorizing, if they did not commit crimes against the civilian population.

Although there are several thousand works on this subject in the Ukrainian historiography, it is clear that this issue is complex and requires further deep investigation; the publication of new documents (in spite of their content), the principal legal review in the framework of the existing law, including international, comparative one, analyzing the other similar movements in the world, and, finally, its withdrawal from the political to scientific level. After all, since the early 1990s this problem became a “zone of high seismic activity” in the public and in the scientific community. Steady request on this research have not only the civil society, but also many politics in Ukraine.

Closely related to the liberation movement is a problem of Sovietization of the Western Ukrainian region in the 1939-1950s. It is often regarded as one of the reasons generating

this movement. This aspect is being developed in Ukraine by a large group of native scientists, which gives special critical character to their works. It focuses primarily on the compulsory character of the political, ideological, social, economy and security measures applied by the Soviet leadership, which was accompanied by the victims among the various categories of the population that causes the resistance to the regime in these regions (Gumenyuk 2009; Hrynevych 2012).

It is well known that many problems of the national minorities and interethnic relations during the war, especially the deportation of the Crimean Tatars, Poles and Germans of Ukraine, Ukrainian-Polish massacre in Volyn and other topics were taboo in the Soviet Union. Therefore the researchers of these problems in the independent Ukraine discovered and introduced into scientific circulation a great amount of documents and materials on this issue, which not only analyze the background of the political motivation of relocation of national minorities, but also the socio-economic, moral and psychological components of this process (Serhiychuk 1999; Soroka 2007).

It is important to stress one more important aspect, which is widely discussed in the CIS countries – the name of this war. This applies particularly to the Great Patriotic War. In Ukraine, this problem is complemented by the question about its nature. Although most of Ukrainian scientists support the thesis of its defensive (and fair) character, the debate (sometimes scientific, but mostly political and ideological) centers on whether this war was patriotic for the Ukrainian people in the context of gaining the independence. Ukrainian historical science does not give a clear answer to this question, which contributes to the emergence of various speculations and confrontation on this ground.

In this context, it's important to stress that although a number of Ukrainian scientists still use the term "Great Patriotic War", in the recent years, the majority of them began to use terms like "Soviet-German", "German-Soviet", "Nazi-Soviet" War, "military actions on the Eastern Front", "Eastern (Russian) march" *etc.* It is time to start a scientific discourse of Ukrainian and foreign researchers (especially from the former Soviet Union countries) to reach a consensus on mutually acceptable terms of this war. The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory proposed

a new Ukrainian centric vision of World War II, which is not limited by the struggle of the Wehrmacht and the Red Army on the Ukrainian territory in 2015. It is based on the statement, proposed in 2015, by the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, that World War II in Ukraine includes several wars, which were provoked by it, becoming its branches and the continuation:

- 1) German-Polish war of 1939-1945 (in 1939, the regular and then – underground);
- 2) Polish-Soviet war in 1939 (undeclared, known as "liberation campaign in Western Ukraine");
- 3) Soviet-Romanian War 1940-1945 (first undeclared – Soviet invasion of Bessarabia and Bukovina in 1940, then regular and underground – of the Great Patriotic War);
- 4) German-Soviet War of 1941-1945 (regular and underground, also known as the "Great Patriotic War");
- 5) German-Ukrainian war of 1941-1944 (underground);
- 6) Soviet-Hungarian War of 1941-1945 (regular and underground, part of the World War II);
- 7) Polish-Ukrainian war 1942-1947 (underground);
- 8) Soviet-Ukrainian war of 1939-1954 (underground).

As we can see, the proposed methodological approach to the Great Patriotic War regarded it as a part of the World War II – although the most important one, due to the scope and significance.

Thereby, over the years of independence Ukrainian historical science has proposed a new historiographical analysis of the World War II problems – a radically updated view on the past of Ukraine and Ukrainians, freed it from many "foreign" ideologically subjective or even false interpretations, although the process of rethinking the history of War in Ukraine is not yet finished.

However, despite the significant achievements of Ukrainian scientists and the creation of carcass of Ukrainian concept of World War II, the state policy in this area has been developed contradictorily and inconsistently.

The Policy of the National Memory of the War

Despite of the developing of the Ukrainian view on the history of World War II (and accordingly – memory of war), a policy in this field has not a systematic character and could not consolidate the Ukrainian society. On the contrary, it is often used as an instrument of manipulating the public opinion in order to satisfy electoral support.

During the participation in the Soviet Union as a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (1944-1991), a tremendous job on the search and perpetuation of the heroes and victims of the war took place. Military cemeteries, fraternal and single graves of killed soldiers were identified and registered, monuments, memorials, commemorative places, tombstones and museums were built. At the same time, only officially recognized heroes and victims were found and immortalized; there was no place for representatives of the national liberation movement of war and post-war period.

The independence declaration in 1991 opened a new page in the policy of the war memory. The beginning of filling this memory by national component occurred both at the state and at local level.

In the early 1990s, in the result of the re-election of local authorities, national Democrats came to power. They initiated in the Western Ukraine the legalization of national symbols, renaming streets in honor of national heroes, the building of monuments and graves to those who died for the restoration of the independence of Ukraine during World War II. For example, from 1991 to 2010, in the Western Ukraine about 200 monuments were built honoring the famous leader of national liberation movement, Stephan Bandera. At the same time, during 2007-2008, in Ukraine more than 400 monuments of the communist regime leaders, who organized the famine and political repression in 1937-1941, were dismantled; also, more than 3000 of topographical names were renamed. In the eastern and southern regions, it was an opposite situation. Monuments of the socialism period were not only preserved, but also actively worshiped. One of the consequences of this conflict was a war of monuments in Ukraine as a display of war memories.

A recent survey of residents from 11 regions of Ukraine, which was being done from December 25, 2014 to January 15, 2015 by the "Democratic initiatives named Ilko Kucheri" Fund, indicated the depth of the conflict, which still exists. Thus, the creation of the (OUN) in 1929, positively assessed by 64.7% of respondents in Volyn, 88.5% respondents in Galicia and only 6.3% of Donbas respondents (with overall positive assessment in Ukraine, 37.7%). A similar pattern is observed in the question on creation the UIA: a positive assessment is given, respectively 69.8% and 92.2% of respondents from Volyn and

Galicia, and only 8% of Donbas respondents (despite the fact that in the whole Ukraine this event supported by 50.2%) (What unites and divides Ukrainian, 2014-2015).

It is important to emphasize that conflict of war memories in Ukraine has something particular: it is based on the struggle of the national and communist ideologies (in political terms it means choosing a democracy or an authoritarian model of development). In the context of this study, the attitude (the exaltation, demolition, vandalism) towards the monuments of liberation movement and communist regime is expressed. However, the monuments to the heroes of the Red Army in Ukraine are not considered, in most cases, as a part of the totalitarian era. They peacefully coexist with monuments to the heroes of the OUN and UIA; it indicates a special relationship to the Great Patriotic War in Ukraine and the understanding by the majority of inhabitants of the urgent need for peaceful coexistence of the local memories in the framework of a unified national memory of the war. In our opinion, this is a clear sign of how the Ukrainian political elite try to solve the question of national history and memory.

As for the official level of the memory policy, it should be emphasized that since the early 1990s, intensive research of the "white" spots of the nation's history took place in Ukraine. Prior attention was given to investigating the previously closed materials and discussing them in a scientific community. For example, on February 1, 1993 the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a resolution "On the audit of the OUN-UIA". In September 1996, a temporary commission to study the activity of these organizations was established. Under its umbrella the working group of experts on the topic (headed by Prof. S. Kulchytsky) was organized. Under its auspices, during 1998-2004, 27 monographs, many collections of documents and materials, bibliographic publications, as well as the final volume of the *Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Historical Sketches* were prepared. The results of its work were given to the government commission (Lysenko 2011).

However, it is necessary to point out the conservation of the soviet memory of the war during the period of 1991-2004 and the retouching of the old myth of the Great Patriotic War. An important role has played here the adopting of the

Law of Ukraine “On the perpetuation of Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945”, under the pompous celebration of the 55th Anniversary of the Victory in this war. The Victory Day became an official state holiday in Ukraine and was designed to preserve the Soviet ritual symbolism. At the same time, the law did not consider the role and place of UPA fighters in the war a “sensitive issue”.

The analysis shows that with a few differences, until 2005, the politics of memory of World War II is characterized as amorphous, ambivalent, opportunistic. It carried out in the mainstream of receiving compromises for the reconciliation of public opinion between the followers of the Soviet Union supporters and supporters of national state. In fact, the political elite of Ukraine tried rather to adapt the historical policy to situational circumstances rather than shape the historical consciousness of citizens. This position helped to maintain a certain degree of public order, but translated the controversial problem of historical past in a latent state, without unleashing the urgent issues and not breaking with Soviet tradition.

Victor Yushchenko, who became president of Ukraine in 2005, gave a bright “Ukrainian” image to the war. He made some resonance steps as to that period. At first, in 2007, he issued a decree conferring the title of “Hero of Ukraine” to the famous figure in the national liberation movement – Roman Shukhevych –, and, in 2010, to another famous person – Stephan Bandera. Secondly, he put to Verkhovna Rada a Bill on the recognition of UIA fighters as veterans of the Great Patriotic War. On March 26, 2009 two decrees were published: on the creation of a new order “Cross of Ivan Mazepa” and on awarding veterans with the anniversary medal “65 Years of Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945”. This was the first attempt in the history of Ukraine for reconciliation (veterans of the Great Patriotic War and veterans of the UIA) of the different memories of the war.

However, this attempt has failed. In our opinion, the main mistake of Yushchenko was his insufficient work on informing and raising awareness among Ukrainians on controversial pages of national history, which led to the aggravation of social contradictions in the Ukrainian society on ideological grounds and excessive politicization of this issue.

Features of the Present Day of the Memory Politics of the War

The threat to the national independence, in particular, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict of 2014-2015, actualized not only a new approach to the history of World War II and the war memory, but also the idea of reconciliation in the Ukrainian society. The new policy, which started in 2015, focuses on the following key points:

- Redefining the events of World War II; the destruction of the Soviet historical myths; an honest dialogue around complex pages of the past;
- The equal perpetuation of the memory of everyone who fought against Nazism, emphasizing on solidarity and military brotherhood of all the United Nations, both of nations and people which didn't exist at that time as independent states (the Jews, Ukrainians and others);
- New accenting: from the history of warfare to the history of concrete people and the rejection of the celebrating in favor of honoring.

In implementing these provisions, an important role was played by the Law of Ukraine “On perpetuation of the victory over Nazism in World War II of 1939-1945”, adopted on the April 9, 2015. It differs from the law of 2000 in two fundamental aspects: firstly, it focuses on the victory over Nazism (and not just a victory in the war); secondly, it tells about World War II with the relevant chronological framework (1939-1945), but not about the Great Patriotic War with its beginning in 1941.

According to this law, the Day of Remembrance and Reconciliation, which is celebrated annually on May 8th, is established in Ukraine. The 9th of May is also celebrated as a national holiday – the Day of Victory over Nazism in World War II (*i.e.* the Day of Victory). The Law also establishes the respect for the memory of victory over Nazism in World War II, war veterans, participants of the Ukrainian liberation movement and victims of the Nazis, which is the sacred duty of the state and citizens of Ukraine. It determines the form of perpetuating the victory over Nazism; legally enshrines the concept of “monuments of the World War II, 1939-1945” (Article 4), taking them under the protection and establishes responsibility for the registration and storage. Red poppy is set as the symbol of the Day of Remembrance and Reconciliation and the Victory Day.

Justifying the idea of the reconciliation, in his speech on the Victory Day, the President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, said:

“Along with the leading role played by the Red Army and Soviet partisan units, a second front was established in Ukraine against the fascist invaders by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Ahead of their time, they saw Ukrainian as independent government”.

The Attitude towards the War in the Ukrainian Society

In this regard, it is appropriate to ask: what moods are prevailing in the Ukrainian society in relation to World War II and connecting idea of reconciliation? They play a great role in the success or failure of a new policy of memory of the war in Ukraine.

The surveys conducted by the Razumkov Center in 2003, 2007 and 2011 indicate the perception of this war by all age groups of Ukrainian citizens with a sense of respect, honor and importance. Thus, the number of citizens who felt Victory Day a great holiday fluctuated between 65.3 % - 74.9, a common holiday –19.2% -26.4%.

At the same time, these studies have demonstrated significant regional differences; West region possesses special place. Great holiday Victory Day was considered by just 30.4%. For comparison – in the Center, South and East, the figure ranged 69.3% -76.5%. Moreover, almost one in five respondents (19.3%) in the West of Ukraine did not consider the Victory Day a holiday (Ukrainians consider Victory Day a really great holiday, 2003-2011).

However, a survey conducted in December 2014 - January 2015 showed a change of the picture. Thus, the Soviet victory in the war against the Third Reich in 1941-1945 was positively assessed by the 84% of respondents. At the same time, we can see the high level of consensus among the Ukrainians, who have long time been on the opposite sides of “barricades”: Galicia (71.5%), Kiev (74.9%), Volyn (80.7%), and Donbass (96.5%) (What unites and divides Ukrainian, 2014-2015).

Though slowly, the Ukrainians’ attitude towards the idea of reconciliation is going through some changes. In 2007, the respondents were asked, “During the 20th century in the history of Ukraine there were many events when the

Ukrainians massively destroyed each other: World War I, World War II, civil wars and political repression. What do you think is the best way of resolving mutual grievances?” Half of the respondents (52.3%) chose the answer “It is necessary to accept and consider that there was no right or guilty”. At the same time, a quarter of respondents (26.3%) were confident, that the guilty must be punished, even after many years (Ukrainians consider Victory Day a really great holiday, 2007).

A survey of December 2014 - January 2015 showed the change of Ukrainians’ opinions in this field. At first, we see the increase in the number of those, who consider that the implementation of the state reconciliation policies is an actual task – 57%. Secondly, the group of respondents, who did not support the idea of reconciliation, is significantly reduced (to 15.9%). Accordingly, the group of people, who do not have answer on this question increased (26.8%).

A significant feature, which shows the shifts in the consciousness of the Ukrainians, is the equalization of the supporters of the idea of reconciliation in “opposite” regions: Donbas, Volyn and Galicia (respectively, 62.9%, 65.7%, 64.7%) (What unites and divides Ukrainian, 2014-2015).

This tendency shows that the Ukrainian society has matured for a more successful implementation of the idea of reconciliation. An important role in this policy should play the memory of World War II.

Conclusion

Thus, the memory of World War II is a powerful tool for the consolidation and formation of national identity, which has long been used in Ukraine with the purpose of segregating the society.

The threat of losing the state independence and the imperative to found a national identity stimulate Ukrainians to overcome the difficult path of breaking stereotypes and to demythologize the views on their past; to learn how to evaluate national history on their “own”, rather than through “foreign” categories. This transformation of the collective consciousness will help to “nationalize” the historical narrative; to approve the common view of the Ukrainian past; to understand and accept the difficult pages of history; to reconcile warring parties and unite around the future prospects

Prerequisites for the successful implementation of such a policy in Ukraine have been formed, but a complex of systematic measures of legislative, educational, and cultural

character should support the conceptual framework. Particular attention should be paid to the memory of World War II.

References

a. Books

- Gumenyuk 2009** Gumenyuk, Oksana, *Радянізація західноукраїнських земель у 1939-1941 рр.: методи і напрями реалізації та сприйняття місцевим населенням* [Sovietization of the Western Ukraine in 1939-1941: methods and areas of implementation and the perception of local people], Rivne, Rivne State Humanitarian Institute (2009).
- Hrynevych 2012** Hrynevych, Vladislav, *Неприборкане різноголосся: Друга світова війна і суспільно-політичні настрої в Україні, 1939 - червень 1941 рр.* [Indomitable discordance: World War II and the social and political moods in Ukraine 1939 - June 1941], Kyiv, Lira (2012).
- Ivanenko 2006** Ivanenko, Valentin, Yakunin, Viktor, *ОВН і УПА у Другій світовій війні: проблеми історіографії та методології* [OUN and UIA in World War II: the problems of historiography and methodology], Dnepropetrovsk, Art press (2006).
- Kentiy 1999** Kentiy, Anatoliy, *Українська повстанська армія в 1942–1943 рр.* [Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1942-1943], Kyiv, Institute of History of NAS of Ukraine (1999).
- Kentiy 2010** Kentiy, Anatoliy, *Радянський рух Опору на окупованій території України* [Soviet resistance movement in the occupied territories of Ukraine], Kyiv, Institute of History of NAS of Ukraine (2010).
- Kirichuk 2003** Kirichuk, Yuriy, *Національний рух 40–50-х років ХХ ст.: ідеологія і практика* [Ukrainian national movement: the 40-50s of the XX century: ideology and practice], Lviv, Dobra Sprava (2003).
- Koval 1999** Koval, Myhajlo, *Друга світова війна і Україна (1939-1945 рр.)* [World War II and Ukraine], Kyiv, Institute of History of NAS of Ukraine (1999).
- Lytvyn 2004** Lytvyn, Vladimir, *Україна в Другій світовій війні (1939–1945)* [Ukraine in World War II (1939-1945)], Kyiv, Naykova Dymka (2004).
- Patryliak, Borovik 2010** Patryliak Ivan, Borovik, Mykola, *Україна в роки Другої світової війни: спроба нового концептуального погляду* [Ukraine during the World War II: the attempt of the new conceptual view], Nizhin, PE Lysenko (2010).
- Serhiychuk 1999** Serhiychuk, Volodymyr, *Депортація поляків з України: Невідомі документи про насильницьке переселення більшовицькою владою польського населення з УРСР в Польщу в 1944–1946 роках* [The deportation of Poles from Ukraine: unknown documents on the forced relocation of Polish population by the Bolshevik regime from the USSR to Poland, 1944-1946], Kyiv (1999).
- Shaykan 2005** Shaykan, Valentina, *Колабораціонізм на території рейхскомісаріату “Україна” та військової зони в період Другої світової війни* [Collaboration in the territory of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine” and the military zone during the World War II], Krivoy Rog (2005).
- Soroka 2007** Soroka, Yuriy, *Населення західноукраїнських земель: депортації, переселення,*

мобілізації, міграції (1939–1950-і роки) [*The population of Western Ukraine: deportation, resettlement, mobilization, migration (1939-1950 years)*], Kyiv, Kyiv University Press (2007).

Starodubets 2006 Starodubets, Galina, *Гене́за українського повстанського за́пілля* [*Genesis of the Ukrainian rebel underground*], Ternopil, 2006.

b. Papers in periodical journals

Lysenko 2011 Lysenko, Olexandr, *Дослідження історії Другої світової війни в сучасній Україні: основні тенденції і перспективи* [*Research the history of the World War II in Contemporary Ukraine: main trends and prospects*]. In: *Український історичний журнал* 4, (2011), p. 165-194.

Trubaychuk 1996 Trubaychuk, Anatoliy, *Українське питання в європейських міжнародних відносинах (1918–1945 рр.)* [*Ukrainian issues in European international relations (1918-1945)*]. In: *Київська старовина* 2/3 (1996), p. 104–118.

c. Reports

What unites and divides Ukrainian, 2014-2015 Ukrainians consider Victory Day a really great holiday. The poll of the Razumkov center, http://www.razumkov.org.ua/ukr/news.php?news_id=162 *What unites and divides Ukrainian. Ukrainian polls of the Fund “Democratic initiatives named Ilko Kucheriv”*, 25.12. 2014 - 15.01. 2015.

Romanian Relations with Non-Communist East Asian Countries during the Cold War. Cultural Aspects

Andrea CHIRIU

University of Cagliari – Italy

E-mail: andrea.chiriu@gmail.com

Abstract. Starting during the early 1960s, the socialist Romanian government, both under Gheorghiu Dej and Ceaușescu's rule, pursued an autonomous foreign policy that allowed the country to become a maverick within the Soviet bloc. In East Asia, Bucharest focused its attention on the People's Republic of China, trying to play a mediator role in the middle of the Sino-Soviet conflict. Of course, Romania established good relations with the other communist countries in the region, but Bucharest was also able to establish satisfying connections with non-communist countries such as Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand and Indonesia. Relations with these countries mainly focused on the economic and trade field. Bucharest, however, differentiated its approach to non-communist countries on a case by case basis. Romania enhanced development aid programs toward many of these countries, Burma in particular, and was mostly interested in supplies of raw materials, while the relationship with Japan was highly unbalanced and unfavorable for the Balkan country. Nevertheless, cultural ties were also established. Due to the scarcity of sources and its relatively less important weight in comparison with the economic field, the cultural facet of these relations did not particularly attract scholar's attention so far. Being a starting point for future research, this paper, therefore, aims to fill, at least partially, this vacuum.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, cultural agreement, cultural exchanges, Ceaușescu, East Asia.

Introduction

During the Cold War, the Soviet bloc was not a monolith. Indeed, the Sino-Soviet split clearly shows this fact. The communist bloc was neither united, nor closed to interactions both with the Western and capitalist countries and the so-called Third World. Central Eastern European (CEE) countries, therefore, did not limit their interests in East Asia to communist countries. They also built ties with East Asian non-communist countries, even if such relations remained relatively scarce (Lanyi 1985). These relations can be classified in three categories:

1. The relationship with Japan, which started in the second half of the '50s on equality basis, but quickly developed into an unbalanced partnership, with Tokyo playing the master role.
2. The relations with other countries, such as Burma/Myanmar, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Such relations never became strategically important for both sides and showed many vicissitudes because the influence of the Cold War. On the tactical field, however, these countries could assume some importance for CEE regimes.

3. The relations with Taiwan and South Korea, which were absent until the late 1980s.

Romania did not generally move its foreign policy from the broad path followed by CEE regimes towards non-communist East Asian countries. Due to its particular position within the Soviet bloc, however, Bucharest had been successful to develop some particularities. These relations mainly evolved on the economic arena, but they also involved cultural aspects. Indeed, cultural diplomacy was an important tool to win the hearts and minds of the East Asian non-aligned countries, while it was also useful in approaching Japan.

Within this context, this paper intends to provide a general overview of the cultural relations between Romania and non-communist East Asian countries, representing a starting point for further, deeper research. The paper is organized as follows: the next paragraph offers a theoretical picture of the definition of cultural diplomacy, presenting several schools of thought and the various approaches to the argument. Then, the paper examines Romania's cultural foreign policy under the communist regime and the cultural relations with non-communist East Asian countries. Such relations

are highlighted country by country. Finally, the paper presents some conclusive remarks.

The Concept of Cultural Diplomacy

The concept of cultural diplomacy is not easy to define. Many scholars tried to find a definitive meaning for it, but the debate is still ongoing. The main issue refers to the role of the State in accomplishing cultural diplomacy. Some, such as the American scholar Milton Cummings, seem to dismiss the State from cultural diplomacy, intended as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding” (Quoted in U.S. Department of State 2005, 8). On the contrary, others suggest that the State plays a pivotal role in defining and elaborating cultural diplomacy. The Japanese scholar Kazuo Ogoura defines it as “the use of cultural means to enhance a nation’s political influence”. Ogoura clearly separates cultural diplomacy from cultural political exchanges, which are not “necessarily linked to a nation’s political intentions or strategies, at least in the short term” (Ogoura 2009, 41). According to the Japanese scholar, then, cultural diplomacy has a broad political dimension. The Brazilian Ambassador Edgard Telles Ribeiro elaborated a similar view at the Saranrom Institute of Foreign Affairs (SIFA) Ambassador Talks Program held in Bangkok on December 19, 2008. Cultural diplomacy becomes the use of cultural relations, intended as the spontaneous flow of information within the community of nations, as an instrument of foreign policy. Indeed, cultural relations are not necessarily government lead, while cultural diplomacy is the product of political actions. The objectives of cultural diplomacy must be invisible and have long-term focus. There are no foreseeable short-term gains with cultural diplomacy, but this kind of foreign policy favors the construction of a positive environment for the country whose culture it promotes (Telles Ribeiro 2008). Eventually, the Canadian scholar Louis Bélanger argued that “cultural diplomacy has never been apolitical, even if in general, and quite naturally, it claims to be so” (Bélanger 1999, 678).

Werner Meissner inserts cultural diplomacy in the broad framework of foreign cultural policy and suggests a more practical vision of cultural diplomacy. According to this view,

“foreign cultural policy is conducted by governments, while cultural diplomacy, as the concrete business of the

government institutions involved, deals with intergovernmental negotiations of cultural treaties, conventions, agreements and exchange programs. Cultural diplomacy may facilitate the transfer of ideas that can influence the partner country, but this is not necessarily the only way that this transfer takes place” (Meissner 2002, 181).

According to the German scholar Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, there are three categories of cultural diplomacy. The first category defines cultural diplomacy as the political use of cultural exchanges and culture in general merely for propaganda purposes. The second category refers to cultural diplomacy as an instrument dissociated from propaganda but fundamental for the dialogue between foreign countries when the traditional diplomatic tools appear to be ineffective. The third category intends cultural diplomacy as not bound to the State: indeed, in this case, non-State actors (privates, NGOs *etc.*) exercise cultural diplomacy; nevertheless, a political shadow is still present (Gienow-Hecht 2010).

What is sure is that cultural diplomacy must be ascribed to the realm of public diplomacy (Tomic 2011), which the British international relations theorist Adam Watson defines as the influences on the public opinion in foreign countries that eventually turn in pressures on their own governments (Watson 2005). Finally, Nancy Snow identifies three categories of public diplomacy (Snow 2009): 1) government-to-government; 2) government-to-public and 3) public-to-public.

This brief theoretical analysis will help us to better contextualize Romania’s cultural foreign policy and its cultural relations with East-Asian non-communist countries.

Bucharest’s Cultural Diplomacy under the Communist Regime

During Cold War times, the Soviet bloc extensively used cultural diplomacy in order to spread the communist ideology and win the confidence of non-aligned countries. That kind of cultural diplomacy was government-led, therefore quite distant from Cummings’ ideas. Communist cultural foreign policy was rather related to the first category proposed by Gienow-Hecht, strictly attached to mere propaganda. There were specific agents and bodies under government control and deputed to implement cultural diplomacy (Fayet 2010). Generally, we can also ascribe it to the first and

second categories proposed by Snow for public diplomacy. In the case of Central Eastern European relations with East Asian non-communist countries, however, it is possible to limit them to the government-to-government category. In fact, the possibilities that communist propaganda could freely reach the public of East Asian non-communist countries were scarce due to the strict control operated by the local regimes.

According to the Romanian scholar Cristian Vasile, in the aftermath of World War II, Romania's cultural diplomacy was mainly directed to the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe (Vasile 2009). Cultural diplomacy was under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Propaganda and Agitation Department (Agitprop) in particular. The old ties with Western countries, especially France and Italy, were cut off. Cultural relations also suffered constraints with some Eastern European countries, such as Hungary and Yugoslavia (Vasile 2009). During the 1950s, however, relations with West Europe resurrected. The creation of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Foreign Countries, under the direction of the External Affairs Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party, aimed to centralize and unify cultural diplomacy. In fact, the Institute was the Romanian equivalent of the Soviet All Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) and aimed to construct a positive image of a tolerant Romania abroad through publications in English and French languages (Vasile 2009). Among these publications were the magazine *Today's Romania* and the *Rumanian Review*, published between 1946 and 1955, which represents a classical example: it was printed in Romanian, English, French and German and had the aim to "demonstrate Romania's loyalty to the emerging socialist system, and publicize that, in reorganizing its cultural life, the Party had not necessarily abandoned Romania's cultural traditions" (Crotty 2009). In 1956, the Balkan country joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), testifying the interest of the regime in using culture in its foreign policy. During the '60s and the '70s, the Romanian leadership improved foreign cultural cooperation, especially, but not only, with socialist countries. In fact, the issue appeared on February 15, 1969 of the Romanian News Agency's (Agerpres) *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* – a bulletin published in English,

French, German, Russian and Spanish languages, therefore being a tool of cultural diplomacy in itself – recalled that

"Romania campaigns for collaboration with all countries, irrespective of their social-political systems, in the spirit of observance of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage – principles that have become a supreme desideratum in international life and fully respond to both the interest of the Romanian people and that of the international community in peace, friendship and collaboration" (Agerpres 1969, 10).

Romanian sources indicated that in 1970 the country maintained cultural relations with 78 states and it had 57 cultural bilateral agreements. In 1974, those numbers increased to 111 and 75, respectively (Radio Free Europe 1975).

Obviously, Romania's cultural diplomacy was dependent on the internal cultural production. The latter was strongly bound by the directives of the regime and had to respond to well defined ideological constraints: "(Romanian) cultural policy has no place for art which is remote from life and mankind, or for creative activity that has no ultimate social purpose" (Balan 1975, 20). Art, cinema, music, sport and every cultural activity were instrumental to the regime's political propaganda. The government imposed the main themes to work on and some foreign cultural products were inaccessible to the internal audience (Gheorghica 2013). All the efforts in the cultural field aimed to develop a national identity that was meant to legitimize the regime (Verdery 1991), and led to self-limitations in cultural diplomacy. Indeed, the censorship of entire books or even just some parts of the production of classic Romanian writers influenced negatively Romanian charm offensive. Cultural exchanges were also based on terms of reciprocity. Translations from other languages suffered many restrictions and were limited in number. Usually, only works strictly in line with the Party ideology were allowed. Finally, cultural diplomacy was also influenced by Ceaușescu's development of a personality cult.

In terms of organization, the elaboration of cultural diplomacy and external propaganda was entrusted to several institutions, according to a scheme that suffered various restructurings. Nonetheless, it is possible the identification of some main actors:

1. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
2. The Ministry of Education and Culture and the Council of Social Culture and Education, created in 1971.
3. The Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, established in 1962 through a decision of the Council of Ministers. The Institute had the task of promoting Romanian cultural products abroad, showing the country's intellectual potential to the world, and launched a period of intense activity. This activity resolved in participating to regional and international fairs, theatres and film festivals, art exhibitions, publishing advertising materials and improving bilateral exchanges with many countries (Dragulescu 2013).
4. The Academy of the Romanian Popular Republic (later the word "Popular" was changed in "Socialist", according to the modification of the denomination of the State).
5. The Association for Romania. The Association for Romania published a journal called *Tribuna României*, edited in three different languages, as a tool of tourist propaganda. Other journals which aimed at broadening the tourist knowledge of Romania were: *România Pitorească*, published in English, French and German, and *Holidays in Romania* (Robu 2011). Tourism propaganda targeted mainly Western countries.

These institutions were meant to implement the indications elaborated by the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and the Foreign policy section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. Of course, the Securitate, the regime's militia, also influenced the making of cultural external relations and propaganda.

Romanian Cultural Relations with East Asian Non-Communist Countries

1. Japan

Early relations between Japan and Romania date back to the end of 1800s, but they became of some importance only at the beginning of 1900s. The two countries were formal allies during the First World War, despite the obvious impossibility to make joint military operations. After the war, Tokyo and Bucharest experienced a divergence of opinions on the issue of Bessarabia, which heavily affected the bilateral

relation: in fact, Japan was reluctant to acknowledge Romania's annexation of the current Moldovan lands (Detot 2007).

Despite this setback, Japan became of interest for Romania's cultural community, as showed by the work of Marcel Mitrasca (2006), who has identified almost fifty Romanian books focusing on Japan written before the Second World War. The authors of these books were military officials, geographers, historians. In 1904, even the great historian Nicolae Iorga wrote about Japan. The general image of Japan that emerges from the analysis of these books is positive, despite the diplomatic misunderstandings on the issue of Bessarabia and Bucharest's negative balance in bilateral trade exchanges. Indeed, the books do not show any resentment or forms of racism (Buzoianu 1904; Timuş 1943).

On the contrary, the military officials admired the modernization of Japan's army. Eventually, Romanian scholars, and geographers in particular, also showed interest in the Asian continent as a whole. Asia, then, became object of study at school, as proved by the work of Simeon Mehedinţi (1902). Romanian interest on Japan resulted also in the translation of books by Japanese authors, for example the work of Inazo Nitobé (1929), while the diplomatic official Radu Flondor edited a Romanian-Japanese dictionary (Epure 2000).

On the political level, during the Second World War Japan and Romania were allies once again, but Bucharest's surrender and the occupation by the Soviet Union's forces formally turned the Balkan country against Tokyo.

Japan and Romania re-established formal diplomatic relations on September 1, 1959, as a direct consequence of the Soviet-Japanese approach which occurred with the joint declaration of 1956. Indeed, the Soviet Union did not adhere to the San Francisco treaty, which signaled the formal peace between Tokyo and the Western allies (Togo 2005, 51). The change in the Soviet leadership, with Stalin's death and the rise of Khrushchev, allowed the change for better of Soviet-Japanese relations. The joint declaration was a diplomatic expedient to resume the commercial ties, despite the lack of a formal peace treaty (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1992) and the issue of the sovereignty on the Kuril Islands, still to be settled. In fact, Tokyo desired to diversify its exports and re-equilibrate the deficit of the balance of payments caused by the Japanese need to import almost all the raw materials

necessary to fuel its rampant industry. According to this view, the socialist countries represented a potential wide basin for Japanese products. A commercial treaty between Tokyo and Moscow was signed in 1957, followed by others with Czechoslovakia and Poland (Terada 1972). Romania arrived late compared to other Central Eastern European countries. Furthermore, economic relations remained at a limited level until the end of the '60s. Japan granted the Most-Favored Nation clause to Romania on September 1, 1969 (Agerpress 1969). Bucharest became the first economic partner of Japan among the Central-Eastern European countries, a prominence that it could retain until the '70s thanks to the insertion of Romania among the developing countries who could benefit of Japanese preferential tariffs. Romania was also the only socialist country that was capable to maintain continuously cordial contacts with the Japanese Communist Party, despite the latter experienced seesawing relations both with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (Joseph C. Kun 1971; Radio Free Europe 1978). The good state of relations was testified by the visits of Ceausescu in Tokyo (1975) and of the Crown Prince Akihito in 1979 (Scumpieru 2014).

A huge obstacle in developing healthy economic relations, however, was the increasing debt Bucharest had to Tokyo, which was serious enough (and generally afflicting Japanese relations with all the Central Eastern European countries) to make Romanians worry about possible setbacks (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1974). During the '80s, Romanian-Japanese economic relations continued to have ups and downs until the end of Ceaușescu's regime.

Looking at the bilateral relations in the cultural field, they were the consequence of the respective broader strategies. From one side, as we have seen, Romania's cultural diplomacy was government-directed and often resolved into mere propaganda. On the other side, Japan's cultural diplomacy endured the effects of catastrophic wartime. As noted by Ogoura, assuming that "the main objective of cultural diplomacy is to improve a nation's image and prestige through such aspects of culture as fine and performing arts, language education, and intellectual traditions", Japan had to fix its worldwide image in the light of its previous imperialistic policies, which affected heavily the Pacific region as well as South Asia. Thus, during the 1950s and 1960s, Tokyo tried to build the image of a pacific country in contrast with it

precedent militaristic attitudes. Japanese cultural diplomacy was supposed to export such messages of peace through the promotion of activity such as the tea ceremony and *ikebana* (flower arrangement). Other ancient traditions, for example those related to the samurai world, were neglected as well as the promotion and teaching of Japanese language was discouraged, especially in Asia, where the wounds of the war were still fresh. According to Ogoura, the late 1960s signaled the beginning of a new stage for Japanese cultural diplomacy, which lasted through the 1970s. Indeed, the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 represented a turning point. During this period, Tokyo's efforts addressed promoting the image of an economically advanced country, rather than a peaceful one (Ogoura 2008). The Japanese government started to provide much more funds for cultural diplomacy than it had previously done. Cultural centers were attached to embassies worldwide and in 1972 the Japan Foundation was founded with the goals of assisting the promotion and teaching of Japanese language, encouraging Japanese studies abroad and cultural exchanges in the art and music fields. Before the establishment of the Japan Foundation in 1972, cultural diplomacy was carried on by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in coordination with the Agency for Cultural Affairs formed in 1968. Among the tasks of the Agency, which inherited the legacy of the pre-war *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* (KBS), there was the "promotion of cultural exchanges between Japan and foreign countries", with the purposes of promoting "international exchanges of art and culture and of artists and eminent men of culture", and encouraging "the teaching of the Japanese language to foreigners" (Shikaumi 1970, 15). The Japan Foundation continued these activities on a similar path: increasing international mutual understanding, encouraging international friendship and goodwill, carrying out international exchange activities, contributing to the improvement of world culture and human welfare. The innovation was in the organization of the new organism, which was more aligned on foreign experiences such as the Goethe Institute, the British Council, the Alliance Française (Vyas 2008).

Eventually, during the 1970s and 1980s, Japan's cultural diplomacy was articulated in two directions: from one side, it aimed to limit the negative effects of Asian growing dependence from Japanese economic development, which was originating some anti-Japanese feelings; from the other side it targeted North America and Western Europe in the

attempt to ease the fears of Japanese overseas investments and enhance global cultural cooperation (Ogoura 2009). As we can see, Eastern Europe and the Soviet bloc in general represented only a secondary objective for Japanese cultural diplomacy.

Nevertheless, the implementation of cultural contacts and exchanges played some preliminary role in the path towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and Japan. During the implementation of these contacts, the eminent Romanian poet Eugen Jebeleanu wrote a poem on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, *Surîsul Hiroşimei (The Smile of Hiroshima)*, (1958), which achieved international recognition.

The two countries signed cultural protocols in 1961, 1967 and 1975 (Epure 2000). As a consequence of these treaties, cultural exchanges increased in number and frequency.

The two countries started to participate in their respective art and cinema fairs and festivals. For example, in 1966, Romanian representatives participated in an international exhibition of amateur artists in Japan, while Romanian books were presented at the international book fair in Tokyo (Agerpres 1966a). The Saikodo Gallery of the Tokyo Central Museum hosted an exhibition of more than 500 Romanian paintings, engravings and ornamental art items in May 1972. According to the Romanian News Agency, other exhibitions of Romanian arts took place in Japan as a result of the bilateral cultural exchanges. Agerpres cited the exhibitions of works by Marcel Chirnoaga and Octav Grigorescu, while Ladislau Feszi and Ileana Nicodin participated in the 6th Black and White Tokyo Biennial in 1968. Beforehand, Romanian artists participated to shows held in Tokyo, Osaka and Okayama. Among these shows, Agerpres recalled the exhibition of paintings by Dimitrie Ghița, Henri Catargi and Braduț Covaliu (Agerpres 1972). Obviously, exhibitions of Japanese arts were arranged in Romania as well, mainly in the capital and Cluj-Napoca. A collection of Japanese pottery, basketwork and fabrics was set up at the Folk Art Museum of Bucharest (Agerpres 1970a, 13). Japanese animated movies and cartoons competed at the “Mamaia 70” International Festival of Animated Films (Agerpres 1970b, 15). The International Photographic Art show organized in Bucharest in 1971 also hosted Japanese participants (Agerpres 1971b, 23), while the violinist Yuuko Shiokawa played at the “George Enescu” music festival in 1976 (Agerpres 1976, 12).

Translation and publication of books by Romanian and Japanese authors increased noteworthy. From one side, works of eminent Romanian poets and writers were translated and published in Japan. Among these publications, it is possible to find Mihai Eminescu’s books (Agerpres 1966b), as well as the works of Zaharia Stancu, Chairman of the Writers’ Union of Romania during the ‘70s (Agerpres 1971a, 31). On the other side, Romanian publishing houses started to print books from Japanese authors or on Japanese subjects. In 1971, the Meridiane Publishing House published a book dedicated to the Japanese painter Hokusai. The book contained a list of selected works by the painter, which were collected in Romanian Museums and private collections, and extracts from studies by European (including the Romanian Petru Comarnescu, who authored a lecture in 1960 for the 200th birth anniversary of Hokusai) and Japanese art critics (Agerpres 1971c). Eventually, Japan raised some interest among the Romanian academic community as a matter of study, as revealed by a series of articles which appeared in the review of the Romanian Academy of Political and Social Sciences *Revista de Istorie*. These articles were published from the late ‘70s to the ‘80s and focused mainly on Japanese foreign policy before and during the Second World War (Lupu 1979; Zamfir 1987; Budura 1988 ⁽¹⁾), and on Japan’s modern State construction since the Meiji restoration (Budura 1981).

The two countries implemented various forms of cooperation in the education field. For example, Japanese students participated in courses on Romanian language and civilization sponsored by the Bucharest University and opened to international students (Agerpres 1972, 15). The Romanian Ministry of Education and the Bucharest Institute of Oil, Gas and Geology, with the collaboration of the UNESCO National Commission of the Socialist Republic of Romania, organized an international post-university course of specialization in oil refining and petrochemical industry, which was attended by students from various countries, including Japan (Agerpres 1970, 16-17). Starting from 1969, the State Committee for Nuclear Power, the Romanian National Committee of Physics and the Bucharest Institute of Atomic Physics organized annual summer schools in the field of

⁽¹⁾ Actually, Budura’s work focused mainly on the Chinese side and the Japanese imperialistic policy did not constitute the core of the analysis.

nuclear physics attended also by Japanese scholars (Agerpres 1973, 21).

2. The Cultural Relations with Non-Communist East Asian Countries

The geographic distance had a huge, negative impact on Romanian relations with East Asian countries. Differences in ideology as well as political instability also influenced negatively Romanian ties with the non-communist East Asian countries. Bilateral economic relations were difficult mainly because of these reasons. Moreover, cultural differences and misunderstandings characterized the development of sound interpersonal relations between Romanians and East Asians that could otherwise positively improve the development of more effective commercial exchanges.

The relations were easier with countries whose regimes were ideologically closer to socialism and communism, such as Sukarno's Indonesia and U Nu's Burma. That did not impede Romanian communist leaders from trying to establish links with more ideological distant regimes, such as Marcos' Philippines. Exchanges were difficult with Suharto's Indonesia, and completely cut off with South Korea and Taiwan.

2.1. Burma

During the 1950s, Burma's political landscape was dominated by the personality of U Nu. He pursued a foreign policy based on the equidistance among the two blocks that characterized the Cold War period. Indeed, according to U Nu's vision, Burma should "be friendly with all foreign countries. Our tiny nation cannot have effrontery to quarrel with any power" (Fan 2012). It was not, however, an easy task and Burma's position gradually shifted towards the communist countries. After all, U Nu's political ideology, based on the "Buddhist Socialism" (Sarkisyanz 1961), was closer to the communist dogmas than to the liberalist thoughts. Burma's economy was centered on rice production and export (U Khin Win 1991, 51), therefore economic relations with Romania were based on the exchanges of that important item. Trade relations with the Soviet bloc, however, were not easy: U Nu complained that Burma "was losing from 10 per cent to 20 per cent in the clearing arrangement with Bloc nations. He also complained of the limited choice of goods, their poor quality, inflated prices and irregularities in deliveries" (Pryor 1963, 183).

In 1962, General Ne Win took power, launching the so-called "Burmese way to socialism" (von der Mehden 1963; Mauren and Thant 1992). The new regime improved a planned economy and strengthened trade relations with Central Eastern Europe. In this period, Romania and Burma strengthened the cultural cooperation, represented mainly by artist exchanges and tours. An example is offered by the Asian tour implemented in 1969 by the Romanian Țândărică Puppet Theatre – founded in 1945 and specialized in shows with puppets – which also made a stop in Burma (Agerpres 1969). Nevertheless, both the geographic distance and a reciprocal disinterest in advancing the partnership caused the commercial exchanges as well as the cultural relations to remain relatively poor until the fall of the European socialist regimes and beyond.

2.2. Indonesia

Romania recognized Indonesia's independence on February 18, 1950. Since then, Romanian-Indonesian relations can be subdivided in two periods.

The first period was characterized by increasing commercial and cultural exchanges between the regimes of Gheorghiu-Dej and Sukarno. Such good relations were the logical outcome of Sukarno's ideological proximity to Marxism and Socialism through the elaboration of the so-called "PancaSila" principles ⁽²⁾. In the economic field, from one side, Indonesia provided the Romanian industry with a long list of strategic raw materials. On the other side, the Balkan country exported mainly oil equipment and machineries necessary for the development of Indonesia's economy. The diplomatic and political bilateral relations developed thanks to Sukarno's visits to Romania in 1960, 1961 and 1965, while Romanian Prime Minister Maurer and Gheorghiu-Dej went to Jakarta in 1962 (Dumitrescu 1962). The good relation between the two countries was also reflected in the cultural field. Indeed, the two states signed a cultural agreement on 14 August 1960 (Gheorghe 1983, 181-182). According to the agreement, Romania and Indonesia had to cooperate in the fields of scientific research, education and cultural and artistic institutions

⁽²⁾ The principles are: 1) Belief in the one and only God; 2) Just and civilized humanity; 3) The unity of Indonesia; 4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives; 5) Social justice for all of the people of Indonesia (dell'Agnese 2002).

through the exchange of people and materials. These consisted mainly of books, while each country committed themselves to the enhancement of translations of books from the other country. Furthermore, the two parties agreed to grant reciprocal scholarships both at high school and university level, and to organize tours of artists and cultural exhibitions. Agreements of this kind were typical for communist countries and intended to improve political and ideological ties. Yet, Indonesia based its cultural foreign policy on reciprocity and the best tool to implement such a policy was the bilateral arrangement, considered as the simplest, fastest and probably most beneficial tool. Some agreements, as that one with Romania, were “drawn up in very general terms so as not to restrict the activities over any length of time”. When the agreements were more detailed, the Indonesians tended to insert some clauses in order to foresee future modifications in the case the implementation of the agreement would prove difficult (Soebadio 1985, 50). Yet, the practical effects of the cultural agreement between Romania and Indonesia on the development of mutual cultural understanding, however, were at least questionable as contacts remained quite scarce. One of the few actions taken under the agreement’s framework was the publication of a book of *Romanian Short Stories* in Indonesia (Agerpres 1975, 13).

Sukarno was removed from power in 1965 through a violent coup led by General Suharto, who established a regime close to the United States of America. This event inaugurated the second period of Romania-Indonesia relations. As a consequence of the coup, relations with the Soviet bloc strained (Brown 2003; Hunter 2007). Trade with Romania decreased swiftly. Bucharest froze Indonesian commodities and products, while Jakarta cut the exports to Central Eastern Europe (Radio Free Europe 1967). The relations resumed only during the second half of the ‘70s (Weinstein 2007, 173), because Jakarta needed to diversify the foreign trade. During the ‘80s, Suharto’s progressive isolation on the international arena, due to the repressive nature of his regime, led the Indonesian government to seek friendship with Ceaușescu’s Romania, which suffered of the same problem. Ceaușescu visited Jakarta in 1982 and 1988, while Suharto paid a visit to Romania in 1985. This approach had consequences on the cultural relations, too. Indonesia became subject of interest of some Romanian scholars, for example professor Ion Calafeteanu, who wrote a paper about the

Indonesian opposition to the Dutch colonial administration between the two world wars on the November 1981 issue of the journal *Revista de Istorie*. However, it was not the first time that Indonesia was subject of Romanian scholars’ research: 14 years before, Indonesia’s vegetal and animal life was among the subjects of the diary of Professor E. A. Pora, published by the Bucharest Publishing House for Scientific Literature (Agerpres 1967).

2.3. Philippines

The relationship between Romania and Philippines were quite scarce because the latter’s militancy in the US-led camp. During the mid-‘70s, however, Romania’s autonomous foreign policy made possible the improvement of the bilateral ties. Official diplomatic relations were established on March 10, 1972, just some months before President Ferdinand Marcos instituted the martial law over the Asian archipelago. Ceaușescu paid a visit to the Philippines in 1975: the journey strengthened the relation through the sign of several agreements, mostly on the economic and trade field. However, one of those agreements concerned the cultural field. The purpose of the agreement was to enhance cultural cooperation and mutual knowledge between the two countries. The two parties listed the domains and a series of instruments through which they should enhance such cooperation: art, science and education, literature, art expositions, cinema and “no-commercial” movies, radio and television programs, symphonic concerts, dance and music shows. The countries were also supposed to encourage the exchanges of scholars and students through the concession of grants and scholarships. It is easy to note that this cultural agreement was similar to that one Romania signed with Indonesia 15 years before. There were, however, two new elements: first, the agreement had no expiration date, but the parties could recede after six months from the entry into force through a written communication; second and most important, the agreement specified that the parties could adopt measures in order to protect the intellectual and artistic property rights of the citizens of one party when they resided in the other country (Gheorghe 1988, 403-404). Therefore, when a Romanian artist or scholar resided in the Philippines, Manila’s government should ensure the protection of the intellectual rights of the Romanian citizen, and vice versa. The signing of the agreement was facilitated by the authoritarian and centralized nature of the two

regimes. As Romanian cultural diplomacy was government-led, so was the Philippines' foreign cultural policy, which was under the competence of a National Commission on Culture created in 1964. This Commission was in charge of the following tasks (UNESCO 1973, 14):

- To promote and encourage foreign cultural exchanges in order to enhance the international prestige of the country.
- To provide scholarships and travel grants to deserving talents in arts and letters.
- To provide for the sending abroad of local artists, whether as individual or performing groups, for the purpose of exhibitions and performances.
- To regulate, to manage and to promote the entry into the Philippines of foreign artists of accepted integrity for exhibitions and performances.

Despite the agreement, cultural exchanges did not help very much in developing the bilateral relations. Yet, commercial exchanges, as well as cultural and political relations, were shaped by continuous ups and downs in the following decade, and Romanian exports increased only after the fall of Marcos' regime in 1986 and until the events of December 1989.

2.4. Singapore

Romania established diplomatic relations with Singapore on May 30, 1967, after the Singaporean leader Lee Kuan Yew paid a visit to the Balkan country in 1966 and a subsequent visit to the Asian city-state by the Romanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Corneliu Manescu (Radio Free Europe 1966; 1967). The Romanian-Singaporean approach was the consequence of an overture towards the socialist countries operated by the Asian government. Indeed, after the separation from Malaysia happened in 1965, Singapore elaborated a politics of equilibrium among the two world superpowers in order to avoid any opposition to the project of becoming a maritime hub of world importance (Ang Cheng Guan 2013). "We need them to survive", Lee Kuan Yew said with regard to the relations with the Soviet Union (Leifer 2000, 45). Indeed, Singapore also represented an important hub for Romanian imports from East Asia. Bilateral economic relations were relatively good until the fall of Ceaușescu and did not suffer too much from the unstable regional political environment that characterized South-East Asia in those years. Cultural relations were regulated according to an agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation

signed on 2 June 1971. It influenced the following fields: science, arts, culture, education, health, press, radio, television, cinema, sport and any other field of reciprocal interest. The bilateral cooperation was meant to be enhanced through the exchanges of materials (in particular on respective history, geography, literature and economy), mutual visits by researchers, scholars, scientists and professors, and the mutual granting of scholarships for students. The agreement also envisaged the organization of conferences and festivals. The agreement had a validity of five years with an automatic renewal for additional five years and, in any case, until one party decided to recede (Gheorghe 1988, 198-199).

2.5. Malaysia

Romania established diplomatic relations with Malaysia on March 22, 1969. A technical and economic agreement followed on September 17, 1970. This agreement paved the way for stronger industrial cooperation and the creation of joint ventures. Although in a very limited manner, Romanian enterprises were able to penetrate the Malaysian market and business environment (Savuica 2009, 285-287). Trade exchanges increased in the second half of the '70s and the bilateral relations experienced their apex with Ceaușescu's visit to Kuala Lumpur in 1982 (Ciorănescu 1982). The bilateral trade, however, decreased in the second half of the '80s because Bucharest's policies aimed to reduce the commercial deficit.

In the cultural sphere, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation was signed on October 10, 1975 (Gheorghe 1988, 463). The agreement contemplated exchanges of scholars and materials (books and scientific publications, as well as documents on history, geography, economy and education), the granting of scholarships and the promotion of the cooperation between the universities of the two parties. The cultural cooperation was also meant to envisage the fields of literature, arts, music and theatre, while radio, television and cinema were absent.

2.6. Thailand

Romanian relations with the Kingdom of Thailand were poor because the anti-communist stance adopted by Bangkok, culminated in the adhesion to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) (Mishra 2010, 120-122), as well as Thai concerns for the war in Vietnam. Indeed, the conclusion of the conflict in Indochina and the US withdrawal consented a

relaxation of the Romanian-Thai relations. The two countries signed a trade agreement in 1974, but the commercial exchanges remained scarce until the fall of the socialist regime in Bucharest. The relationship was even poorer in the cultural field: no cultural agreement was signed until 1995.

2.7. South Korea and Taiwan

Romanian relations with South Korea and Taiwan depended on Bucharest's ties with North Korea and the People's Republic of China, respectively, and thus were almost absent. The causes of such an absence, therefore, were essentially ideological. During the '60s, South Korea attempted a soft approach in establishing bilateral relations with Central-Eastern Europe, through the institution of university tenures on Central-Eastern European languages at Seoul. Romanian authorities, however, were reluctant to seize the Korean overtures. Actually, Ceaușescu expressed the wish to further the relations with Seoul during a meeting with a North Korean delegation on August 26, 1973. The North Korean furious reaction, however, suggested to leave any such attempt in order to maintain the brotherly ties with Pyongyang (Urian 2007, 260). Nevertheless, Seoul supported Bucharest's application to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) on November 1971 and to the International Monetary Fund (November 1972). Consequentially, Romanian diplomats were allowed to soften their stance towards their South Korean counterparts. During the '80s, these timid developments ended in a deadlock. Ceaușescu implemented authoritarian policies that were incompatible with the road to the democratization starting in South Korea in the meantime. Moreover, Romania's economic difficulties led South Korean firms and enterprises to turn their eyes to other Central Eastern European countries, such as Hungary, which had launched economic liberal reforms.

Romanian relations with Taiwan were absolutely absent because of Romania's closeness to the People's Republic of China and its adherence to the One China policy. When, at the end of the '80s, the Taiwanese government launched a charm offensive towards Central Eastern Europe, with both diplomatic and economic purposes, Romania was excluded because of its ideological intransigence. The two countries only maintained scarce trade exchanges, while cultural relations were completely absent.

Conclusions

The analysis conducted in this paper leads us to several conclusive remarks. The first one is also the most obvious: East Asian non-communist countries had been out of the radar of Romanian cultural institutions for a long time and always played a marginal role from Bucharest's perspective. The reasons at the core of this situation were numerous:

1. The geographic distance. This factor limited the development of closer relations at least until the '70s.
2. The authoritarian nature of the Romanian regime and the internal censorship. This factor highly influenced the development of Bucharest's cultural diplomacy. According to the theoretical framework above presented, Romania's cultural diplomacy was government-led, therefore very distant from Cummings' definition based on the apolitical exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture in order to foster mutual understanding. Thus, Romania's cultural diplomacy was often associated with mere propaganda and part of a policy of nation branding.
3. The language. This was one main constraint. As we have seen, translations from other language were restricted mainly to few books adherent to the Party ideology. We cannot neglect, however, that censorship was not limited to Romania. Except for Japan, all the non-communist East Asian countries were ruled by authoritarian regimes until the end of the '80s. Some of those regimes were zealous anti-communist, therefore they had forbidden translations of books from communist countries. Moreover, even if translation was allowed in large numbers, both Romania and East Asian countries did not have a sufficient number of translators.
4. The difficulties in implementing the cultural agreements signed between Romania and some non-communist East Asian countries. According to Meissner's definition, the agreements represent the most visible instrument of cultural diplomacy, with the purpose of facilitating the transfer of ideas that can influence the partner country. In the case of Romania's cultural diplomacy

towards East Asian non-communist countries, this objective was not fulfilled in any event. In fact, these agreements had the main function of testifying the good state of bilateral diplomatic and political relations. The effective implementation of such agreements was questionable. The only successful use of culture in foreign policy towards East Asian non-communist countries seems to have happened in the preliminary activities to the establishment of diplomatic ties with Japan. Nevertheless, the cultural exchanges and activities encouraged by the two governments were the result of ad-hoc initiatives. Thus, it seems that the cultural protocols signed during the '60s and the '70s were a product of sound political ties, rather than a

premise for their construction. Furthermore, it appears that such agreements did not have any significant role in the development of the partnership, as in the case of Romania's bilateral relations with the other East Asian non-communist countries.

In conclusion, Romania's cultural relations with non-communist East Asian countries were highly influenced by the wider geopolitical scenario of the Cold War and the US – Soviet Union confrontation. As noted in a UNESCO document (1955), the United States and the Soviet Union were involved in an effort to gain the cultural ear of East Asian countries. This effort was characterized by ideological rivalry and the Central East European countries, Romania included, had to follow the Soviet line.

References

a. Books

- Brown 2003** Brown, Colin, *A short history of Indonesia. The unlikely nation?*, Crow Nest, Allen & Unwin (2003).
- Buzoianu 1904** Buzoianu, G. T., *Războiul din Extremul Orient*, Bucharest, Albert Baer (1904).
- Epure 2000** Epure, Mihai, *Din Carpați până la Fuji*, Bucharest, Cartega (2000).
- Gheorghe 1983** Gheorghe, Gheorghe (ed.), *Tratatele Internaționale ale României, 1939-1965*, Bucharest, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică (1983).
- Gheorghe 1988** Gheorghe, Gheorghe (ed.), *Tratatele Internaționale ale României, 1965-1975*, Bucharest, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică (1988).
- Hunter 2007** Hunter, Helen-Louise, *Sukarno and the Indonesian Cup. The untold story*, Santa Barbara, Praeger Security International (2007).
- Iorga 1904** Iorga, Nicolae, *Războiul din Orient*, Bucharest, Ed. Librăriei Socecu & Comp. (1904).
- Leifer 2000** Leifer, Michael, *Singapore's Foreign Policy. Coping with vulnerability*, London, Routledge (2000).
- Mehedinți** Mehedinți, Simeon, *Continentele 1902* (*Afară de Europa*), Bucharest (1902).
- Mishra 2010** Mishra, Patit Paban, *The history of Thailand*, Santa Barbara, Greenwood (2010).
- Nitobé 1929** Nitobé, Inazo, *Bușido sau Sufletul Japonezului*, Translation by Constant Georgescu, Bucharest, Ed. Casei Școalelor (1929).
- Ogoura 2009** Ogoura, Kazuo, *Japan's Cultural Diplomacy, Past and Present*, Aoyama Gakuin University. Joint Research Institute for International Peace and Culture (2009).
- Pryor 1963** Pryor, Frederic L., *The Communist Foreign Trade System*, Cambridge, the M.I.T. Press (1963), <http://archive.org/details/communistforeignOOpryo>
- Ribeiro 2008** Ribeiro, Edgard Telles, *Cultural Diplomacy: an Instrument of Foreign Policy*, Bangkok, SIFA Ambassador Talks Program, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2008).
- Scumpieru 2014** Scumpieru, Ion, *133 de ani de relații România-Japonia*, Bucharest, Fundația Europeană Titulescu (2014).
- Timuș 1943** Timuș, Ioan, *Japonia de ieri și de azi*, Bucharest, Tipografia Universul (1943).
- Togo 2005** Togo, Kazuhiko, *Japan's*

- Foreign Policy, 1945-2003. The Quest for a Proactive Policy*, 2nd edition, Leiden, Koninklijke Brill NV (2005).
- U.S. Department of State 2005** U.S. Department of State, *Cultural Diplomacy. The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*, Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy (2005).
- Vasile 2009** Vasile, Cristian, *Communist Romania's Cultural Cold War, 1947-1960*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, History and Public Policy Program (2009), <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/communist-romania-cultural-cold-war-1947-1960>.
- Verdery 1991** Verdery, Katherine, *National Ideology Under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania*, Berkeley, University of California Press (1991).
- Watson 1982** Watson, Adam, *Diplomacy: the Dialogue between States*, Abingdon, Routledge (e-book edition 2005) (1982).
- Weinstein 2007** Weinstein, Franklin B., *Indonesian Foreign Policy, and the Dilemma of Dependence. From Sukarno to Soeharto*, Equinox Publishing (2007).
- Win 1991** Win, U Khin, *A Century of Rice Improvement in Burma*, Manila, International Rice Research Institute (1991).
- b. Chapter in books**
- Agnese 2002** Agnese, Elena dell', "Unità e diversità: la costruzione dell'idea di "nazione" nella Repubblica di Indonesia". In Guido Abbatista, *L'espansione europea in Asia (secc. XV-XVIII)*, Roma, Carocci editore (2002), p.143-173.
- Fayet 2010** Fayet, Jean-François, "VOKS: The Third Dimension of Soviet Foreign Policy". In Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, Mark C. Donfried (eds.), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, New York, Berghahn Book (2010), p. 33-49.
- Gienow-Hecht 2010** Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E., "What Are We Searching For? Culture, Diplomacy, Agents and the State". In Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, Mark C. Donfried (eds.), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, New York, Berghahn Book (2010), p. 3-12.
- Snow 2009** Snow, Nancy, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy". In Nancy Snow, Philip M. Taylor (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Abingdon, Routledge (2009), p. 3-11, <http://bdinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/A1-handbookofpublicdiplomacy.pdf>
- c. Papers in periodical journals**
- Aung-Thwin 1992** Aung-Thwin, Mauren, Thant Myint-U., *The Burmese Ways to Socialism*. In: *Third World Quarterly* (1992), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992410>
- Bélanger 1999** Bélanger, Louis, *Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada*. In: *Political Psychology*, 20, 4 (1999), p. 677-699, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792191>.
- Budura 1981** Budura, Ana, *Structuri tradiționale și procese de modernizare în Japonia secolului XIX*. In: *Revista de Istorie*, 34, 9 (1981), p. 1687-1704.
- Budura 1988** Budura, Ana, *Aspecte ale procesului de Creare în China a Frontului Național Unit Antijaponez*. In: *Revista de Istorie*, 41, 10 (1988), p. 993-1008.
- Calafeteanu 1981** Calafeteanu, Ion, *Mișcarea de rezistență a poporului indonezian în anii celui de-al doilea război mondial*. In *Revista de Istorie*, 34, 11 (1981), p. 2065-2089.
- Crotty 2009** Crotty, Joel, *Promoting Romanian Music Abroad: The Rumanian Review (1946-1956)*. In: *Music & Politics*, 3, 2 (2009), <http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2009-2/crotty.pdf>.
- Detot 2007** Detot, Mitică, *România și Japonia*. In: *Revista Română de Studii Eurasiatice*, III, 3 (2007),

- p. 285-292.
- Dragulescu 2013** Dragulescu, Emilia Delia, *The Romanian Cultural Institute. A Need for Consistency*. (2013), http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/pdf/case-studies/Emilia-Delia-Dragulescu_-_The-Romanian-Cultural-Institute-_A-Need-for-Consistency.pdf.
- Gheorghica 2013** Gheorghica, Nela, *Romanian Cinematography and Film Culture during the Communist Regime*. In: *Euxeinos*, 11 (2013), p. 6-16.
- Hongwei 2012** Hongwei, Fan, *China–Burma Geopolitical Relations in the Cold War*. In: *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 31, 1 (2012), p. 7-27, <http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs14/JCSAA31-01-Fan.pdf>.
- Lanyi 1985** Lanyi, Peter, *Hungarian Foreign Trade with East, Southeast Asian Countries*. In: *Kulgazdasag*, 1 (January 1985). Reported in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, “East Europe Report”, *Economic and Industrial Affairs* (1985), p. 1-18, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a338104.pdf>.
- Lupu 1979** Lupu, N. Z., *Antecedente ale agresiunii Japoniei în China de nord-est*. In: *Revista de Istorie*, 35, 5 (1979), p. 905-921.
- Mehden 1963** Mehden, Fred R. von der, *The Burmese Way to Socialism*. In: *Asian Survey*, 3, 3 (1963), p. 129-135, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3023620>.
- Meissner 2002** Meissner, Werner, *Cultural Relations between China and the Member States of the European Union*. In: *The China Quarterly*, 169. Special Issue: *China and Europe since 1978: A European Perspective* (2002), p. 181-203.
- Mitrasca 2006** Mitrasca, Marcel, *Japan in Romanian Books before World War Two*. In: *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, 23 (2006), p. 241-247, http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/publicatn/acta/23/09_mitrasca.pdf.
- Ogoura 2008** Ogoura, Kazuo, *Japan's Postwar Cultural Diplomacy*, Working Paper no. 1, Center for Area Studies, Free University of Berlin (2008) http://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/cas/forschung/publikationen/working-papers/cas-wp_no_1-08.pdf?1307217500.
- Robu 2011** Robu, Lucian, *Imaginea României comuniste în propaganda turistică și culturală externă între anii 1960-1975. Forme de implicare a nomenclaturii și strategii acționale*. In: *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica*, VIII (2011), p. 117-131.
- Sarkisyanz 1961** Sarkisyanz, Manuel, *On the place of U Nu's Buddhist Socialism in Burma's History of Idea*. In: *Studies on Asia*, I, 2 (1961), p. 53-63.
- Savuica 2009** Savuica, Gheorghe, *Relațiile României cu state din Asia de Sud și Sud-Est în perioada 1967-2006*. In: *Pagini din Diplomația României*, III (2009).
- Terada 1972** Terada, Yataro, *The System of Trade between Japan and the East European countries, including the Soviet Union*. In: *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 37, 3 (1972), p. 429-447.
- Tomic 2011** Tomic, Djordje, *Cultural diplomacy as a political tool of European integration*. In: *Sociological discourse*, 1, 2 (2011), p. 63-76, <http://socioloskidiskurs.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/04-Djordje-Tomic.pdf>.
- Urian 2007** Urian, Izidor, *Prin culisele relațiilor româno sud-coreene*. In: *Revista Română de Studii Euroasiatice*, III, 1-2 (2007).
- Vyas 2008** Vyas, Utpal, *The Japan Foundation in China. An Agent of Japan's Soft Power?* In: *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* (2008).
- Zamfir 1987** Zamfir, Zorin, *Contributii privind studiul relațiilor japo-germane in anii celui de-al doilea razboi mondial*. In: *Revista de Istorie*, 40, 8 (1987), p. 820-830.

d. Documents

- Agerpress 1966a** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (January 15, 1966), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112104060188;view=1up;seq=545>.
- Agerpress 1966b** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (March 30, 1966), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112105122557;view=1up;seq=52>.
- Agerpress 1967** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (April 22, 1967), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112104060188;view=1up;seq=669>.
- Agerpress 1969a** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (February 15, 1969), http://archive.org/details/rumani_a03241969unit.
- Agerpress 1969b** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (September 15, 1969), http://archive.org/details/rumani_a03241969unit.
- Agerpress 1970a** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (April 15, 1970), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030127;view=1up;seq=121>.
- Agerpress 1970b** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (June 15, 1970), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030127;view=1up;seq=193>.
- Agerpress 1970c** Agerpres, *Documents, Articles and Information on Romania* (November 10, 1970), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030127;view=1up;seq=393>.
- Agerpress 1971a** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 1-2, Year 22 (January 30, 1971), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030135;view=1up;seq=1>.
- Agerpress 1971b** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 12-13, Year 22 (July 5, 1971), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030135;view=1up;seq=641>.
- Agerpress 1971c** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 20, Year 22 (October 31, 1971), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030135;view=1up;seq=379>.
- Agerpress 1972a** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 7, Year 23 (April 15, 1972), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030135;view=1up;seq=529>.
- Agerpress 1972b** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 14, Year 23 (July 31, 1972), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030135;view=1up;seq=641>.
- Agerpress 1973** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 11, Year 24 (September 30, 1973), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030143;view=1up;seq=190>.
- Agerpress 1975** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 8, Year 26 (August 31, 1975), <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030150;view=1up;seq=134>.
- Agerpress 1976** Agerpres, *Romania: Articles, Features, Information*, N. 9, Year 27 (September 1976), p. 12, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112101030168;view=1up;seq=348>.
- Appadorai 1955** Appadorai, A., *Cultural Relations in South and South East Asia*, UNESCO, First Meeting of Directors of National Services responsible for Cultural Relations (October 28, 1955), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001552/155252eb.pdf>.
- Dodu Balan 1975** Dodu Balan, Ion, *Cultural policy in Romania*. In cooperation with the Directorates of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education. Paris: the UNESCO Press (1975), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/image>

- Cioranescu 1982** s/0001/000118/011881eo.pdf.
Cioranescu, George, *Ceausescu's Asian Trip*. Background Reports, Radio Free Europe (December 16, 1982), <http://fa.osaarchivum.org/background-reports?col=8&id=57052>.
- Dumitrescu 1962** Dumitrescu, G. St., *Gheorghiu-Dej's visit to Indonesia*. Background Reports, Radio Free Europe (September 7, 1962), <http://fa.osaarchivum.org/background-reports?col=8&id=56428>.
- Japan and Romania 1969** Japan and Romania, *Treaty of commerce and navigation (with protocol)*, Tokyo (September 1, 1969), <http://treaties.un.org>.
- Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1974** Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Diplomatic Bluebook 1974*, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/1974/1974-3-1.htm>.
- Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1992** Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Joint Compendium of Documents on the History of Territorial Issue between Japan and Russia – Preface* (1992), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/edition92/preface.html>.
- Kun 1971** Kun, Joseph C., *JCP cements ties with Rumanian, Italian, Vietnamese parties*, Background Reports, Radio Free Europe (August 23, 1971), http://storage.osaarchivum.org/low/26/c5/26c5ff0d-0015-40d4-b352-b1f4eb551575_1.pdf.
- Radio Free Europe 1966** Radio Free Europe, *Situation Report: Romania* (May 27, 1966), http://storage.osaarchivum.org/low/ca/17/ca17eb7b-3c42-44bb-9899-9806e8f470a5_1.pdf.
- Radio Free Europe 1967a** Radio Free Europe, *Situation Report: Romania* (May 31, 1967), http://storage.osaarchivum.org/low/00/5e/005ef6de-087c-4b23-bccc-3ae5f18d38a7_1.pdf.
- Radio Free Europe 1967b** Radio Free Europe, *Situation Report: Romania* (March 29, 1967), http://storage.osaarchivum.org/low/21/0e/210e66b4-3c14-44d8-afc9-6b072310c205_1.pdf.
- Radio Free Europe 1975** Radio Free Europe, *Situation Report: Romania* (October 23, 1975), <http://www.osaarchivum.org/greenfield/repository/osa:370efdfe-4026-4d42-b904-6712bf93e8b3>.
- Radio Free Europe 1978** Radio Free Europe, *Situation Report: Romania* (August 1, 1978), <http://www.osaarchivum.org/hu/greenfield/repository/osa:99c2e509-f985-43fe-a0e2-d80091cb8748>.
- Shikaumi 1970** Shikaumi, Nobuya, *Cultural Policy in Japan*, Paris, UNESCO (1970), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/image/s/0000/000011/001170eo.pdf>.
- Soebadio 1985** Soebadio, Haryati, *Cultural Policy in Indonesia*, Paris, UNESCO (1985), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/image/s/0006/000630/063036eo.pdf>.
- UNESCO 1973** UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines. *Cultural Policy in the Philippines*. Paris, the UNESCO Press (1973), <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/image/s/0000/000058/005892eo.pdf>.

Pre- and Post-Conflict Situation in Dali Gorge

Rozeta GUJEJANI

Professor, Tbilisi State University, Faculty of Humanities

E-mail: rgujejani@gmail.com

Abstract. The work describes traditional living places and types of agricultural constructions. The focus is made on the influence of religion on every element of everyday life.

The ethnographic materials were collected directly from Dali Area, during 2007-2008, and from internally displaced people in Tbilisi, Kutaisi Tetritskaro and Dmanisi regions, during 2008-2015.

The work has been completed within the framework of historical ethnology scientific field and involved the use of detailed descriptions, complex and deep secondary analysis of documents, observation, participant observation, enquiries, interviews and the biographic and statistical methods of research.

Keywords: forced migration, adaptation, culture, tradition, Dali Gorge.

Pre- and Post-Conflict Situation in Dali Gorge

Dali Gorge is located in Georgia, on the upper side of the Kodori River, in Gulripshi Region, the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia. Parallel names of the Dali Gorge are Svaneti of Dali, and Kodori Gorge; its official name is Upper Abkhazia. Dali Gorge has been occupied by Russia as a result of the Russian-Georgian war of 2008; the native dwellers were forced to leave their place of living and Dali Gorge population is internally displaced up to nowadays.

The work has been completed within the framework of the historical ethnology scientific field and involved the use of detailed descriptions, complex and deep desk study, observation, participant observation, enquiries, interviews and the biographic and statistical methods of research. Ethnographic materials were collected directly from Dali Area, during 2007-2008, and from internally displaced people in Tbilisi, Kutaisi Tetritskaro and Dmanisi regions during 2008-2015. Part of my research outcomes related to the history of Dali Gorge has already been published (Gujejani 2009).

Originally, Dali Gorge native dwellers were Georgians, specifically one of the ethnographic groups of Georgians – Svans. The gorge is related to not only Sokhumi, but to Upper Svaneti (Mestia Region) by Chuberi Community. Dali Gorge has a ridge passes into the Federation of Russia.

Georgians of the Dali Gorge (Svans) are called as “Misimians”, and the territory itself as

a “Country of Misimians” in Byzantine sources of 6th-7th centuries (Georgica 1941). Obviously, Misimians are the same as Svans, *i.e.* Georgians. The name is originated from the dialectic name of Svans – “Mushuan” (Kaldani 1999). The country of Misimian is frequently presented in the early medieval history of Georgia, as well as in relation to Byzantine and Persian wars of 4th-7th centuries; Byzantine sources of this period often mention Dali fortresses like “Bukolus”//Bokeri and “Iron”//Chkhalta (Atanelashvili 1959).

In later middle ages, as a result of Abaz-Adighean tribes broad settlement on the territory of Georgia from the north Caucasus, ethno demographic conditions in Abkhazia, including upper part of the river became greatly altered (Khorava 2000). The locals, who underwent permanent intrusions from the north Caucasus, started to move from Dali Gorge to Svaneti. Part of the Georgians displaced from the Dali Gorge settled in the lower villages of Bali in Svaneti. Future generations of this population (up to 10 Georgian families) have preserved the memory of their ancestor’s living in Dali Gorge; during prayers and by the end of rituals they turn to the north-west, in the direction of the Dali Gorge and pray in the name of the temples located in Dali (Shkera St. George Church, Ajara St. Giorgi Church...), the perish of which were their ancestors, when they lived in Dali Gorge (Bardavelidze 1939, 60-61).

After the occupation of Georgia by the Russian Empire in 1867, great part of Tsebeli and Abazs population living in Dali area was

exiled to the Ottoman Empire, by the Russian government. As a result of this there emerged a free land, on which only Russians were permitted to settle down by the order of the government. Those Russians settled in Lata, Ajara and in Gentsuish. Russian monasteries and churches were established (Aslanishvili, 1933). Georgians (Svans) too started to settle down in Dali Gorge, which was strongly opposed by the Russian government. Georgians were not permitted to settle down in villages, so they used to cut forests and lived there illegally during 5-6 years. Later Georgians were not permitted to cultivate the land.

As a result of the Georgians' settlement in Dali Gorge, the Georgian historical toponyms were restored, the etymology of which may be explained only by Svan speech belonging to the group of the Georgian languages: Bokeri, Buchkuri, Budzguri, Gentsvishi, Lagvana, Lata, Dali, Chkhalta, Chakhari, Gvandra, Ajara, Adzgara, Tvibrasheri, Setskvara, Khutia, Shikeri, Nahari... (Kaldani 1999).

According to the data of 1926, Dali Gorge was populated entirely by Georgians (Svans): "all one hundred percent of them are Svans, as Russians have gradually migrated from Dali and their lands were purchased by Svans. This condition was enhanced by imperialist war and revolution (Aslanishvili 1933, 10-12).

Cattle-breeding, land development, and apiculture became the main areas of Dali Gorge economy; fruit trees were planted. Traditional everyday life was hardly different from Svaneti ethnographic realities, and the "Svaneti of Dali" became the name of the gorge. It included the following villages situated on the river Kodori and the benches of its beginnings (Sakeni, Gvandra): Sakeni, which is a village situated on the highest place in the river Sakeni gorge and Omarishara lower to it. The village Gvandra is situated in the gorge of the Gvandra River. On the river Kodori the highest villages are the Right and Left Gentsvishi. There is a small village Khutia lower to them. Upper and Lower Ajara are on the right bench of the river Kodori, and there is the village of Mramba on the left side of the river. The village Chkhalta is situated on the right side of the rivers, which form the outfall of the river Chkhalta with Kodori River. Upper to them, in the gorge of the Chkhalta River there are the villages of Right and Left Ptishi. Lower to the village of Chkhalta, on the left bench of the river Kodori, there is the village Shabtkvara, and on the right bench there is the village Kvabchara. Lower, there is the

village of Upper Lata, which borders the village of Lata itself. Lower to Lata the Kodori River gorge becomes narrow, it goes through Bagada narrowing and this is where the Dali Gorge actually ends.

During the Soviet period, Kodori Gorge was included within the borders of various administrative units: in 1930 it was included within the border of Sokhumi Mazra under the name of Ajara Village Council; in 1977 it was already included within the borders of Gulripshi region under the name of Ajara Village Council (USSR Administrative and Territorial Division of Georgia 1977).

Since 1991, Dali Gorge belongs to the Ajara Community of the Gulripshi Region. War processes taking place in Abkhazia incurred great losses to this region. Significant part of population died in military activities for the territorial unity of Georgia. In 2006, the government of Georgia started social rehabilitation of the Dali Gorge. In 2007, the road was built up to the Tchuberi community (Mestia Region). The government named the Dali Gorge as "Upper Abkhazia". Ajara (Upper Abkhazia) municipality was formed. Educational Center of the Upper Abkhazia started functioning. There were 3 public and 6 elementary schools, which belonged to the Gentsvishi public school. By the data of April 1 of 2008, there were 292 students studying in public schools of Upper Abkhazia. 89 teachers and technical personnel were employed in the schools. The hospital was functioning. In parallel with rehabilitation, the government of Georgia abolished the battalion "Monadire" (Hunter) and made disarmament of the local Georgians, who had been protecting their areas from separatist regime during decades.

Before the tragic events of 2008, there lived 929 households in Dali Area. In August 2008, Georgians left the Dali Gorge.

Cultural and economic life of the Dali Gorge Georgians is a part of a west-Georgian mountain economy culture. The type of village settlements and the houses in various villages of Dali are very sparse. The populations of the region lived quite distantly from one another. Living and agricultural buildings were built horizontally far from one another. In the center of the yard there was a living place and agricultural buildings were located behind it. In the area rich with the forest there were perfect conditions for wood carpentry and the houses were mainly built with wood. Agricultural buildings were built with wood logs. Cattle were kept in cow-sheds, hay – in the so-called hall,

which was usually built on the top of the cowshed; though sometimes the hall represented a separate construction, too. Water mills were built on the rivers. Yards were decorated by gardens and orchards. Plowing and mowing lands were located far from the living places. Almost in every village flew mineral waters having healing qualities (Adzgara, Sakeni, Khetskvara, Basksara, Kuluchi...).

There are summer pastures in several kilometers from the villages, and Khvarshi is one of the distinguished one among them. Rich pastures and mowing lands gave every family the opportunity to have many cattle. Cattle-breeding ensured meat, milk products, fats, wool and leather for families. Bulls were used to cultivate land before the spread of tractors. Every village had its own "mountain", on the border of the forest and alpine zone, which was used as a summer pasture and as places for keeping cattle in summer. The cattle were taken to summer pastures from the end of May to the 15th of September. Some of the "mountains" were distinguished by such great natural conditions that sometimes cattle-breeders used to take cattle to different pasture for several times within the same territory. On the pastures, they produced Sulguni (type of cheese) in large quantities and made cheese for winter ("Narchv"). People bred cattle of the local, as well as of the north Caucasian origin. Lands were mowed during July and August and the second mowing was done by September. Hay was gathered in stacks and then placed in hay shed. Part of the hay was also left on the ground in a form of a stack or around the trees. Besides hay, straw, chaff and Nekeri were also used for feeding the cattle. The mowing process was preceded by the community prayer.

Wheat (up to ten types of wheat are known), corn and potato production occupied a great share of agriculture. They used to sow millet, pea, lentil, oats, rye, chickpeas and hemp. They started plowing works early in spring, soon after the melting of snow, after fertilizing the land. They used to plow the land by iron mechanism and a bull. They sow cereals of local type, which was sometimes renewed by seeds brought from the upper Svaneti. Besides artificial fertilization of the land, crop capacity was also increased by resting the ground and cycle sowing of seed plants. The sowed land was harrowed. Corn shoots were weeded and hoed. For harvesting Nadi was often gathered.

Beekeeping was a very developed field of household economies, which was conditioned

by corresponding natural conditions expressed in flora rich in honey plants and endemic type of bee – Caucasian mountain grey bee. Khodori Gorge dwellers used to sell honey and wax in Svaneti, Samegrelo, Sokhumi, as well as in north Caucasia. Beekeeper used to sacrifice certain amount of honey to the Churches of the Mother of the Lord, on every St. Mary holiday.

In general, agricultural management was rich in religious rules and traditions. According to traditional farmers, considering the religious calendar was essential for the harmonious co-existence of humans and nature. They prayed to the Lord and the prophet Elijah for having good weather and for protecting their crops. Celebrating holidays was also predefined. They used to thank St. George before and after the journey.

Dali Gorge dwellers cared for retaining of ecological balance: massive cutting of trees was prohibited. They were against pollution of rivers and lakes. They used to regulate fishing balance. Upon the decrease of trout amount, the villagers used to gather in a Prayers Center and took the decision on ceasing of fishing for certain time, which used to be abolished after fish quantity would increase.

There were rich traditions of solidarity in Dali area expressed by material sharing and work assistance. For example, building a house was preceded by cutting trees as a building material. In this activity the whole village gave assistance to the family. Giving material shares was a widespread practice during family celebrations and mourning periods. The whole village was united to help widows and orphans if they did not have close relatives.

There was a certain folk medical knowledge in Dali Gorge. The tradition of treatment was continued by generations of families, who already had such experience while living in Svaneti. Besides empirical and rational knowledge, folk physicians used to consider magical and religious treatments, too. In this regard, various resources were preserved in beliefs and traditions related to children's infectious diseases. St. Barbare was considered as a protector of those who suffered from plague, flower mound and other infectious diseases. They used to pray to St. George of Khvamli to protect people from coughing and cold, and to John the Baptist in case of eye diseases. There was a tradition of giving a part of a land to the church for the purpose of avoiding or treating of a disease. There was also a tradition of the so-called promised days, when people used to pray to some saint of the church

for health. It is known that traditionally, Georgians used to consider their well-being or hard period in the religious perspective. Well-being, kindness implied spiritual calmness whereas illness, wickedness reflected spiritual troubles of a person (Mindadze 2014). Traditional prayer implied utterance of special prayers for the “good mood” of the ill, to Gabriel Archangel.

The kinship system of the Dali Gorge dwellers is a typical sample of the kinship system and structure of Orthodox Georgians. Here too, four main types of kinship ties are known: father’s line, mother’s line, spiritual (godparent) and artificial kinship types. All these types of kinship are preserved among Georgians of Dali even after their displacement. Marriage is clearly exogamic. Marriage is prohibited not only within those having one and the same family name, but between those having the family names similar to the family name of mother and grandmother; marriage is also prohibited between those who have kinship ties because of god-parenting and artificial ways.

Hunting has the oldest-rooted traditions in Svaneti and the dwellers of the Dali Gorge similarly were well-known hunters. Adzgara areas were considered as the best areas for hunting. Hunters used to go for hunting in groups and equipped individually with the corresponding instruments, which was accompanied by rules and traditions. They used to divide the hunted meat equally among one another. While for the purpose of expressing gratitude, the horns of the hunted animals were sacrificed to churches. Beliefs related to hunting are very diverse.

The role of customs law is very prominent in the traditional everyday life of the Dali Gorge. Similar to Svaneti, customs law is a result of a correlation between the Georgian state and canonic law and continues the traditions of the Georgian law abolished in 1801. The main objective of the customs law is an opposition to the tradition of making revenge by killing.

The annual holiday cycle of the Dali Gorge dwellers started by St. Barbara holiday (4th (17th) December). People used to pray to St. Barbara to have good eye sight and fertile cattle. On December 25th (7th of January) they used to celebrate Christmas. Rituals starting from the preceding evening continued during the whole day. Dali population also followed the tradition of singing Christmas carols to neighbors. They used to carry out a ritual for remembering departed persons, too. They used to meet at the

31st of December (January 1st) with pre-New Year rituals. New Year attributes were prepared; there was the tradition of a person who congratulated the New Year for the first time. New Year was celebrated on the 1st (14th) of January. 5th (18th) of January was a day of a strict rest, and usually no one worked on this day. On this evening, “Lipanal” ritual used to start. At this very night they used to cut birch trees in forest for “Lamproba” holiday and the holiday of “Presentation of Jesus to the Holy Temple”. The next day – on the 6th (19th) January, people celebrated Epiphany. On February 2nd (15th), Meeting of the Lord Holiday was celebrated. During the Tax Collector and Pharisee week Lamproba//Lichedurali, the folk holiday was celebrated. The Holy Saturday is a day for remembering the departed ones and a special ritual was organized on this day. People used to celebrate Cheese-fare week Monday, or white Monday by “Logusheda” ritual, expressed in singing and blessing the community. Cheese-fare week Saturday was a day devoted to celebrating St. Mary Day. Cheese-fare week Saturday was “Lipanea”, the day devoted to remembering the souls of departed, while Cheese-fare week Sunday was a day after which people were prohibited to eat milk and dairy products during the Great Lent. Tevdore Holiday was celebrated on the first Sunday of the Great Lent. They used to celebrate Annunciation on March 25th (April 7th). It was followed by “Baioba” (Ranunculus)//Palm Sunday. Holy Week was a strict rest week. People used to decorate houses and yards with thorny plants. Easter was the greatest holiday and was widely celebrated. The next day of the Easter was a day for blessing graves. Second Sunday of Easter is also a great celebration. On the 23rd of April (6th of May) St. George holiday of spring was celebrated. On the 4th day of the Easter people used to celebrate Ascension Day. People used to pray to St. George of Khvamli, on the preceding Saturday of Pentecost. The holiday of descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles and other followers of Jesus Christ – Pentecost holiday, was celebrated by remembering souls of persons departed. 24th of June (7th of July) was a holiday of John the Baptist’s birthday (“Jgirvanashob”). People prayed for children’s health and for protecting their eye-sight on this day. Before the start of St. Peter and Paul Lent, Hulishoba holiday was celebrated. On June 29th (July 12th) it was a holiday of St. Peter and Paul: people used to sacrifice domestic animal, they baked small-sized cheese-breads that was also sacrificed

together with red wine. St. Kvirike and Ivrita Holiday were celebrated on July 18th (28th). 20th of July (2nd of August) is a day for remembering Elijah Prophet – Elijah Holiday. Transfiguration Holiday is on August 6th (19th). People following traditions (in earlier times) used to eat new fruits only after this day, after fruits would be sanctified on graves for the souls of departed. On August 5th (28th), on St. Mary Holiday, people used to take meals to graves. On one of the Sundays of October, some people celebrated “Lalkhora Mishladegh” holiday. The holiday was of a community context and was celebrated for the peace of the village. 10th (23rd) of November was St. George (“Ligerg”) Holiday.

After the occupation of a great part of Abkhazia by Russia, Mariam and Lida Gurchinis returned to Dali region; they followed religious way of life in Sokhumi, too, and managed to make foundations for establishing Mothers’ Monastery, by the assistance of clergymen. Fathers’ Monastery (Father Giorgi Gurchiani) also began functioning there.

Since 2008, there are Russia’s occupation troops in Dali Gorge (in the Left Gentsvishi and Sakeni). Only several Georgian households have remained in the region. Ridge connecting Tchuberi and Dali Gorge is closed. As a result of this, the only means of getting to Dali Gorge is a document issued by the separatist regime of Abkhazia, from Gulripshi region from Lati. There are no routes for public transport in Kodori Gorge. Separatist government has prohibited hunting in Upper Abkhazia and the territory has been announced as a reservation.

There is neither school, nor church functioning in Dali Gorge. Shikeri St. George Church is open, but there is no liturgy carried out. Georgian monks from the Ajara fathers’ Monastery are driven out from the monastery and the monastery itself is closed. In the village of Gentsvisi, a newly-built Russian Church is functioning.

A greater part of population exiled from the Kodori Gorge after the August War of 2008

was settled down in Tbilisi and Kutaisi. IDPs lived in hard social conditions: they lived in the buildings of schools, kindergartens and in other institutions (e.g. in the military base building “Encyclopedia” in Tbilisi, on streets of Mindeli, Brother Zubalashvilies, in Vashlijvari, in Metromsheni settlement etc). During 2009-2010, the process of settling down of IDPs started in different regions of Georgia. Three hundred families (975 persons) received financial compensation from the government, 429 families (1192 persons) were provided with places for living in different regions of Georgia. Up to 200 families are still waiting for the assistance.

Kodori Fathers’ Monastery established in Tbilisi has become a religious and social center of IDPs from Dali Gorge. The Monastery was built in Tbilisi, on the territory of the 31st factory. This place has become a sacred center for people from the Dali Gorge.

People from Dali Gorge share happiness and distress of one another. Scattered in different towns and regions, they do not forget traditions; even in conditions of internal displacement, forms of co-assistance are still alive among them and despite their poverty, they support the families of the departed persons by personal condolences and financial assistance. They make efforts to sing a Svanetian mourning gospel “Zari” (Bell) on funerals.

Living in compact settlements, they celebrate St. George Holiday, and carry out traditional rituals of Epiphany and “Lamproba//Lichedurali”. In places where the displaced people were met with eco-migrant Svans, holidays of displaced people and eco-migrants have been united.

IDPs of the Dali Gorge turn their hope to the international organizations and expect the de-occupation of bkhazi, so that they may return to their homes and restore their own civil rights.

References

a. Books

- *** 1977 ***, *Administrative-territorial Division of the USSR Georgia for the 1st of January of 1977*, 4th edition, Tbilisi (1977).
- Aslanishvili 1993 Aslanishvili, I., *Svaneti of Abkhazia, Traveler’s*

Review of 1926 with 25 pictures and map in text, Tbilisi (1993).

Atanelashvili
1959

Atanelashvili, G., *The Issue of Svaneti in Diplomatic Relations of Byzantium and Iran*, Tbilisi (1959).

Bardavelidze
1939

Bardavelidze, V., *Georgian (Svan) Folk Holidays*

- Chantladze, Margiani-Dadvani, Margiani-Subari 2007-2010** Chantladze, I., New Year Cycle, Tbilisi (1939).
Chantladze, Iza, Margiani-Dadvani, Ketevan, Margiani-Subari, Ketevan (et al.), *Kodori Chronicles (with studies)* (2007-2010).
- Gasviani 1995** Gasviani, G., *Byzantium-Iran War for Egris-Svaneti, Georgian Diplomacy*, annual edition II, Tbilisi (1995).
- Georgica 1941** *Notes of Byzantine Writers about Georgia*, vol. IV, section I, Greek Text with the Georgian translation and interpretation by S. Kaukchishvili, Tbilisi (1941).
- Gujejani 1939** Gujejani, M., *Report Presentation on Trip to Svaneti (Dali) of Abkhazia*, Herald of Enimki, IV (1939).
- Gujejani 2009** Gujejani, R., *Historical-Ethnographical Survey of Dali Svaneti/Kodori Gorge/Zemo (upper) Abkhazia, "Causes of War – Prospects for Peace"*, Tbilisi (2009).
- Khvistan 2009** Khvistan, R., *Resources on the Christian Archaeology of Georgia*, Tbilisi (2009).
- Mindadze 2014** Mindadze, N., *Georgian Folk Medical Culture*, Tbilisi (2014).
- b. Papers in periodical journals**
- Kaldani 1999** Kaldani, M., *On the Issue of Mivisianeti and Mivisian Tribe*. In: *Bulletin of Abkhazia*, no. 2-3, Tbilisi (1999).
- Khorava 2000** Khorava, B., *On the Issue of Social-Political Development of Abkhazia Principality in Later Medieval Centuries*. In: *Journal Artanuki*, no. 10, Tbilisi (2000).

War and Peace in the Romanian Football: The Historical Evolution of Sport Metaphors

Pompiliu-Nicolae CONSTANTIN

CERFREA (Le Centre Régional Francophone de Recherches Avancées en Sciences)

University of Bucharest

E-mail: pompiliuconstantin@yahoo.com

Abstract. Football has often been perceived as a battle between two groups. Footballers are sometimes called “soldiers”, and the stadium is compared to a battlefield. These are figures of speech which lend the key-notions of a war to the contemporary sports space. This paper starts from these observations and tries to identify the origins of the metaphors which intermingle football and war in the Romanian football discourse. The Romanian society has witnessed this type of conceptualization of sports description before the 20th century and mass media contributed to the perpetuation of this phenomenon. In my analysis I will use concepts and theories about war culture, peace and symbols from a historical perspective. To this end, the paper offers a chronological picture of the evolution of the Romanian football by discussing three different historical periods: the interwar period, the communist regime, and the post-communist period.

Keywords: war culture, peace, football history, sport stars, Romanian sport.

Introduction

Romanian football has its rivalries and antagonisms. The culture of war and its representations can be identified on the football grounds. Flags, clothes, slogans and behaviors are to be seen when it comes to the football fans, players or coaches. Such attitudes are amplified and promoted by the media, who seek to present the sports encounters as wars. Football has been the most popular sport in the Romanian society since the interwar period and this has made possible the development of a culture of war. Even during the communist period, this phenomenon had an interesting impact on ideology.

Later, some researchers focused on the connection between sport and the war culture. It seems to be a frequent parallel between military metaphors and football. Authors like Kellett (2002), Seddon (2004), Vierkant (2008) and Bergh (2011) argue that football relies on war and military symbols. Bergh admits that “the connection between war and football shows signs of having become “undeniable” and “unavoidable,” insomuch that our understanding of the game nowadays even depends on it” (Bergh 2011, 84). He supports Vierkant’s hypothesis, which claims that the language of football contains many metaphors like “attack”, “shot”, “defense”, “enemy” or “battle”. In general terms,

it looks that this attitude might be a constant, but the discourse was different, depending on socio-political contexts, cultural influences or public demands.

Jonathan Wilson (2010) shows how football and army were interconnected from the 20th century and this historical development could explain this phenomenon. Nowadays, military terms are used in non-military contexts, in everyday situations, in speech or writing. It seems a normal aspect if we think that people are inclined to draw on their experiences from one domain to understand experiences in another. For this reason, the war culture is connected metaphorically to all types of human struggle and conflict. Sun Ling conducted an interesting study of the English language in this line of thought at Kristianstad University, entitled *A Cognitive Study of War Metaphors in Five Main Areas of Everyday English: Politics, Business, Sport, Disease and Love* (2010). She paints the picture of a large metaphoric space. We could observe the same situation in the Romanian society.

To further explore this topic, I will employ the discourse analysis and observation as qualitative methods. The data come from the Romanian mass-media. Also, being a journalist and football commentator, I put forth an ethnographic endeavor. The abundance of the

cliché's related to football as war prompted me to come up with this article and I intend to discuss whether this phenomenon is reversible or not.

The History of War Culture in the Romanian Football until the World War II

The Romanian football has its origins in the 20th century as an improvised activity. It gains popularity very fast. It becomes a dynamic sports phenomenon and even from the start it has not been a very gentle sport. The press of those times described, on many occasions, some barbaric practices that occurred during this so-called rudimentary activity, with instances of foul play and aggressiveness. The World War I and World War II shook the world and created additional animosities. Sport confrontations acquired new dimensions during these periods. The Olympic Games and the International competitions became, in a symbolic way, a confrontation between the belligerent states. Many of them refused to play against the teams of the countries with whom they had political conflicts.

Football constitutes a step back from the hyper violence of the war. It simultaneously resorts to the brutal essence of wars, the body, argues Paul Dietschy (Dietschy 2007, 64). The international encounters were seen as real wars in many sports. The sport stars have always been perceived as heroes. Their athletic skills are assimilated to those of the regular warriors.

It is a period when the fans start to express their feelings on stadiums and they become visible in the press. These supporters are put forth attitudes and values. They have individual ambitions in their private life, but when they come to the football stadium their objective is to do better than the rivals. Victory is important, conceptualized as winning a battle. They support a team which fights for winning the championship, which is seen in a symbolic way as a wholesome war. However, all at once, these teams fight for the victory in a single battle i.e. in a match.

Football uniform is one of the most essential elements for the identity of the teams. It was a matter of presetting a group and this practice was adopted in the Romanian culture quite regularly during the interwar period. It was essential to distinguish the team as a group, as a separate entity. It was also a matter of pride to wear the same equipment as the whole team.

For example, take the case of Rapid Bucharest team which has an entire legend

attached to the creation of the uniform for a game. The journalist Ioan Chirilă recounts that the wife of one of the football players made the equipment from window curtains, because it was affordable. In the same period, the teams started to invest an important part of their budget in their equipments. The role of the equipment is considered to be very important. First of all, it is a matter of image and prestige. Many players remember the moment of receiving the equipment as a unique event. Taking good care of the equipment was necessary, because it was not affordable to everyone.

Drawing on medieval practices, the teams choose a blazon, a symbol to be identified by the supporters. Also, every team is known for its colors and also for its most representative players. This is another sign of the influence exerted by the war culture on football.

A telling case for our analysis is a cartoon published by the newspaper *Sportul Capitalei* [*Sports in the Capital City*] in 1937 (Fig.1). The author of the cartoon describes the start of the second half of the Romanian football league. On the first page, in a large picture, we can see soldiers in battle positions. They are fighting and the author presents them as armies. In fact, they are the representative players of the teams from the Romanian football league. Each of them is presented in his own equipment, but with weapons in their hands.

It is an obvious enactment of a battle. Their gestures convey motivation, determination and fighting spirit. They represent the teams, labeled as "armies" in a traditional battle, actually a football competition. Every team has its symbol, embodied in the cartoon as a perfect athlete. It is an ideal image of the football spirit. In the background we can identify a goalkeeper who tries to stop a bullet, perhaps a representation of the ball. Another ball is represented by a steel ball and a chain with a match result inscription on it. All of them are moving as in a war scene. In the center of the cartoon we can identify a trumpet blower, which personifies the referee, the decision maker. The image suggests a dynamic scene, with all the actors moving and trying to become heroes in the name of their team-army.

That image is relevant for understanding how the Romanian football is perceived, for explaining the passion it generates. All the players seem to be equal in their "war" and they have the chance to seize the victory. Football being such a popular game made it possible for such a cartoon

to appear on the first page of an important newspaper.

In 1945 the English novelist and journalist George Orwell makes an observation about the parallel between sports and war. In his essay, *The Sporting Spirit*, he argues that “sport is frankly mimic warfare”. We can extend his argument and we can say that football, as the most popular sport, contributes consistently to this attribute.

f“The Fight For Peace” in Sport during the Communist Regime

The end of World War II found Romania in a difficult situation. The society felt a big relief after the hostilities finished. No one wanted another big conflagration. Communism in Romania brings about a new topic in the communist propaganda: the fight for peace. And this topic is taken on board by the sports related discourse. The communist regime wanted to launch the idea that the Soviet Union and its “friends” were working for peace, while the “imperialist” powers, like United States, Great Britain and the West European countries, were against that. The sport stars were forced to support this political view.

At the international level, the United States and the Western Countries were in opposition with the USSR political views. But, both parties were claiming the wish to keep the peace. In this context, the Romanian contribution to the peace propaganda was visible. Walter Lippman describes this phenomenon during the interwar period. “Every leader is to some degree a propagandist. Strategically placed, and compelled often to choose even at the best between equally cogent though conflicting ideals of safety for the institution, and candor to his public, the official finds himself deciding what facts, in what setting, in what guise he shall permit the public to know” (Lippmann 1922, 247). His words are also valid for the communist regime in Romania not just, in Walter Lippmann’s view, for the democratic world. This critique of democracy can be applied to the totalitarian regimes, as well. During the communist period in Romania, the public was exposed to peace messages, which presupposed a general mobilization of mass-media channels of that time. The sport stars were forced to appear as messengers of “peace”.

The book *Sportsmen in the fight for peace*, published by the National Council for Physical Education and Sport in 1950, reveals the outreach of this ideological phenomenon during the

communism. “The sportsmen of our country know that the execution of the State Plan means the strengthening of the state economy and of the peace camp”. This was an essential idea of this manual (CNEFS 1950, 9), which could be considered the “bible” of the “fight for peace” program.

Sports were considered “a road to friendship” by the communist theorists. The sport stars were symbols for the protection of peace and for the development of work. The same book describes a visit of the Romanian national football team to Albania in 1949 and as an illustration of this “working for peace” it speaks about the help offered by the players to some workers in Tirana, to assemble a cement mixer. We do not know whether this was real or fabricated, however the message is more important: the sports stars being obliged to help and to work. More than that, it seems that the football player is expected to have multitasking abilities.

The communist regime condemns the perception of sports as war or as being a military action. But, at the same time, propaganda claims the need “to build a wall of peace” (CNEFS 1950, 52). In this context, the interwar sports culture was condemned for its “bourgeois” dimension. The communist ideology argued in favour of diversity in sports and of the purge of violence from the stadium. All the communist competitions had to take place in a peaceful environment. The sport stars were supposed to “fight for peace”. This oxymoron suggests another paradox of communism, a contradiction in terms.

Every country was supposed to organize internal or international competitions in the interest of peace and fraternity. Words played an important role in the communist discourse. During the Cold War, the word “peace” was essential in initial phases. The communist authorities were legitimizing many sporting activities and sport events in the name of peace. Universal peace was often proclaimed in the sport media and it was seen as the only alternative to a global catastrophe. The implication of sport in this process of propaganda helped to mobilize public support for the Cold War and to discredit the “imperialist” powers.

Thus, the word “peace” paradoxically became a weapon of the Cold War. Its role was to create a powerful impression over the population and to inoculate the idea of the imminent risk of war. A permanent appeal to conciliation is

regularly launched in the media and it was important for a sports star to build a reputation as a champion of peace, not just that of a sports champion.

But the ideological did not match the reality from the stadium. Personal or collective interests lead to different rivalries between football clubs. Take the example of the rivalries forged then (and still existing today) among *Rapid*, *Steaua* or *Dinamo*, all from Bucharest. *Rapid* fans considered the other two teams as the undying enemy. Their matches were seen as symbolic wars. For the *Rapid* fans it was also a war against the system. The stadium brought together all the energy and the motivation to win against the rivals. We identify rivalries also at a local or regional level. For example, *FC Argeş* from Piteşti and *Universitatea* from Craiova built an interesting rivalry in the south of Romania, starting from the ambition of some political leaders.

For this reason, every sports event had to be a symbol of pacification. In this direction, the international encounters between the teams from the communist countries were seen as friendly confrontations. Even if some of them had a conflictual dimension, “peace” was the word which was used to describe the atmosphere. Every sports event was played in the name of the peace. For this reason hooliganism was condemned, as well as “star-like” and other types of behavior which were not in the regime’s comfort zone.

The involvement of the Army, the Police or the Securitate in football created space for rivalry between the clubs which represented these institutions. Often, the confrontation was perceived as total war. For this reason, the intention to impose the concept of “peace” in football was a failure during the communist regime. The personal ambitions of club chiefs, which were often political leaders, consolidated the rivalry between teams. On this basis symbolic regional adversities were built and thus we can identify an anti-Bucharest current, for example.

Some players received nicknames inspired from the war culture. They were related to the relationship footballers-employees, to the state institutions, or related to their skills. For example Anghel Iordănescu was nicknamed “the General”, because he was an employee in the Army and he played for *Steaua*, the Army’s team. In contrast, Dan Coe was nicknamed “the Minister of Defense” for his skills and the football position he

held. He was considered a leader and a capable player. These were the reasons why Dan Coe was attributed a title which could be held only by a military personality in the communist regime.

Most of the players from *Steaua* or *Dinamo* had military ranks and this fact contributed to the paradox or mismatch between their status and the “fight for peace” propaganda. This meant that the state institutions designated to participate in eventual wars were directly connected to sports. Such contradictions are too many to be analyzed in detail, but one thing is certain: the ideals of communism were impossible to be achieved without realistic plans.

Post-communist Football in Romania

The fall of the communist regime offered a great liberty, mostly to the fans. If during the interwar period the teams were covertly conceptualized as “armies”, after 1989, the fans overtly construct themselves as armies. And their behavior supports this. In fact, they are groups of people that mobilize themselves on the stadium and fight each other verbally and at times physically, sometimes in the streets, as well. This phenomenon has a consistent history in the Romanian space, but I will not insist on it. It is not the scope of this article to explore this issue, but these fans are quite active in the Romanian society (Constantin 2014; Gutu 2012). I just need to mention the fact that groups of fans are indeed organized as armies, they have leaders and their objective is to win the confrontations with their rivals on stadiums or in the streets.

The use of war-inspired terminology has been a normal phenomenon in the Romanian media after 1989. The “fighting spirit” was claimed and adopted also by the fans in their anthems and songs. For example, in the lyrics of the Romanian football team anthem, launched in 2014 and approved by the Romanian Football Federation, we can identify expressions like “we die or we win”, which in 2014 were comparable to Benito Mussolini’s slogans.

If we look at football clubs anthems and fan-made songs, we discover almost the same thing. In the anthem of *Steaua* Bucharest, fans sing about “thousands of people lined for an army” (speaking about fans). One of the *Dinamo* Bucharest’s songs, composed by the Romanian band *Vama Veche* has many elements of war culture. “We fight for honor, we fight for glory” is the essential message of the lyrics.

The largest number of the club anthems or songs has historical elements, trying to legitimize an identity and a combat spirit. For example, one of the songs of *Oțelul Galați* makes appeals to the name of Ștefan cel Mare, a Romanian medieval ruler, who “watches over and urges you to fight”. The development of the media and the growing number of sport events broadcast on different channels, vulgarize the use of war-inspired terms. The matches are presented in military terms and described in concordance.

The use of the analogy football-as-war frequently prompts to descriptions of coaches as military officers or generals and football players as warriors or soldiers. Maybe for this reason the visibility of feminine football is minor in Romania or elsewhere, for that matter. I can thus argue that the influence of the war culture on football contributes to the preservation of its patriarchy.

The Romanian football league is often portrayed as a long war and the rivalry of the belligerents is constantly amplified. Beside the media discourse or the fans’ infatuation, this context is fed constantly by the press releases or declarations and talks put forth by the club officials.

The supporters create their heroes and they often become their “fanatics”. Such is the case of the Romanian football fans, who idolatrize Gheorghe Hagi “even if his career was in decline” (Ungureanu 2007, 78).

As in any war, football makes victims. The cases of players like Ștefan Vrabîoru or Cătălin Hîldan are quite notorious. They died in the field, playing football. They became martyrs. For example, Hîldan is considered a symbol for *Dinamo* Bucharest and after his death a tribune was named in his memory *Peluza Cătălin Hîldan*. He is venerated as a battle hero and his figure is considered a legend.

Another aspect which is argued for in this paper is the development of the tactical visibility. As the ancient generals, who distributed their armies on maps, so do the newspapers or the TV channels, putting forth different types of tactics adopted by football teams. Many times they are arranged face-to-face on page or on the TV screen to suggest direct confrontation between two armies (Fig.2).

These associations are not something new. In the past, there were often points of intersection of football-military tactics. In 19th century English football, Queen’s Park’s tactics were spelled out

by Henry Renny-Tailyour and John Blackburn, who were lieutenants in the army. Their style was based on military discipline and a well-known system (Wilson 2010, 14). In the same line of thought is the role of Boris Arkadiev, the first important Soviet theorist of football. His 1946 book, “Tactics of Football”, was considered an essential instruction manual. Alongside football, Arkadiev practised fencing and was a coach within the Mikhail Frunze Military Academy. “It was fencing, he later explained, with its emphasis on parry-riposte, that convinced him of the value of counterattacking”, says Jonathan Wilson (2010 43).

This parallelism initiated by the English football was embraced in time by many cultures, using oral or written instruments. The symbolic linking of football with army or military terms became a natural phenomenon and suggests an indestructible consistency of these domains. It is hard to believe that this phenomenon is reversible.

Conclusions

Football was initially a free time activity, but it has changed and became within a century a worldwide cultural phenomenon. Its impact is huge and can generate a parallel economy. For this reason, analyzing football in terms of war allows us to understand that a simple entertainment or hobby has in fact a multidimensional reach.

Football could be perceived as a symbolic war, but the problem is that often this has generated conflicts and victims in real battles. We can explain the use of military terms through people’s passion/obsession. The support for a team or a player could be so strong that it has the power to generate exaggerated comparisons.

For this particular case it is also important to observe that state institutions have been involved in attempts to promote nonviolence in sports. The failure of these attempts could suggest that the war metaphors in football are too strong and their solidity is historically and culturally grounded. In Romania, this phenomenon was reinforced in post-war times and across political systems. The continuation of this process guarantees the permanence of the war culture influence on the Romanian football culture.

The present article is to be seen as a starting point for further research in the field of Romanian sports which could employ concepts and notions from sociology, anthropology, history, journalism, ethnology or linguistics.

References

a. Books

- CNEFS 1950** Consiliul Național pentru Educație Fizică și Sport (National Council for Physical Education and Sport), *Sportsmen in the fight for peace*, Bucharest, ECFS (1950).
- Gutu 2012** Gutu, Dinu, *Revoluția ultrașilor*, București, Cartier (2012).
- Lippmann 1922** Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion*, New York, Macmillan (1922).
- Seddon 2004** Seddon, Peter, *Football Talk*, London, Robson Books (2004).
- Ungureanu 2007** Ungureanu, Traian, *Manifestul fotbalist*, Bucharest, Humanitas (2007).
- Wilson 2010** Wilson, Jonathan, *Inverting the pyramid: the history of football tactics*, London, Orion House, eBook (2010).

b. Chapter in books

- Constantin 2014** Constantin, Pompiliu-Nicolae, “Concilier les intérêts de groupe et les intérêts sociaux: les supporters de football roumains et les manifestations de 2012”. In Thomas Busset, Roger Besson, Christophe Jaccoud (eds.), *L'autre visage du supportérisme: Autorégulations, mobilisations collectives et mouvements sociaux*, Bern, Peter Lang (2014), p. 139-148.
- Dietschy 2007** Dietschy, Paul, “Le sport et la première guerre mondiale”. In Philippe Tetart (ed.), *Histoire du sport en France*, Paris, Vuibert (2007), p. 56-77.
- Vierkant** Vierkant, Stephen, “Metaphor

2008

and live radio football commentary”. In Eva Lavric, Gerhard Pisek, Andrew Skinner, Wolfgang Stadler (eds.), *The Linguistics of Football*, Tübingen, Gunter Narr (2008), p. 121-132.

c. Papers in periodical journals

- Bergh 2011** Bergh, Gunnar, *Football is war: A case study of minute-by-minute football commentary*. In: *Veredas*, no. 2 (2011), p. 83-93.
- Kellett 2002** Kellett, Pamm, *Football-as-War, Coach-as-General: Analogy, Metaphor and Management Implications*. In: *Football Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2002), p. 60-76.
- Orwell 1945** Orwell, George, *The sporting Spirit*. In: *Tribune*, London, December (1945).

d. Internet sources

- Sun 2010** Sun, Ling, *A Cognitive Study of War Metaphors in Five Main Areas of Everyday English: Politics, Business, Sport, Disease and Love*, available on <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:397473/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

List of illustrations

Fig. 1. Cartoon from *Sportul Capitalei* newspaper (1937).

Fig. 2. Presentation before the football game between Steaua Bucharest and Dinamo Bucharest (*Prosport*, October 2014).



Fig. 1. Cartoon from *Sportul Capitalei* newspaper (1937).

STEUA BUCUREȘTI
Fondat: 7 iunie 1947
Titluri: 25
Cupe: 21
Supercupe: 6

Derby-ul României
Vineri, ora 20:30
Național Arena

DINAMO BUCUREȘTI
Fondat: 7 iunie 1947
Titluri: 18
Cupe: 13
Supercupe: 2

ANTRENOR: COSTEL GALCA

ANTRENOR: FLAVIUS STOICAN

VEDEȚĂ: LUCIAN SANMĂRTEAN
Post: mijlociu central
Vârsta: 34 de ani
9 meciuri
3 goluri
9 asisturi

VEDEȚĂ: VALI LAZĂR
Post: mijlociu stânga
Vârsta: 25 de ani
10 meciuri
2 goluri
2 asisturi

GOLGHETERI STEUA
Kereru Sanmărtian
Ad. Popa
Szukala
Varela
Chipciu

GOLGHETERI DINAMO
Bilinski
Alexe
C. Matei
Cordos
Lazar

INTĂLNIRI DIRECTE
55 - 47 - 54

STADION
Național Arena
CAPACITATE
55.000 locuri

Fig. 2. Presentation before the football game between *Steaua* Bucharest and *Dinamo* Bucharest (*Prosport*, October 2014)

Between Myth and Demystification. Soviet and Post-Soviet Films on *Molodaya Gvardia* (*The Young Guard*) Organization

Olga GRĂDINARU

Ph.D. Candidate, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Comparative Literature Department

E-mail: olgagradinaru@gmail.com

Abstract. The paper presents the complex, sophisticated and divergent relation between the established myths and cults related to the Second World War in the Soviet and post-Soviet space, with a focus on the manner a resistance movement in Krasnodon in 1942-1943 – *The Young Guard* organization – has been represented in Soviet and post-Soviet documentaries and feature films. The Soviet memorial practices and rituals concerning the Great Fatherland War were intended to take the place of the religious rituals and feasts, proving to be an important and complicated inheritance for the post-communist period. The cult of war heroes, where the members of *Molodaya Gvardia* are included, and its motives – the eternal glory, the eternal remembrance – are analysed throughout the film productions of Soviet and post-Soviet times in the Russian and Ukrainian space. The article points out the gradual demystification process regarding some aspects of the Great Fatherland War in general and *The Young Guard* organization in particular, as it is evident in the mentioned films.

Keywords: World War II myths, *The Young Guard* Organization, Soviet and Post-Soviet Films, demystification, Socialist Realism.

Introductory Aspects

The article ⁽¹⁾ explores the manner in which *The Young Guard* organization is depicted in both Soviet and post-Soviet feature films and documentaries as a representative example of the Soviet propaganda system and the installed and reiterated myths related to the Second World War. The myths concerning World War II were easily spread by Stalin's speeches, supported by numerous propaganda feature films, documentaries, film collections and newsreels. The sacred nature of this war ⁽²⁾ was by far the main Soviet myth, underlined by the title it

received – *Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voyna* [*Great Patriotic/Fatherland War*], linking it to the war with Napoleon in 1812 – *Otechstvennaya Voyna* [*Patriotic War*]. Even the Russian Orthodox Church was involved in promoting this perspective on the Second World War (Knox 2005, 38), highlighting the association of this war with the great Russian military glory and the continuous fight of the Soviet state for the socialist future.

The official version of the Second World War promoted an idealized image of a unified "Soviet people" against the enemy despite the huge human losses, the horrors of the war and the traumatized impact over the survivors (Welch 2013, 228). The accent was laid on the great Soviet mission to liberate Europe from the Nazi occupation, supporting thus other nations in distress and establishing the socialist path for their countries in the great humanistic spirit of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile the cult of the Soviet heroic deed was cultivated (Grădinaru 2013, 114-122), as well as the installation of countless

⁽¹⁾ This paper is part of the doctoral dissertation entitled *The Representation of World War II in the Soviet Literature and Cinematography*.

⁽²⁾ See the famous song written by V. I. Lebedev-Kumach and A. V. Aleksandrov in 1941 *Svyashchennaya voyna* [*The Sacred War*] that called the country to fight in "the sacred war". The song is also known with the title *Vstavaj, strana ogromnaja!* [*Arise, Great Country!*]

monuments dedicated to Soviet war heroes and collective tombs for the unknown soldiers.

The cult of the Great Patriotic War and the cult of unknown soldiers and war heroes have significant reminiscences in the post-Soviet space (Tumarkin 1994). In Brezhnev's period all the new memorial services, rituals and practices related to the Great Liberation Fatherland War contributed to a cult of victory and the improved status of the "war veteran" ⁽³⁾ ("uchastnik Velikoj Otechstvennoj Vojny" ["participant of the Great Fatherland War"]). According to Gabriela Welch, this cult of victory appeared as a result of several internal and external factors – the necessity to find a credible source of legitimation to support the revolutionary rhetoric and to cover the symbolic void left by the de-Stalinization campaign, on one hand, and the ambition of the Soviet leaders to transform the Soviet Union in a great military power, on the other hand (Welch 2013, 229).

The construction of the myth of the Great Patriotic War as a source of legitimation was accompanied by a ritualization of the social relations, mainly constituting an alternative to religious rites (Lane 1981, 25) and organized around the communist monuments dedicated to war heroes (Kruk 2008, 27-56). The motif of constant remembrance of war heroes and their glorification have deep traces in the memory of Russians and other post-Soviet peoples (Tumarkin 2003, 595-611). For example, according to a poll from 2003, the Day of Victory (9 May) represents the third most important celebration in Russia (Welch 2013, 223). The transitional period after the fall of the Soviet Union highlighted the nostalgia for the Soviet past and the necessity to maintain symbols of the Soviet Union as a continuous source of legitimation (Devlin 2003, 363-404). During Yeltsin's and first Putin's periods the cult of the Second World War was revitalized, contributing to a construction of a positive narration referring to the Soviet past and ensuring the promotion of a military continuity, as well as preserving Russia's international prestige (Welch 2013, 235, Brown 2001, 11-45).

The Soviet propaganda machine was ready for the challenge set by the outburst of World War II and while other belligerent countries made use of propagandistic features (Kenez 1983, 104-124), the Soviet Union had a definite advantage from the previous Great War and

Russian Revolution. The early nationalization of the Soviet cinematography (1919) and the establishment of the major traits of the proletarian cinema through the Socialist Realism canon (1934) together with the experience from the Bolshevik Revolution contributed to an efficient propaganda throughout the Soviet Union.

The Soviet film industry was completely mobilized during World War II to serve propaganda purposes, sparing no expenses to preserve and rebuild cinema buildings during the war and to provide skilled personnel for film projections (Kenez 1992, 150). Among the Soviet World War II productions, newsreels were the pure form of propaganda, while documentaries (using staged scenes of war, not far from the front) were successful even beyond the Soviet Union borders. The most important documentaries were *Moscow Strikes Back* (1941-1942), directed by L. Varlamov, I. Kopalin, *A Day of the War* (June 1942), directed by M. Slutsky and A. Dovzhenko's *The Battle for our Soviet Ukraine* (1943).

Boevye kinosborniki [*Fighting Film Collections*] represent a revival of some short agitational films (called *agitki*) from the Russian Civil War, used by Bolsheviks in order to support their cause. These films were made of 2 to 6 short films – either dramas or comedies on the war subject – and some great Soviet writers and directors were among the producers (L. Leonov as a script writer, directors V. Pudovkin, L. Arnshtam and I. Kozintsev). *Boevye kinosborniki* may be considered a unique Soviet genre with an evident propaganda aim (Kenez 1992, 155-157), mainly disseminating the ideas of the Soviet patriotism and outstanding heroism, the myth of the Soviet united family, the myth of the Soviet superiority in terms of civilization, military genius, people's mentality compared to the German moral and military inferiority.

The fall of 1941 marks a new period of the Soviet film industry, as it was forced to move in Central Asian cities (Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Stalinabad, Ashkhabad) and the Caucasus (Baku, Tbilisi, Erevan). Despite the technical difficulties, the Soviet cinema industry thrived, continuing to produce films: war films and historical films. Along with the propaganda posters, the historical films were focused on great historic personalities as Aleksandr Nevsky, Dmitry Donskoy, Aleksandr

⁽³⁾ See more on the war veterans' status in Edele 2009.

Suvorov, Vasily Chapayev, Russian *bogatyri* ⁽⁴⁾. Military Order Aleksandr Nevski was reinstalled to decorate the brave Soviet soldiers, along with other 40 orders and medals in 1942-1945, among which Order Aleksandr Suvorov and Order Mikhail Kutuzov (Welch 2013, 226). The historic figures of Russia and other Soviet republics were meant to inspire and encourage the Soviet soldiers so that historical Soviet movies made use of their past victories, suggesting the similarities between past and then present events. The historical pictures and film adaptations of famous Soviet masterpieces were adapted to propaganda requirements so that massive changes were present – depiction of battles that never happened with victorious outcome for the Russians/Red Army, focus on the figure of the leader (as a reflection of Stalin's cult of personality), and celebration of patriotism.

The war films, with contemporary settings presented some heroic aspects of the Soviet people at war, depicting misery and hardships on one hand, and brutality and inhumanity of the Nazi occupiers on the other hand. The essential propaganda point of the films made during World War II was to resist heroically the Nazis and to revenge, praising at the same time the heroism of the Soviet fighters (soldiers or partisans) in order to raise the morale of the Soviet citizens (Kenez 1992, 158-162). The propaganda machine was set to explore the new heroic figures at war (partisans and underground fighters), using some real cases in order to highlight the Soviet heroism and patriotism despite the harsh circumstances. This was part of the propagandistic and myth-making Soviet ability to transform real-life heroes into propagandistic weapons and positive characters, constructed according to the Socialist Realism canon (Seniavskaia 1999). We mention several films that present the underground and partisans' activity: *Sekretar` raykoma* [*Secretary of the Communist Party District Committee*, 1942]; *Partizany v stepiakh Ukrainy* [*Partisans in Ukraine's Steppes*, 1942], *Ona zashchishchaet Rodinu* [*She Defends the Motherland*, known also as *No Greater Love*, 1943], *Raduga* [*Rainbow*, 1944], *Zoya* (1944, inspired by Zoya

Kosmodemyanskaya's life and death, who was awarded posthumously the order "Hero of the Soviet Union"). Numerous film adaptations of successful Soviet plays and short stories were well-known war representations, pointing out the people's involvement in the resistance movement: *Front* (1943), *Nashestvie* [*Invasion*, 1944], *Dni i nochi* [*Days and Nights*, 1945] and others.

The Soviet resistance movement from the Second World War inspired Western films, among which we mention those filmed in the USA: *The Boy from Stalingrad* (1943), *The North Star/Armored Attack* (1943), and *Days of Glory* (1944). All these films mark a period in the diplomatic relations between the USA and USSR. On the other hand, French, Norwegian, Dutch resistance movements were also an inspiring subject for Western directors so that we mention several films *Commandos Strike at Dawn* (1942, USA), *The Day Will Dawn/The Avengers* (1943, USA), *Reunion in France* (1942, USA), *This Land Is Mine* (1943, USA), *Uncertain Glory* (1944, USA), *La bataille du rail* (1946, France), *The Silver Fleet* (1943, UK), *Soldier of Orange* (1977, The Netherlands), *Roma città aperta* (1945, Italy), *Undercover* (1943, UK), *V gorakh Yugoslavii* [*In Yugoslavia Mountains*, 1946, USSR, Yugoslavia], *Na svoji zemlji* (1943, USA) etc.

As for the post-war film productions, they perpetuated the same themes and motives, highlighting the exceptional character of the Soviet people and the heroism of their great deeds both on the battlefield and in the home front ⁽⁵⁾. The film adaptations of renowned Soviet writers – K. Simonov, A. Fadeyev, V. Bykov and others – had the same propaganda purposes, perpetuating the myths related to the so-called Great Patriotic War. All these war films contributed to inculcation of the cult of the Second World War and its related myths.

Soviet Films on *The Young Guard* Organization

The exceptional character of the underground Soviet fighters involved in organizations was one of the most inspiring examples of the Soviet heroism and ardent patriotism, ignoring other similar resistance movements in other occupied countries. A. Fadeyev ⁽⁶⁾ followed the party order

⁽⁴⁾ Bogatyr` – character in Medieval Slavic legends (byliny) related to Western European knight-errant; a warrior. The most famous bogatyri were Dobrynya Nikitich, Alyosha Popovich and Ilya Muromets, depicted in Vasnetsov's painting Bogatyri.

⁽⁵⁾ The victory was transformed into a source of power, aspect pointed out by Stalin in his official toast on 24th of May 1945 – See Nevezhi, 2005, 23-48.

⁽⁶⁾ See more on Fadeyev's novel in Grădinaru 2014.

to write a novel based on real events in 1942 Krasnodon, a Ukrainian occupied town, where young people formed an organization entitled *Molodaya Gvardia* [*The Young Guard*] in order to inform and help the inhabitants and to fight the Nazi occupiers. After spending time in Krasnodon, talking to victims' parents, friends and classmates, studying in the Soviet archives, A. Fadeyev wrote and published the first edition of the novel *The Young Guard* (1946), edition that was criticized due to the lack of a proper portrayal of the party's involvement in the resistance movement. The second edition of the novel with re-written chapters and new ones was published in 1951. This edition is widely accessible and was introduced in the Soviet curriculum and textbooks, serving the same purpose – educating Soviet citizens in the patriotic spirit. Until the '80s Fadeyev's perspective on events was considered canonical and any other views upon Krasnodon's resistance movement were disregarded, and only in the '90s a process of differentiating between fiction and reality started. Nevertheless, a gradual phenomenon of demystification took a longer period of time, as the legends surrounding *Molodaya Gvardia* were linked to the cult of World War II.

Gerasimov's Feature Film

The film adaptation of Fadeyev's novel was directed by S. Gerasimov, a famed film maker, in 1948, before the second edition of the novel. The film adaptation was edited at the beginning of the '60s due to meaningful historical changes (Stalin's death, the Thaw⁽⁷⁾) and new discoveries in the history of *The Young Guard* organization. Thus some sequences of the film were cut (those that referred to Stalin's cult of personality), others were dubbed (especially those with the name Stakhovich as the fictional traitor's name and replaced with Pocheptsov, the real traitor). The new edition of the film adaptation (1964) was the only one screened from that moment and it is the only one accessible for our analysis.

Stalinist cinematography is the continuator of all the artistic and technical developments instituted by notorious film makers, as S. Eisenstein, V. Pudovkin, I. Pyryev, O.

Dovshenko, I. Ermler and others. The books and films of the Stalinist era try to establish values and norms for the Soviet citizens, as well as a politicized demeanor, as David L. Hoffmann mentions that "moral failures were related to the political distrust and treason" (Hoffmann 2003, 11). Despite the criticized aspects (low representation of the party's role in the underground movement in Donbas region), the film *The Young Guard* brought to director S. Gerasimov a "Stalin Prize".

The film *The Young Guard* differs from Gerasimov's first cinematographic creations due to its grand, exaggerated and affected style, a style that characterizes his films after World War II, while his post-Stalinist creations are marked by a returning to the themes and motives of the '30s. The director's vision is subordinated to communist norms and values, offering the representation of the civil society at war. From the war ideology perspective assumed from Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (Carpentier 2011), the director's perspective is situated on the Self side, presenting the Enemy in the most disgraceful moments and retaining Fadeyev's pattern to invest with conceptual oppositions the mobile (or "floating") signifiers – Soviet/Fascist, proletarian/bourgeois, defender/invader/, peaceful/violent *etc.* (Laclau, Mouffe 1985, 112-113). The major theme of the movie is the expression of courage and determination of the Soviet citizens under the Nazi occupation to fight either openly or underground. Generally speaking, the script follows A. Fadeyev's novel, but it eludes the most violent scenes. The theatrical tradition of the Soviet film and the usage of montage are the key aspects of Gerasimov's film adaptation.

The first part of the film starts with the panoramic view of the huge Ukrainian steppe and the girls' dialogue near the river, with a focus on Ulyana, one of the leaders of *The Young Guard* organization. Other dramatic scenes establish the other leaders of this resistance movement in Krasnodon – Sergey Tyulenin, Oleg Koshevoy, Lyuba Shevtsova. The start of the organization's activity is marked by the solemn oath of the six founding members. Several activities of *The Young Guard* are the liberation of prisoners in a camp nearby Krasnodon, Ignat Fomin's execution – the traitor and collaborator with the Nazi occupiers – the explosion of a bridge over a river with a train transporting German soldiers

(7) The Thaw is a post-Stalinist period (1953-1963), coined after the famous I. Ehrenburg's novel, *The Thaw*, marking the beginning of a cultural, economic and politic era.

(presented by the rhythmic montage on several plans). The second part of the film covers the period November 1942 - January 1943 and depicts the activity of *The Young Guard* members, starting with the replacement of the Fascist flags with the Soviet ones on the day of the Russian Revolution, the meeting and celebration of this event, the activity at the village hall with its double purpose – the concert for the inhabitants and soldiers and the arson of the Nazi headquarters. The second part presents the departure of the member of the organization after the breaking news on some arrests. Most of the members are arrested and thrown into prison (the arrests of Sergey Tyulenin and Lyuba Shevtsova are important scenes), where marks of torture and beatings are exposed.

The film adaptation modifies the events of the novel, as all the leaders of *The Young Guard* are placed in the same prison (in the novel and according to archives, Lyuba Shevtsova and Oleg Koshevoy are caught in different places and executed there). The scene where the young members of the resistance movement are near the mine pit, before being thrown alive, is the most dramatic one, as Oleg Koshevoy makes a patriotic speech. The fact that the scene was filmed at the actual place of the mine pit, in Krasnodon, and many relatives, friends of the members of *The Young Guard* organization were present, contributes to the dramatic tone of the film. Between the scene at the mine pit and the official burial of the Soviet young heroes there is a quick montage of images that suggest the Soviet victory. The official burial of the members of *The Young Guard* in a sunny day is marked by an exaggerated patriotic tone, contributing to the myth of the Soviet “good war” (the war between the “evil/bourgeois world” and the “good/new/socialist world”), the Great Fatherland War.

Soviet Documentaries on “The Young Guard”

Fadeyev’s novel and its wide popularity, as well as the film adaptation opened the door for many discussions, debates and highlighted the necessity of producing documentaries on this subject. A museum was opened in Lugansk, dedicated to *The Young Guard* organization in order to popularize the importance of the heroic deeds of the young Soviet inhabitants, serving as an example for generations to come. All these productions bear the same traits of Soviet ideology, stressing the

difference between the two worlds engaged in the war – evil/Nazi/capitalist and bourgeois representatives and good/new/communist and proletariat agents. This view has been reinforced in countless books, motion pictures and documentaries, while the mission of the Soviet people has been presented as almost sacrosanct despite the communist disbelief in the afterlife. Nevertheless, the importance of memory, remembrance, uttering the heroes’ names, heroic deeds and character plays a major part in the Soviet and even post-Soviet discourse.

We mention the documentary *Pamiat`* ⁽⁸⁾ (*Memory*, 1970) and a series of short documentaries dedicated to the most prominent members of *The Young Guard* organization, entitled *Zhivite za nas* [*Live for Us*]. Another Soviet documentary film re-creates the history of the foundation and activity of the organization *Molodaya Gvardia – Po sledam fil'ma “Molodaya Gvardia”* ⁽⁹⁾ [*Following the Steps of the Film “The Young Guard”*, 1988].

The documentary *Pamiat`* (1970) evokes in its almost 20 minutes the activity of Krasnodon’s organization, presenting images of the town, pictures of members of *The Young Guard*, Soviet pupils in school responding to questions about these heroes. There are also interviews with survivors of the Fascist occupation or their relatives. The first three young members arrested are named, specifying the restorative aspects regarding one of them – Tretiakovich – previously thought to be the traitor of the organization. The last images are of the heroes’ monument and the eternal fire in front of it after surveying the town with enterprises entitled *Molodaya Gvardia*. The discourse of the film is a typical communist one, remembering the heroic deeds of the young people involved in the anti-Fascist organization of Krasnodon. Given the fact that the socialist eschatology reduced everything to the earthly plan of a “golden future”, the remembrance of heroism is a vital aspect, while the phrases as “eternal glory to heroes” are the means of perpetuating the heroic legends, along with the military parades and the flowers brought to the monuments. These may be considered some reminiscences of the cult of heroes and glorious

⁽⁸⁾<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mM5klgtwXGY>
(Accessed in September 2014).

⁽⁹⁾<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEwyip95aj4>
(Accessed in September 2014).

ancestors from Slavic pagan religions before the Russian Christendom. On the other hand, the cult of heroes is specific for many other spaces, as it has ancient origins and various forms of representation in many other socio-historical contexts (Mihalache 2007); however, there is a remarkable form in the Soviet space and the gearing up an entire socio-political system for its proliferation within this “secular religion” entitled communism.

We focus our attention on the last Soviet documentary, directed by Tamara Gorina, script written by Renata Grigorieva. There are several symbolic images in the film, presenting in the foreground pages from books, newspapers regarding the members of *The Young Guard* organization, and the title *Bessmertie* [Immortality] stands out. The documentary stars with images of a Soviet typical military parade on the *Den` Pobedy* (Day of Victory, 9 May) when people bring flowers to the monument dedicated to the young heroes from Krasnodon. These scenes are followed by a patriotic speech highlighting the importance of remembering heroes' deeds.

Gorina's documentary is focused on bringing memories about these young heroes to life through interviews of classmates, relatives, partisans, friends, revising key-places of Fadeyev's novel. The interviews are alternated with scenes from Gerasimov's film adaptation and memorial meetings, as well as fragments from essays of the Soviet pupils of Krasnodon. The problem of the traitors of the organization is one of the concerns of this film – Gromov and Pocheptsov – mentioning even their execution. The imperative to keep the memory of the “young guardians” is the leitmotif of the film, as this is their only trace left on this earth, according to socialist conception. This aspect is expressed by various stereotypical phrases: “they will live forever in our hearts”, “eternal remembrance to heroes”, “we'll never forget their heroic deeds” etc. The last sequences of the documentary present the pictures of *The Young Guard* members and the image of the eternal fire, at the monument dedicated to Krasnodon's heroes. The last image is significant, as it aims at perpetuating the heroism of the resistance's fighters in the collective memory.

Post-Soviet Films on *The Young Guard* Organization

Lyalin's “The Last Confession” (2006)

The director of the TV series *Posledniaia ispoved'* ⁽¹⁰⁾ [*The Last Confession*] claims that his inspiration is represented rather by the history of the *The Young Guard* than by A. Fadeyev's novel, although many scenes are recognizable both from the novel and from Gerasimov's film adaptation. Lyalin's choice for a TV series offers a larger space for his vision. It seems that the script writers' mission was the one to demystify the real events from Krasnodon during the Nazi occupation. However, the legend of the Soviet party leaders and their special role in the destiny of *The Young Guard* organization is still present in a reduced variant. The film was awarded the 1st place at the contest of the televised films at the International Festival *Vernoe serdtse* [*Loyal Heart*] in Moscow, 2007 for the “Impressive representation of the military-patriotic subject”.

Unlike Gerasimov's tendency to avoid representing the cruel scenes, Lyalin exposes the spectator to explicit scenes of execution, violence and presents the ruins, the dead bodies, lingering as well on the enemy's cynicism. The freedom of expression, especially of some true aspects forbidden during the Soviet times by censorship, is evident, adding a spiritual dimension (Orthodox elements and symbols) inaccessible to Gerasimov in that period. The fact that the headquarters of the underground organization is located in the ruins of a church, whose keeper is a tongue tied son of a deceased priest, is full of symbolic meanings. The dis-engagement with the Soviet ideological perspective is obvious in other scenes, while the war ideology elements are clearly used – the dichotomy Soviet/Fascist, proletarian/bourgeois, victim/torturer, and defender/attacker. The arson of the German headquarters is a simplified representation accomplished by four young people, dressed in Fascist policemen. While in Gerasimov's film adaptation, the arson is the climax, in Lyalin's TV series it is one of the first steps of the activity of *The Young Guard*.

Lyalin's film presents some aspects of the German and Russian mentality in a dialogue between two German officers – the opposition

⁽¹⁰⁾ Script – Yuri Avetikov and Evgeni Kotov; composer – Vladimir Dashkevich. Shootings took place in Russia, near Tula and in Ukraine, in a small mining town, Shekino.

between rationality and wild forces, between reason and passion is suggested. The two different world views are also mentioned in the scene presenting three girls from the resistance movement and officer Renatus. The trigger of the group's activity is rather the hatred and indignation for the Nazi occupation than the astonishing patriotism. The last man to witness the victims' departure to their last road to the mining pit is the same tongue tied boy. The image of him crying is overlapped with the image from the beginning – the young people of Krasnodon walking joyfully towards the horizon in the peaceful fields.

Sych's "Ours" (2012)

The feature cartoon *Nashi (Ours)*, project directed by A. Sych and made to celebrate 70 years from the tragic events in Krasnodon, under the Nazi occupation. Ten artists from the studio *Fantazery*, within the State Academy of Art and Culture, Lugansk, worked for the production of this cartoon. This is the first feature cartoon made in Ukraine after the proclamation of its independence. Sych declared that the role of this cartoon is to remind about the reason members of *The Young Guard* organization lived and died. The message is transmitted in a language that is relevant for the young spectators. We may notice the same detachment from Fadeyev's ideological-Romantic representation and the return to the archives and historic events. What once was the object of the Soviet propaganda is presented in a different manner in order to imbue the young generation with the feeling of membership and patriotism so severely damaged during the Soviet period.

It is worth mentioning the fact that this post-Soviet initiative to represent war events in a cartoon is not unique, as in 1988 a Japanese cartoon was launched, entitled *Grave of the Fireflies*, directed by Isao Takahata. The film presents the history of two homeless children after bombing from Kobo port during World War II and it is the adaptation of a semi-autobiographical novel written by Nosaka Akiyuki. The used techniques, the neo-realist tone of the filmic narration, ellipses of the violent moments and especially the flashback procedure determine us to support the influence of the Japanese cartoon over the Ukrainian *Ours*.

The introduction of the cartoon *Ours* presents us a scene where a grandchild asks his

grandfather about the medals and so a story-telling about the heroism of some boys and girls begins. Several symbols are used throughout the cartoon, as red is associated with the Russians, the "ours". The language is a simple one, with many argot elements of the nowadays Russian, as if putting a distance on purpose from the Soviet ideological language. The opposition between the German and the Russian mentality is suggested in a dialogue between a German commander and a local collaborator, pointing out the German organizing skills and the Russian desertion. Flashbacks are used to reveal some relations between the members of the resistance movement and to offer a metaphorical meaning to some scenes (for example, the attempt to behead Ulyana Gromova and cutting the trees from the Krasnodon park; the star cut on Ulyana's back and the star drawn by five teenagers who decided to fight against the Nazi occupiers). The scenes of the members of the organization during their imprisonment are also linked to various significant events of their childhood.

The cartoon presents the unification of several groups of teenagers into one organization and its activities: arson of important buildings, unfurling Soviet flags in town. Some psychological aspects regarding the traitors are also unveiled. The final scene when the "young guardians" were brought to the mine show their unity facing death, while the execution is an ellipsis (fendu and the sound of bullets).

The final scene returns to the initial frame of the filmic narration – the grandfather and his grandson – using a combination of the specific Soviet language and an updated manner of presenting the events. The meaning of the word "homeland" is explained, as well as the significance of the word "hero". The last image is the monument dedicated to *The Young Guard* and two carnations on snow brought by the grandfather and his grandson. The final words are the classic Soviet words "Eternal remembrance to heroes", denoting on one hand the post-Soviet incapacity to break away from the stereotypes of the past and on the other hand, the incapacity to introduce another suggestive and relevant phrase. *Ours* manages to be educational, using a relevant nowadays language, while the composition and the dynamic way of presenting the events with key-words, symbols are to be appreciated. We may say that the film transmits all the important aspects of the resistance movement from

Krasnodon in an hour and seven minutes without many violent scenes and without inducing boredom.

Post-Soviet Documentaries on "The Young Guard" Organization

According to the Soviet national mythology, the Great Fatherland War was a "good war" ⁽¹¹⁾, the Soviet soldiers and citizens fought for a Righteous Cause, and this vision has remained basically unchallenged. The Russian textbooks remained essentially the same, but post-Soviet films on World War II record a gradual de-heroization process. The documentaries on World War II and especially on *The Young Guard* organization have a special place in the post-communist period, given the fact that the period is a transitional one, based on a process of a cultural reification of memory, reduced to the image, with no significant valences (especially to the new generations) and powerful political connotations under aesthetic pretexts. We may talk about a new "ideology" of transition, interposed between the present under the shadows of the past and the future (Sârbu, Polgár 2009). Moreover, as in the case of the German post-historic aesthetics, studied by Cristian Nae (Nae 2013, 971-985), we may discuss about a similar phenomenon in the post-communist space due to the constant preoccupation for the memory of the recent past and the attempts of analysing the national, cultural and political identities. As we are to uncover in the analysis of the majority of the post-communist documentaries concerned with *The Young Guard*, the comments, the presentation of events and characters, the perspective itself are part of what Boris Buden denoted as an objectual culture of remembrance, a prominence following a logic of a museum (Nae 2013, 972).

The most intriguing fact of our analysis is that the majority of the documentaries are Ukrainian, more specifically, from the Lugansk region, offering us in subsidiary some insights in the Ukrainian identity crisis. The majority of these films re-actualize the communist discourse concerning the heroes and heroism, insisting on the validity of communist values, failing to bring a new perspective on events and characters. A

distinctive feature of these documentaries is the avoidance to offer a historic contextualization and suspension of the Soviet reality. Another significant aspect is the usage of the Russian language (only in several cases Ukrainian), opening the multi-ethnic subject within the state. The heroic deeds of the Soviet young people in 1942 are used for igniting the interest of new generations for the Ukrainian national history. On the other hand, these are attempts to form a coherent national discourse regarding the national identity, attempts that are specific to transitional periods.

From the three types of discourses in post-communist art, mentioned by C. Nae – "off-modern", ironic and intermediate – we may identify the position of the analyzed films. All documentaries may be placed in the first category, as they are oriented towards exploring the processes of memory, remembrance and communist heritage (Nae 2013, 977). Thus many myths concerning the outstanding patriotism and heroism of the Soviet citizens during World War II are not only reiterated, but also overrated.

The first post-Soviet documentary is entitled *Vechnyi ogon` Krasnodona* ⁽¹²⁾ [*The Eternal Flame of Krasnodon*, 2003, 23 minutes], and it was meant to commemorate 60 years from the "young guardians" death in Krasnodon. The presenter is Anatoli Nikitenko, the director of the museum "Molodaya Gvardia". The events and actions of the organization *The Young Guard* are presented through the exhibits of the museum, mentioning the fact that the majority of the members of organization received the titles of "Heroes of the Soviet Union" and "Heroes of Ukraine". This film may be regarded as an inefficient attempt to resuscitate the spectators' interest in a subject of a fading social and cultural importance.

Another documentary celebrates 65 years from young heroes' death and it is entitled poetically *I ne v shurf ikh brosal, a v nashi serdtsa* ⁽¹³⁾ [*They Were not Thrown into the Pit, but into Our Hearts*, 2006, 40 minutes]. The film is a so-called "literary-artistic composition" with the participation of the heroic-patriotic club "Molodaya Gvardia". A Ukrainian deputy's

⁽¹¹⁾ We may point out that the same myth concerning World War II has been supported in the USA for various reasons (see Adams 1994, Terkel 1984 and others who present or challenge this classic American recent myth).

⁽¹²⁾ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtMpB-w38U> (Accesses in September 2014).

⁽¹³⁾ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vlenxjwpqJ4> (Accessed in September 2014).

speech on the matter of “false heroes” and the necessity to return to authentic heroes from the Second World War sets the mood for the spectators. The presenter, as a representative of the “older generation” considers himself guilty of not being able to communicate to the younger generation the true values, history and its heroes. Moreover, the deputy evokes the ancient times when people knew their genealogy and were proud of it, fact that determined deputies from Lugansk to start a project of patriotic education. The same classroom and questions about the “young guardians” are asked, as in the Soviet documentaries, then pupils talk passionately and theatrically about the heroes of Krasnodon. We mention several phrases: “the young guardians gave their lives for the welfare of the city, country and entire humanity”, “the soul still hurts while thinking of the sacrifice of the young guardians for their Homeland”, “for me *The Young Guard* is forever youth and immortality”, “we should remember forever their great deed and appreciate it”. The film is dedicated to the memory of those who died “for defending the Motherland”, highlighting the imperative that people are not allowed to forget those heroic deeds during World War II. The same Soviet stereotypes and phrases are used as in Soviet documentaries on this subject (“(eternal) glory to heroes”, “they lost their lives, finding immortality” *etc.*), using the same technique to combine the narration of events by the young people from the mentioned club with fragments from Gerasimov’s film adaptation and older documentaries.

The end of this documentary is constituted by a speech of the executive director of the fund “Blagosovest” – A. Ostavlenko – who is preoccupied with the same aspects – the necessity to remember the historic events and to “bow before the memory of the dead soldier and military sanctity (*voennye sviatyni*)”. The speaker mentions the role of the fund – to keep the common inheritance and to contribute to keeping the collective memory. The documentary reiterates the same Soviet myths, attempting to impose the same demarche in a post-communist world and in a region with an acute sense of national identity crisis (as the recent events unveiled).

The Russian successful TV show *Iskateli* ⁽¹⁴⁾ [*Seekers*, 2008, 39 minutes] made a documentary presenting the case of the organization *The Young Guard*, searching for information and exploring hypotheses for the failure of this resistance movement caused by a treachery. The full title of the show is *Molodaya Gvardia: po sledu predatelii* [*The Young Guard: Following the Traitor*]. After presenting the hypotheses and the events according to the archives, the presenter concludes that the risk to discover the members of the organization was high due to a large number of people involved, their lack of experience and maturity. However, the major trigger for the treason may have been the so-called preventive arrests, conducted by occupiers in order to keep the population under control through terror and fear. If those who were not involved in any actions of the resistance movement were begging for mercy, the members were probably proud of their deeds, giving away their membership. The conclusive remarks of the show are relevant for the post-communist period, as there are extremes in perceiving the “young guardians” (and the related mythical aspects), divided in two groups – nationalists or marginals. The TV show manages to bring a brief demythologized perspective on events and involved people in Krasnodon of the year 1942 without mentioning the same stereotypes on the Great Fatherland Liberation War and the heroic nature of this war.

Other two Ukrainian production date from 2010 – *Luganshchina v litsakh: Molodaya Gvardia* ⁽¹⁵⁾ [*Lugansk Represented by Faces: The Young Guard*, 26 minutes] – and 2012 *Molodaya Gvardia – Khranit` vechno* ⁽¹⁶⁾ [*The Young Guard – Keeping in Minds Forever*, 56 minutes], both directed by Oksana Vlasova and both produced due to the request of the Regional Committee of Lugansk, Ukraine. The first documentary detects the difference between the Soviet and post-Soviet discourse on the events of Krasnodon, commenting on the specificity of the Soviet ideologization. It uses images from the Soviet

⁽¹⁴⁾ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DQv4LNyCbO0> (Accessed in September 2014).

⁽¹⁵⁾ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Gv4CtKfTEQ> (Accessed in September 2014).

⁽¹⁶⁾ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HxWeOKR-WM0> (Accessed in September 2014).

documentaries that are focused on key-moments (industrialization, electrification *etc.*), but also daily aspects and notices that the realistic presentation of the history of *The Young Guard* doesn't devalue the heroic deeds against the Fascist occupiers. A balanced perspective is offered by the usage of both Soviet and German propaganda documentaries on the region. The idealized images, regardless of their origin (Soviet or Nazi) are demystified by the narrator.

The attention of the first mentioned documentary is then focused on the activity of *The Young Guard*, lead by Ivan Turkenich, a wounded soldier of the Soviet Army, using the information from the archives. Hatred and not patriotism is the pointed out feeling that triggered the entire activity of Krasnodon youth. On the other hand, the documentary brings some insights into the conflicts between the traitors and the rest of the population. Director of the museum "Molodaya Gvardia" mentions that according to his research there was no other anti-Fascist organization of these dimensions in a small town, with such an activity as in the case of *The Young Guard*. On the other hand, the narrator underlines the fact that patriotism may be defined in simple terms, with no communist ideological weight. And due to this simpler approach, the message becomes relevant for the younger generations.

The second mentioned Ukrainian documentary, directed by Oksana Vlasova, consists of a series of interviews (survivors of World War II). The documentary brings light on the traitors – Gromov and Pocheptsov. Although there are some Soviet elements of representing the events, there are some changes in discourse brought by the new generation of researchers and people from the film industry. It is surprisingly revealed the fact that the tortures of the members of *The Young Guard* organization were basically performed by the local traitors, Soviet inhabitants who collaborated with the newly installed Nazi order, as the German soldiers and commanders were retreating at that point. Some interesting information from the archives is brought into the foreground regarding the survivors of the Soviet purge of Cossaks. The same Soviet pleading to remember the heroic gestures of the boys and girls who were involved in the anti-Fascist organization is expressed, as well as the Nazi atrocities (avoiding to speak of the communist atrocities). On the other hand, some revealed aspects of the films have the role of demystifying the idealized

status of the young inhabitants of Krasnodon: the Romantic aura of these heroes; the mythologizing phenomenon of the history of *The Young Guard*; the difference between the ideologized and idealized history of the organization and the reality; the heroic authenticity despite the realistic approach. The last image of the film has a symbolic value – the gross-plan of the documents from the archive of Krasnodon, as a pleading not to forget the historic events.

Another perspective on the issue of the traitors during the Second World War in Krasnodon is brought by Ivan Kravchishin's documentary (the first one broadly using the Ukrainian language) – *Molodaya Gvardia: shchetchik smerti* ⁽¹⁷⁾ [*The Young Guard: Counter of Death*, 2009, 50 minutes]. The same pattern is used for the script – combining images from Gerasimov's film adaptation, Soviet war documentaries and documentaries on the case of *The Young Guard* organization, interviews, pictures and re-enactments with new actors. Unlike the other documentaries, new interviewed people appear and one of them is a former Oleg Koshevoy's classmate – who challenges the official heroic version of events and especially the perspective offered by Oleg's mother, which represented the main source for A. Fadeyev's novel (where Koshevoy is the leader of the organization, aspects presented also in Gerasimov's film adaptation). Even Koshevoy's death is questioned by this woman, who claims that his mother didn't quite visit the supposed grave. These aspects are contradicted by another interviewed. The versatility of the film is to be appreciated, as it offers a junction of many perspectives, opinions and versions on the events and involved people. Nevertheless, the same leitmotif is present – remembering the deeds of the "young guardians".

Kravchishin's documentary also discloses aspects of the idealization phenomenon of the organization and imprinting it with a heroic-Romantic aura decades to come after World War II. This phenomenon is recognized as a part of the ideological mechanism used by Stalin to motivate the soldiers and to ensure a unity within the army and the population of the Soviet Union. Even the status of "organization" is questioned, given the fact that the only adult among so many enraged

⁽¹⁷⁾<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A7B6N7D4gyA> (Accessed in September 2014).

teenagers was Ivan Turkenich. It is argued that many gangs of teenagers (with chaotic activities against the Nazi occupation) were united and coordinated by Turkenich. And from that moment on we may speak of a complex and coherent anti-Fascist organization that included both activities to inform the population on the real events and activities with military character.

A Ukrainian documentary project of only 23 minutes – *Molodaya Gvardia...* ⁽¹⁸⁾ – aims at remembering the “young guardians” death 70 years later (2013) and has a bold vision – presenting the details of tortures and interviews with young Ukrainians and Russians from the nowadays Krasnodon enquiring mainly about the identity and activity of these Soviet heroes. The result is a mix of oppositions – the discourse of connoisseurs and ignorant people. Unveiling this contradiction is what is at stake, a contradiction between what is desirable through the new documentary productions and the reality, mainly characterized by a relativity concerning the notion of “hero”. The same director of the museum “Molodaya Gvardia” argues that it is necessary to educate patriots in every country, regardless of its ideology, mentioning the new and welcomed direction of de-heroization from the last two decades.

Other interviews from this last documentary project offer a demystification perspective on *The Young Guard* organization, as well as a deconstruction of the Soviet myth of outstanding patriotism and heroism. Although the voices bring into derisory the idea of an “organization”, another interviewed writer expresses his displeased attitude regarding the hypothesis that the young people of Krasnodon were merely “hooligans”. Several children talk in a stagey manner about the “legend of Krasnodon” and the difference between generations and preoccupations, while a newspaper editor discussed the importance for the new generation of understanding, not only being aware of the phenomenon of an anti-Fascist underground movement. This is the key of the documentary – searching for a relevant language for the new generation – as the ecstatic speeches on heroism, tributary to socialist ideology find no echo in post-Soviet generations, whose national identity isn’t clearly delineated.

⁽¹⁸⁾https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aKGHhgL_k2Q
(Accessed in September 2014).

Conclusive Remarks

The complicated relation between the Soviet successfully installed myths of the Second World War and their demystification process continues to unfold in post-Soviet countries. This divergent and complex phenomenon questions the validity and sanctity of war heroes, including the members of *Molodaya Gvardia*, young fighters against the Nazi occupation in the Soviet Krasnodon. The necessity of imposing a continuity between the Soviet heroic past and the present in post-communist countries (Russian and Ukraine in our study), on one hand, and the requirement of a relevant message for the new generations, on the other, make the mission of post-Soviet state authorities difficult and delicate. As we have analysed in our paper, a gradual process of demystification takes place in post-Soviet films focused on *The Young Guard* organization, a demystification that refers mostly to the relevance of the past stereotypical messages on heroism and patriotism. Nevertheless, the great colossus of the cult of World War II, namely the “Great Patriotic/Fatherland War” remains untouched like the numerous monuments throughout the Soviet Union dedicated to the Soviet soldiers and war heroes.

References

a. Books

- Adams 1994** Adams, Michael C. C., *The Best War Ever: America and World War II*, John Hopkins University Press (1994).
- Edele 2009** Eddele, Mark, *Soviet Veterans of World War II: A Popular Movement in an Authoritarian Society 1941-1991*, 1st edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press (2009).
- Fadeyev 1967** Fadeyev, Aleksandr, *Molodaya Gvardia*, Minsk (1967).
- Hoffman 2003** Hoffman, David L., *Stalinist Values. The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press (2003).
- Knox 2005** Knox, Zoe, *Russian Society and the Orthodox Church: Religion in Russian after Communism*, London & New York, Routledge

- Curzon (2005).
- Laclau, Mouffe 1985** Laclau, E., and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, London, Verso (1985).
- Lane 1981** Lane, Christel, *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society: The Soviet Case*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1981).
- Mihalache 2007** Mihalache, Andi, *Mănuși albe, mănuși negre: cultul eroilor în vremea dinastiei Hohenzollern [White Gloves, Black Gloves: Cult of Heroes during Hohenzollern Dynasty]*, Cluj-Napoca, Limes (2007).
- Rollberg 2009** Rollberg, P., *Historical Dictionary of Russian and Soviet Cinema*, USA, Scarecrow Press (2009).
- Sârbu, Polgár 2009** Sârbu, T., and A. Polgár (eds.), *Genealogies of Postcommunism*, Cluj-Napoca, Idea Design and Print (2009).
- Seniavskaia 1999** Seniavskaia, E. S., *Psikhologija voyny v XX veke: istoricheskij opyt Rossii [Psychology of War in the 20th Century: Russia's Historical Experience]*, Moskva, Rosspen (1999).
- Terkel 1984** Terkel, Studs, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two*, New York, Pantheon (1984).
- Tumarkin 1994** Tumarkin, Nina, *The Living & The Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia*, New York, Basic Books (1994).
- b. Chapter in books**
- Brown 2001** Brown, Archie, "Transformational Leaders Compared: Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin". In Archie Brown, Lilia Shevtsova (eds.), *Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition*, Washington, The Brookings Institute Press (2001), p. 11-45.
- Carpentier 2011** Carpentier, N., "The Ideological Model of War: Discursive Meditations of the Self and the Enemy". In ***, *Creating Destruction: Constructing Images of Violence and Genocide*, Amsterdam, Rodopi (2011).
- Devlin 2003** Devlin, Judith, "The City as a Symbol: architecture and Ideology". In Judith Devlin, Howard B. Clarke (eds.), *Post-Soviet Moscow in European Encounters: Essays in Honour of Albert Lovett*, Dublin, University College Dublin Press (2003), p. 363-404.
- Kenez 1983** Kenez, Peter, "Film Propaganda in the Soviet Union, 1941-1945". In K. R. M. Short (ed.), *Film and Radio Propaganda in World War II*, Knoxville, TN, University of Tennessee Press (1983), p. 108-124.
- Kenez 1992** Kenez, Peter, "Films of the Second World War". In, Anna Lawton (ed.), *The Red Screen: Politics, Society, Art in Soviet Cinema*, London, Routledge (1992), p. 147-170.
- Nae 2013** Nae, Cristian, "Politici ale memoriei în arta est-europeană de după 1989" ["Memory Politics in East-European Art after 1989"]. In Andi Mihalache, Adrian Cioflâncă, *Istoria recentă altfel: perspective culturale [The Recent History Otherwise: Cultural Perspectives]*, Iași, Ed. Universității "Al. I. Cuza" (2013), p. 971-985.
- Welch 2013** Welch, Gabriela, "Memoria celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial în Uniunea Sovietică: sacrificiu, victorie, cult" ["Memory of the Second World War in the Soviet Union: Sacrifice, Victory, Cult"]. In Andi Mihalache, Adrian Cioflâncă, *Istoria recentă altfel: perspective culturale [The Recent History Otherwise: Cultural Perspectives]*, Iași, Ed. Universității "Al. I. Cuza" (2013), p. 223-239.

c. Papers in periodical journals

- Grădinaru 2013** Grădinaru, Olga, *The Soviet Hero-Making Process. Aspects of the Soviet Heroism*. In: *Brukenthalia. Romanian Cultural History Review*, no. 3 (2013), p. 114-122.
- Grădinaru 2014** Grădinaru, Olga, *Death Representation in the Soviet Novel of World War 2. A. Fadeyev's The Young Guard*. In: *Romanian Journal of Literary Studies*, no. 4, Arhipelag XXI Press, Târgu-Mures (2014).
- Kruk 2008** Kruk, Sergei, *Semiotics of Visual Iconicity in Leninist*

"Monumental" Propaganda. In: *Visual Communication*, 7, no. 1 (2008), p. 27-56.

- Nevezhin 2005** Nevezhin, V. A., *Tost Stalina za russkij narod (24 maja 1945 g.): novaja interpretatsia* [Stalin's Toast for the Russian People: A New Interpretation]. In: *Prepodovanie Istorii v Shkole* [Teaching History in School], 4 (2005), p. 23-48.

- Tumarkin 2003** Tumarkin, Nina, *The Great Patriotic War as Myth and Memory*. In: *European Review*, 11, no. 4 (2003), p. 595-611.

Jolly War

Cathartic Fantasies in Thomas Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow* and Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds*

Alexandru BUDAC

West University of Timișoara, Romania

Department of Romanian Studies

E-mail: alex_budac@yahoo.com

Abstract: In *Gravity's Rainbow* Thomas Pynchon makes use of the '40s propaganda comic books in order to enliven GI Tyrone Slothrop's quest for a mysterious Nazi rocket. Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* turns out as a commando film which is not about movement on the combat field. It contextualizes anew the aesthetics of the '40s cinema. My paper tackles the common Pop ethos of both novel and movie while suggesting that the *Kill Bill* director could be one of Pynchon's attentive readers. World War Two veteran Paul Fussell's harsh opinions on warfare highlight Pynchon's and Tarantino's artistic means.

Keywords: the Second World War, Thomas Pynchon, Quentin Tarantino, propaganda, Pop Art.

The Malefic Clockwork

The most famous proclivities to evade reality through fiction are still being labeled "Quixotism" when the escape throbs with heroic vibes and "Bovarism" when both heroism and reason are left aside. During the Victorian era writers such as H.R. Haggard and Robert Louis Stevenson showed their quixotic stamina in defending the adventure novel as the last stand of romantic idealism against the realistic prose at a time when a new breed of readers, the newspaper readers, addressed a change of literary taste (Kiely 2005, 26-29). Despite Borges' convincing reevaluation of the genre and, more recently, Cormac McCarthy's resurrection of the American epic, the adventure fiction is usually rather ventriloquized than written afresh. However sophisticated or reference-charged the adventure, it must not take away the universal pleasure Stevenson captured so accurately in "The Land of Story-Books": "Now, with my little gun, I crawl /All in the dark along the wall, /And follow round the forest track /Away behind the sofa back" (Stevenson 1999, 51).

In visual arts comic books, despite their antique prestige as sequential narrative, seem still to many an obvious childish whim. We are so used to seeing action movies, listening to rock music, and apprehending pulp stereotypes that we ponder upon their conventions and cultural function only when finding them parodied, reiterated boastfully through self-referential means

or as objects of interest to someone famous whose preoccupations we consider the opposite of escapist pleasures, such as Ludwig Wittgenstein's admiration for western movies and Norbert Davies' crime novels. The lack of seriousness becomes serious if one studies Shakespeare's obscene language or Federico Fellini's attachment to burlesque yet this might also be some sort of escapism, of the pedantic kind.

For Kurt Vonnegut fiction writing is mainly the art of playing tricks: "If you make people laugh or cry about little black marks on sheets of white paper, what is that but a practical joke? All the great story lines are great practical jokes that people fall for over and over again" (Vonnegut 1994, 421). A veteran of the Second World War Vonnegut was POW at Dresden during February 1945 bombing, an experience which branded his life and his writing career. A fierce yet humorous critic of militarism he confessed in a bitter tone that the tremendous and meaningless atrocity at Dresden brought some profit to one person only: himself, after having published *Slaughterhouse Five* in 1969 (Vonnegut 1994, 614). Vonnegut delves into popular culture in order to tackle issues such as mass extermination, the atomic bomb, ecological catastrophes, and political irresponsibility. His means are not in the least escapist. They are soothing diversions. A soothing diversion allures to readers and movie audience as easy-going state

of things while foregrounding pressing epistemic and moral issues at the same time.

A cliché originating in the Allied type-casting during the war associates Nazism with clockwork because, as Paul Fussell put it, unlike the Japanese, “Germans were recognized to be human beings, but of a perverse type, cold, diagrammatic, pedantic, unimaginative, and thoroughly sinister” (Fussell 1989, 120). One can find it employed as artistic device in Thomas Pynchon’s *V.* (1963) where the character of Vera Meroving displays a watch-like wind-up eye to young engineer Kurt Mondaugen (Pynchon 2005, 255). Today we would call this a steampunk detail yet the sophisticated context which involve atmospheric radio disturbances, the South African desert, the extermination of Herero natives, the raising of fascism, and Wittgenstein’s first proposition from *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1921) provides the reader with a prophetic set for post-1933 Europe. The same representation works differently in Guillermo del Toro’s motion picture *Hellboy* (2004): the evil scientist and Nazi assassin Karl Ruprecht Kroenen turns out as a wind-up zombie, an ideal heavy bag for Hellboy’s rock fist. Whereas in Pynchon’s case the diversion implies what A.D. Nuttall calls “instrumental mimesis”, namely the power of literature to organize meanings in order to serve the most extravagant ends (Nuttall 2007, 193), in the second one the clockwork is perfectly integrated in the plethora of visual codes specific to Hollywood cinema, and beckons to cinema viewers in general, if we still define film as “the rhythm of the motion picture projector, which is to say the sense of motion pictures as an apparatus or machine” (Hoberman 2013, 10).

My aim is to analyze some of the Pop Art diversions related to the Second World War time and culture as they are expressed through literary and cinematographic techniques by Thomas Pynchon and Quentin Tarantino respectively. To understand what damages the war caused to the minds of enlisted soldiers and civilians alike and how to find these appalling effects in the popular culture of that time the best guide one can find is the historian, literary critic, and veteran Paul Fussell. I rely on his knowledge and astute views hoping thus to make clear how exuberant humor backlights tragedy by exposing readers and spectators to something akin to Aristotle’s *anagnorisis* (recognition). Not only fictional characters suffer “a change from ignorance to

knowledge” (Aristotle 1995, 65), but audience as well.

Rocketman Fights the Octopus. Gravity’s Rainbow and Sequential Art

It is tempting to chart the common Pop ground of other books and films by the same artists such as Thomas Pynchon’s *Vineland* (1990) and Quentin Tarantino’s *Kill Bill* (2003/2004) volumes. As far as I know, despite being a passionate reader of novels Tarantino has never mentioned Pynchon as influence. Yet one cannot ponder the similitudes between Darryl Lewis Chastain’s (DL) background and the Bride’s (Uma Thurman). Attentive readers and film aficionados have already noticed them (Hodler 2011). *Vineland* is Prairie’s story, the daughter of a former hippie couple, Zoyd Wheeler and Frenesi Gates. Frenesi turns from ’60s radical film-maker to FBI informer during the Nixon-Reagan era and leaves husband and little girl. Questing for her lost mother in the ’80s California Prairie meets athletic and blonde DL, Frenesi’s old friend, at a wedding party. DL is a trained ninjette who drives an extravagant ’84 model Trans-Am – Elle Driver (Daryl Hannah) drives a ’80s Pontiac Trans-Am in *Kill Bill. Vol.2* –, masters the Malayan Chinese assassination skill known as the Vibrating Palm (a variant of the Five Point Palm Exploding Heart Technique in Tarantino’s movie) which she blows to the wrong person, and likes to give lectures on Superman’s double nature as Bill (David Carradine) does. The Mojave Desert, the fanciful Kahuna Airlines or the Che Zed motorcycle (Pynchon 1991, 56, 116, 131-133) also have a strong echoing for Tarantino fans: the Hawaiian Big Kahuna Burger is being eaten in *Reservoir Dogs* (1992), *Pulp Fiction* (1994), and *Death Proof* (2007), while the twisted policeman who owns a Harley Davidson chopper in *Pulp Fiction*, played by Peter Greene, is named Zed. Movies and music have been always very important to Pynchon, as important as literature along with soundtrack have been for Tarantino, and each one draws on comic books imagery in his own way.

During the Second World War comics were not meant just to support the morale of the troops and as a means of frontline entertainment, but played an important role in the Allied propaganda. The military censorship was being very cautious toward the potentially erotic material mailed to combatants. Consequently pin-ups in photos and comic strips published by *Esquire* and *Daily Mirror* or the curvaceous veiled

bodies drawn by Milton Caniff in his “Terry and the Pirates” were the most a soldier could hope of glimpsing at a female nude on page. In matters of sexiness the American Postmaster General turned out as more puritanical than Lord Chancellor (Fussell 1989, 105-106). On the other hand comic book heroes were supposed to keep the spirits up especially on the British-American side. Although the name of the *Jeep* vehicle has been an issue of speculation it might be not just a derivation from the acronym GP (General Purpose), but also the name of a funny character in E.C. Segar’s Popeye comic “Thimble Theatre” (Fussell 1989, 260). As H. Brenton Stevens noticed “every comic book hero from Tarzan to Joe Palooka went to war with the Nazis and their allies” (Stevens 1997, 38). Batman and Captain Marvel were designed as frontline stars and it is said that the Nazi Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels in a fit of anti-Semitic rage during a Reichstag meeting denounced Superman as a Jew (Stevens, 1997, 38; Poirier, 1986, 16). Paul Fussell considers that it took writers such as Joseph Heller, Kurt Vonnegut, and Thomas Pynchon to make us understand “the war was so serious it was ridiculous” (Fussell 1989, 132).

Comic book conventions infuse the convoluted narrative in *Gravity’s Rainbow* (1973). One of the protagonists, the GI Tyrone Slothrop, struggles quixotically to become a superhero as those in the issues he reads. Tyrone’s secret superpower connects his sexual exploits in London with the fallings of Hitler’s V-2 rockets yet no one knows for sure if this special ability is real or just a paranoid inference of the British and American secret service, and especially of the PISCES (Psychological Intelligence Schemes for Expediting Surrender) behaviorists. Even though Lieutenant Slothrop does not succeed as a caped superhero in stopping the Rocket 00000 launch, the reader’s apprehension of his adventures is as frame-conditioned as the character’s mind. Richard Poirier emphasized the importance of frames in *Gravity’s Rainbow* as expressions of an over analytical European consciousness and of the aesthetical and political categories which “are begotten of the same technology, the same supportive structures that have foundations in the theology of the seventeen century and the science of the nineteenth”. Even the little squares between the book chapters look like sprocket holes in a film (Poirier 1986, 13, 17-18). Thus Slothrop must find his way out of the frame and disappears long

before the actual ending. He dissipates like Walt Whitman’s poetic self in *Song of Myself* (Bloom, 2011, 309).

Tyrone Slothrop reappears shortly after in a strange episode which blends children fantasies, an expressionistic metropolis (the “Raketen-Stadt”), parodic Disney-like portraits of kamikaze pilots, and Kabbalistic symbols. Along with flying Myrtle Miraculous to whom love is denied, Maximilian, “suave manager of the Club Oogabooga”, and a French mechanical chess player named Marcel, Tyrone builds a team of clumsy superheroes known as the “Floundering Four”. They try to save a slice of Arcadian time, the “Radiant Hour”, from under the control of Pernicious Pop and his corporate acolytes (Pynchon 2000, 687-694). Pynchon’s remaking of Marvel universe and especially that of *The Fantastic Four* comic books highlights the continuity between the Second World War politico-economic context and that of the Vietnam War era when *Gravity’s Rainbow* was being written. Harold Bloom appreciated the novel as an ideal text for the sixties, “but already deliberately belated for the seventies” (Bloom 2003, 31). The first issue of *The Fantastic Four* appeared in November 1961. According to H. Brenton Stevens it was new in its rejection of the “notion that superheroes were omnipotent demigods” (Stevens 1997, 44). Therefore Pynchon’s hint is a crafted anachronism. Unlike Batman or Plastic Man these characters did not take part in the Second World War, but are the offspring of the sixties movements. Stevens mirrors each one of the “Floundering Four” in their Marvel counterparts – Myrtle Miraculous/the feminist Invisible Girl, Marcel/Human Torch, Maximilian/The Thing, Pernicious Pop/arch-villain Doctor Doom –, analyses Pynchon’s tracing of racist stereotypes which link the ’30s America to the ’60s America, and sees the “Floundering Four” as splinters from the same shattered yet free Slothrop who finally understood that even the apparently childish innocence of comic books may perversely put a passionate, vulnerable reader in the service of criminal ideologies of the System (Stevens 1997, 38-39, 44-46). Propaganda – Disney propaganda included – is never innocent.

Yet I turn to three moments from the first half of *Gravity’s Rainbow* where Tyrone Slothrop is more framed and paranoid: his leave on the French Riviera, where he falls in love with Katje Borgesius, the mad underground pursuit on rail

tracks at Mittelwerke rocket factory, and Slothrop's trespassing at the Potsdam Conference in order to retrieve a hashish stash for Pig Bodine, one of Pynchon's most famous sidekicks.

Slothrop's furlough is supervised by PISCES. He checks in at Casino Hermann Goering which received some heavy blows during the Allied liberation of France yet still retains some of its pre-war glamour while swarming with military, spies, and even secret service agents dressed as Apaches. The GI together with his British pals Teddy Bloat and Tantivy Mucker-Maffick dress up for a beach *rendez-vous* with French dancers who look exquisitely like the pin-ups painted on bombers fuselage. Slothrop puts on a Hawaiian shirt for the occasion, a zoot suit posted to him by his combatant brother Hogan from the Pacific. Appalled Mucker-Maffick tries to dissuade the American by offering him a neater English clothier's product: "the coat is from a Savile Row establishment whose fitting rooms are actually decorated with portraits of all the venerable sheep – some nobly posed on crags, other in pensive, soft close-ups – from whom the original fog-silvered wool was sheared". Not only does Slothrop refuse the offer but he also "produces a gaudy yellow, green and orange display handkerchief", and arranges it dandy-style in Tantivy's pocket (Pynchon 2000, 186).

Down at the beach, while drinking and cajoling, Slothrop's attention is being drawn constantly by the slender, solitary siren-like figure of a beautiful girl who notices the group yet does not respond to his inquisitive glances. Suddenly a giant octopus "cocking a malignant eye at the girl" wraps its tentacles around her neck and waist and drags the prey to the sea. Slothrop runs for help using a wine bottle as sole weapon: "She reaches out a hand, a soft-knuckled child's hand with a man's steeled ID bracelet on the wrist, and clutches at Slothrop's Hawaiian shirt, begins tightening her own grip there, and who was to know that among her last things would be vulgar-faced hula girls, ukuleles, and surfriders all in comic book colors ..." (Pynchon 2000, 188-189). After the rescuing is over and the danger returns to the sea, Tyrone falls in love. Unfortunately "it's all theatre", as one of the first phrases of *Gravity's Rainbow* informs us (Pynchon, 2000, 3). The conditioned Octopus Grigori accomplishes a PISCES mission, Katje Borgesius is a Dutch double-agent, involved in the Pavlovian-conditioning of Slothrop himself, and the British

pals are pawns in a conspiracy at the thought of which the GI is set aflame with paranoid ruminations.

In comic books "the visual treatment of words as graphic art form is part of the vocabulary" (Eisner 2008, 2). Comic artist Will Eisner explains how important the correlation of objects, close-ups and exaggerated pantomime, speed lines, and balloons meant to frame the speech, dialogue or thinking is to visual narrative. Considering that the action breaks into panels the passing of time, the rendering of space, and character movements must make sense as a whole. Body language dominates the text and that is why the main "challenge to sequential art medium is the matter of dealing with abstraction" (Eisner 2008, 106, 148). Thomas Pynchon makes use of comic book onomatopoeia – there are plenty of "WHAM!", "WHONK!", "KKAHH-UHNN!", and "zinnnggg!" in *Gravity's Rainbow* –, interjections, and word iconography. If Pop artist Roy Lichtenstein reframes them visually in paintings such as *Takka Takka* (1962) or *Whaam* (1963), Pynchon incorporates them afresh in his peculiar syntax conceived as an irony enforcer. In the Octopus Grigori episode he imagines a cartoonish background where verisimilitude is not a matter of concern and disproportion reigns – we all know that there are no such big octopuses in the Mediterranean – while his parodic style renders introspection as voice-over. The characters are hyperkinetic. Unlike the comic book artist the writer does not put down on page graphically the colorful images that flicker in his mind – this is definitely an issue for a Wittgenstein-like philosophical approach –, but he is the master of abstractions. Slothrop's Hawaiian shirt makes for a funny accessory indeed yet it works both as a temporal marker in the literary narrative – the war in the Pacific is not over, the atomic bomb has not been dropped yet – and as a reminder of the June, 1943 Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles and San Diego when Anglo-American sailors and marines attacked the "Chicanos". According to Paul Fussell the soldiers' racial fury was partly triggered by the Mexican-American youths' civilian status and their freedom to dress eccentrically (Fussell 1989, 72-73).

One day, out at the beach alongside Katje who is bathing in the sun, Slothrop is reading a Plastic Man comic when Sir Stephen Dodson-Truck approaches him lecturing on etymology and ancient German runes (Pynchon 2000, 208-210).

This is yet another brilliant diversion or, as Tony Tanner put it: “Here is a clue for us: we should imagine that we are reading a comic, but it is partly transparent, and through it we are also reading an encyclopedia, a film script, a piece of science history, and so on” (Tanner 1982, 77). We should imagine that we are reading a comic book again as soon as the GI arrives at the Mittelwerke factory, near Dora concentration camp, where American intelligence collects the last V-2 rocket components preferable from under the Soviets’ nose. After some floundering stunts Tyrone Slothrop gets himself into trouble and is hunted by the “Marvy’s Mothers”, Major Duane Marvy’s squad of drunk bullies. They fire their weapons erratically and swear to beat and even kill frightened Tyrone. The miniature train pursuit down the underground railways is terribly funny in its stylized violence. With the help of the German Professor Glimpf Slothrop throws warheads in the mad pursuers’ way yet they come out unscathed nevertheless continuing to sing their relentless drinking song which sounds like this: “There was a young fellow named Crockett, /Who had an affair with a rocket. /If you saw them out there /You’d be tempted to stare, /But if you ain’t tried it, don’t knock it!” (Pynchon 2000, 310).

Each stanza echoes Edward Lear’s nonsense verses – a poetic influence to *Gravity’s Rainbow* which has drawn very little attention – reverberating with military idioms and songs specific to the Second World War. They were more aggressive, vulgar, and language-suspicious than those of the Great War (Fussell 1989, 135, 251-267). Whereas Edward Lear has a special place in the literary romantic tradition, the Nazi V-weapons, along with other acts of madness such as the Japanese and American atrocities in the Pacific, area bombing, civilian massacres, and of course the Holocaust contributed to the de-romanticizing of warfare and destroyed the aura of naïve idealism and hope the Great War somehow preserved (Fussell 1989, 129-132). It seems to me that Pynchon conjures up the superb, jolly and benign poetry of Edward Lear in order to convert the aesthetic effect, the childhood-melodious enchantment of nonsense into the absurdity and obscenity of war. Pynchon’s references entice, but keep their secret as usual. Could Major Marvy be the writer’s winking at Major Mighty, a comic book hero the troops were fond of? It is said that many a serviceman used to possess membership cards to a Major Mighty Club (Fussell 1989, 250).

Wandering through the Zone – that is Germany and parts of Central Europe right after the Nazi surrender – starving Slothrop has become famous as Rocketman or Raketemensch. In devastated Berlin where “trolls and dryads play in the street” menaced by tank tracks and even the burned Reichstag building, painted with Cyrillic graffiti, looks like King Kong squatting in debris he makes acquaintance with Emil “Säure” Bummer, “cat burglar and dooper”, and his two friends Magda and Trudi. It is they that provide him with a full superhero outfit mostly improvised out of a looted opera wardrobe: a green velvet cape with a scarlet “R” on the back and a pointed helmet (Pynchon 2000, 371-374). His Russian boots are not his either. At the suggestion of Seaman Pig Bodine, of the U.S. destroyer *John E. Badass*, Slothrop is supposed to pass through the Soviet and American sectors as Max Schlepzig and find six kilos of Nepalese hashish at the Potsdam Conference. Yet his Rocketman cry “Hauptstufe!” and the self-delusion that “the only beings that can violate their space are safely caught and paralyzed in comic books” (Pynchon 2000, 385) do not work their apotropaic spell. Leaving his friends Slothrop trespasses the territory of the powerful.

Rocketman was an Ajax Comics character in the ‘40s (Weisenburger 1988, 179) and an inspiration for the 1980s graphic novel *The Rocketeer* by Dave Stevens which was also made into a movie in 1991 by Joe Johnston (with Billy Campbell, Jennifer Connelly, Alan Arkin, and Timothy Dalton in the leading roles). In *Gravity’s Rainbow* the “Kryptosam” amino acid developed by IG Farben connects Slothrop’s persona to Superman’s Kryptonite (Stevens 1997, 40-41) yet it is the means through which an artist makes a character step outside the familiar frames that ensures her or his particular signature. Tyrone Slothrop is a typical Pynchon hero and every reader is offered the chance to assemble the Lieutenant back together after the Kabbalistic yet parodic breaking of the vessels in *Gravity’s Rainbow*. One can see him slipping through the comic book panel into the film frame retaining literary superpower intact at the same time. Shortly before being caught by Russians at Potsdam Rocketman notices that “the whole joint is lit up like a Hollywood premiere”. Even President Truman whom he glimpses on a terrace while holding the hashish bag looks like the actor Mickey Rooney (Pynchon 2000, 386-388). This is

as close to watching movies someone dressed in comic book attire can get at a summit.

“I hope you don’t mind if I go out speaking the King’s”. Quentin Tarantino’s Formalistic Digressions

As director and screenwriter Quentin Tarantino has always been preoccupied with translating the literary into cinematic forms without prejudicing the visual narrative. Alfred Hitchcock appreciated the silent films as “the purest form of cinema” considering that the lack of dialogue used to constrain directors to find exclusively visual solutions in telling a story. In his opinion the arrival of sound and the dialogue brought a loss of cinematic style (Truffaut 1984, 61). Quentin Tarantino’s character-based movies are visual narrative at its best and dialogue at its finest at the same time without emulating that kind of theatrical cinema Hitchcock abhorred. Even their novelistic structure where stories frame other stories usually marked by titles pertains to block construction in movies typical for the silent era and especially for the ’40s cinema (Bordwell 2014). When Tarantino delves into genre – be it noir, heist, kung fu or samurai saga, exploitation, and car chase thriller – he works within conventions in order to expose their flexibility. *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) shapes up the war movie, but also the Western, the detective movie, the action comedy, the “two-fisted Hollywood occupation romance”, as film critic J. Hoberman rightly emphasized, and even dally with science fiction considering that the whole action takes place in an alternate universe (Hoberman 2009). Tarantino seems to draw on the late ’60s and ’70s war movies such as *The Dirty Dozen* (1967), *Where Eagles Dare* (1968), *5 per l’inferno* (1969), *Raid on Rommel* (1971), *Quel maledetto treno blindato* (1978) – the international English title of which he artistically misspelled – yet the director says in interviews that a major influence to him were the Hollywood propaganda movies made during the Second World War, and especially Jean Renoir’s *This Land is Mine* (1943), Fritz Lang’s *Man Hunt* (1941), Jules Dassin’s *Reunion in France* (1942), and Anatole Litvak’s *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939). He praises them as thrilling adventures lacking solemnity (Taylor 2009).

A Jew special unit trained by the OSS and led by the part-Indian Lieutenant Aldo Raine (Brad Pitt) infiltrates behind the enemy lines on a scalping spree across occupied France. Tarantino

diverts the commando action movie to retribution conflict concerning anti-Semitism while tackling subtly American issues such as the extermination of the natives and slavery. The representation of Adolf Hitler (Martin Wuttke) and Joseph Goebbels (Sylvester Groth) as idiots and a bore serves perfectly his aims. They are rather the embodiment of the bad, pathetic film producer and the awful leading actor (Hitler is not even capable of watching *The Nation’s Pride* propaganda movie attentively; he exits during the projection and asks the sentries for chewing gum). The real arch-villain who is beyond Heydrich, Bormann, Goebbels, and even the Führer and manipulates everybody devilishly, reveals himself as the affable, talkative, and not necessarily ideological-motivated SS Colonel Hans Landa (Christoph Waltz). The Nazi leaders are caricatures of the propagandistic caricature whereas Landa is a true cinematic figure. He can antagonize convincingly the Basterds too, if we accept that they are “parodies of men on a mission” (Bordwell 2014). The military-organized group has been a constant concern for Tarantino since *Reservoir Dogs* (Gallafent 2006, 12) be it gangsters, The Deadly Viper Assassination Squad or a bunch of stuntwomen friends. In the 2009 movie there is Hans Landa and his personal reasons versus everybody else. Each episode is preceded or followed by one of the Colonel’s inquests. His screen presence makes all the separate stories commingle.

Paul Fussell boldly states that America did not go to war in Europe in order to fight anti-Semitism. This view is a post-war reassessment of events. The war in Pacific was being more urgent than the European front: “The feeling today that the war was an aid of the Jewish cause, the current resentment that more was not done to relieve Auschwitz and similar hell-holes, slights the Pacific, anti-Japanese dimension of the war, which was the official – and unofficial – reason that America had gone to war in the first place (Germany declared war on the United States in accord with its treaty with Japan; only then did the United States, which had been observing Nazi anti-Semitism for years without doing a great deal about it, declared that Germany was its enemy too). It was difficult, if not impossible, for most Americans to see what the menace and perfidy and cruelty of the Japanese had to do with the ill-treatment of the Jews in Poland (both by Germany, and, incidentally, by the West’s newest

ally, the Soviet Union)” (Fussell 1989, 138). Tarantino hints at the political demagoguery at the end of his revenge fantasy when the “Jew Hunter” and the OSS negotiate cynically the surrender terms and Landa’s successful involvement in the “Operation Kino”. Fighting anti-Semitism seems a major concern for the Basterds only. Hence Aldo Raine’s insistence that the Nazis left alive must be branded like cattle with swastikas so as not to be able to take off their real uniform.

A commando movie heavily charged with cinematic references and packed with gunfire *Inglourious Basterds* is stationary notwithstanding. The audience sees neither the Basterds’ advance on the combat field, nor the other characters traveling from one place to another. The enfolding of events is being hastened by Goebbels’ acceptance of Fredrick Zoller’s (Daniel Brühl) plea that *The Nation’s Pride* premiere should take place at Emmanuelle Mimimieux’s – namely Shosanna Dreyfus (Mélanie Laurent) – cinema theatre in Paris. One of Tarantino’s most commented artistic marks is his rejection of establishing shots. He is usually more interested in presenting confined settings rather than panoramic views, and he also prefers to introduce locations by written titles (Gallafent 2006, 66, 99-100). The viewer recognizes Parisian cafes, cuisine, clothes, film culture yet it is pretty obvious that what the French capital misses are the French themselves. Except Shosanna, Marcel (Jacky Ido), her projectionist friend and employee, the collaborationist they force to help them develop the film roll containing Shosanna’s message to Germany, and Francesca Mondino (Julie Dreyfus), Goebbels’ translator and mistress – if she is truly a resident –, the viewer can scarcely see French people in the city. Without a panoramic view we still understand that Paris is swarming with Nazis, and Tarantino’s representation of the capital turns out as highly accurate at close watching.

The Second World War was a good deal about publicity narrative and the Public Relation Officer – whose skills as we know them nowadays were forged back then – was as important to Allied propaganda as Goebbels’ Ministry was to German morale (Fussell 1989, 153-158). In his classical study *From Caligari to Hitler* Siegfried Kracauer analyzes the void behind the propaganda newsreels glorifying The Reich’s conquest of France. Hitler’s triumphant motorcade through emblematic locations along boulevards in Paris

where the Führer together with the architect Albert Speer and other high Nazi officials set their victorious foot is met with a grave-like silence: “Except for a few policemen, a worker and a solitary priest hastening out of sight, not a soul is to be seen at the Trocadéro, the Etoile, the huge Concorde, the Opéra and the Madeleine, not a soul to hail the dictator so accustomed to cheering crowds. While he inspects Paris, Paris itself shuts its eyes and withdraws” (Kracauer 2004, 307). Right in this city Shosanna’s revenge plan and the Basterds’ showdown come together yet quietness is not Tarantino’s way of antagonizing Hitler and his acolytes. Digression is. One of the most noisome of all the digressions in the movie – Landa’s discourse on rats and squirrels included (Bordwell 2014) – is the standoff at La Louisiane tavern in the village of Nadine.

One cannot imagine a Quentin Tarantino movie/screenplay without one iconic bar scene at least: Clarence Worley’s neon-lighted discourse on Elvis in the first minutes of Tony Scott’s *True Romance* (1993), the opening of *Reservoir Dogs*, three key moments in *Pulp Fiction* (Marsellus Wallace’s instruction-monologue for Butch at the nightclub, the Hawthorne Grill robbery, Vincent and Mia chitchatting and dancing at Jack Rabbit Slim’s), Jackie’s meeting with Ordell at the Cockatoo Inn in *Jackie Brown* (1997), the Okinawa sushi bar where Hattori Hanzo quarrels comically with his aid, the showdown at the House of Blue Leaves, Budd loathing his night job at My-Oh-My strip joint, and Esteban Vihaió’s sleazy compliments to Beatrix Kiddo at a dive under the Mexican sun, all of them in *Kill Bill*; one must not forget Stuntman Mike stalking the girls to Warren’s bar in *Death Proof*. The cozy space often turns out as a confined, dangerous trap where spectacular violence bursts out (Gallafent 2006, 67). La Louisiane is a kind of saloon. Tarantino converts the Spaghetti Western duel into a masculine deadlock between the Allied knightly bravura and the diabolical German clockwork by conjuring up the Second World War iconography: Wehrmacht/SS uniforms, insignia, engraved knife-blades, firearm trademarks, gramophone music, military slang, and drinks.

La Louisiane tavern where two of the German-speaking Basterds, Sergeant Hugo Stiglitz (Til Schweiger) and Corporal Wilhelm Wicki (Gedeon Burkhard), along with British Army Lieutenant Archie Hicox (Michael Fassbender) have to meet their contact, actress and

spy Bridget von Hammersmark (Diane Kruger), was supposed to be a discreet, safe place. Yet there are five boisterous German servicemen who celebrate one of their own becoming a father while playing a kind of “floating poker game” (Hoberman 2009). Trying to find out the fictional identity stick to his forehead, one of the Wehrmacht soldiers guesses that Winnetou, the Apache Chief, has been ascribed to him. Karl May’s adventure novels were among the few literary reads the National Socialist propaganda encouraged (Fussell 1989, 250) mainly due to Hitler’s fondness for an author whose candid humanistic views on Indians have been enchanted generations of young readers. Thus Tarantino invokes Karl May in a context similar to that of the library scene in his next movie *Django Unchained* (2012) where the slave owner Calvin Candie (Leonardo DiCaprio) exhibits proudly on the shelf Alexandre Dumas’ books without knowing that the French author is of Haitian descent. The literary father of Winnetou and Old Shatterhand may be Hitler’s favorite, but, if he were to take part in Tarantino’s version of the Second World War, he definitely would have been on the Basterds’ side.

Despite his pretending to be the embodiment of the English calm – he even questions Sergeant Hugo Stiglitz who sharps his dagger compulsively before the mission about his self-possession – the one who loses temper and ruins the mission is Lieutenant Archie Hicox. His German is as ostentatious as his English – Michael Fassbender recounts Tarantino’s conceiving of his character “as a young George Sanders” (Saito 2009) – and summons the Gestapo watchdog up. Major Hellstrom (August Diehl) comes out from behind the stonewall where he reads a book a little bit like Major Von Hapen (Derren Nesbitt) in the castle scene from *Where Eagles Dare*. According to film editor Sally Menke, Hellstrom’s appearance was conceived as to reveal to the audience that he was controlling the music selection and even overhearing the conversations (Menke 2010). “The Man with the Big Sombrero” and “Ich Wollt Ich Waer Ein Huhn” songs stop when Von Hammersmark and the three men start whispering around the table. Does Hellstrom know from the beginning that the newcomers are not German officers? Is his insistence to play the card game together just a deliberate delaying in order to catch Hicox on the wrong foot (when doing this, Hellstrom is ascribed the character of

King Kong, another Tarantinesque hint which connects anti-Semitism with American slave trade (Menke 2009))? In the civilian life Hicox is a film critic and author of two books: *Art of the Eye and Art of the Mind: German Cinema of the 1920s* and *Twenty-Four Frame Da Vinci: A Subtextual Film Criticism Study of German Director G.W. Pabst*. As a film scholar he dominates Major Hellstrom by explaining flawlessly the strangeness of his accent. He introduces himself as a convincing extra out of Pabst’s *Die weisse Hölle vom Piz Palü* (1929) starring Leni Riefenstahl. Yet he fails as a drinking partner. Ordering three glasses with a British gesture, the film critic misses “the vernacular nuance” of the tavern conventions (Willis 2012, 168-169). “Sie sind so Deutsch wie dieser Scotch” (“You’re no more German than this Scotch”), exults the Gestapo officer while aiming his pistol at Hicox’s intimate parts.

The suspense of this long digression is due not only to Hellstrom’s insidious cat and mouse play, but also to Hugo Stiglitz’s boiling grudge. He has an outstanding record of killing Gestapo officers. Every time Major Hellstrom hits grotesquely amused his uniform Stieglitz feels his torturers’ whip-burn. However it is Lieutenant Hicox who falters first. Careful not to waste the good Scotch he shows himself ready to exit the scene with dignity as most of Tarantino’s heroes do. Lighting his last cigarette Hicox switches from German to English in style: “Well, if this is it, old boy, I hope you don’t mind if I go out speaking the King’s”.

As almost every time in *Inglourious Basterds* Tarantino uses symmetrical two-shots and over-the-shoulder shots (Bordwell 2014), close-ups, and shoots the final Hicox-Hellstrom cross swords in profile. In the background proprietor Eric (Christian Berkel) pretends to read a poetry book, but in fact he is keeping a vigilant eye on his clients thus adding to the tension. The under the table sexual-charged gun comparing is remindful of the first interrogatory scene. Hans Landa and pipe-smoker Perrier LaPadite sit at the table too when the SS Colonel takes out his much bigger calabash. During the Charlie Rose TV show on August 29, 2009 Quentin Tarantino said that he wanted to highlight Landa’s detective skills by providing him with the Sherlock Holmes’ pipe yet also to spur the two characters into a manly contest. The standoff at La Louisiane ends badly for all the protagonists, including Eric and Mathilde (Anne-Sophie Franck), the innocent

young waitress who is caught in the gunfire. As Lieutenant Aldo Raine put it straightly from the very beginning: “You don’t got to be Stonewall Jackson to know you don’t want to fight in a basement”.

Cinematic and literary tropes lull the viewer’s mind into exotic references which could seem out of place yet they build up magnificently Tarantino’s personal albeit accurate view on both the Second World War time and culture, and on American history. His combatants, like Thomas Pynchon’s characters, do not belong to a single

frame. They shuffle through the filmic and the literary highlighting the present by reconfiguring the past imaginatively. *Inglourious Basterds* exposes the noxious way entertainment may accommodate propaganda. The firecracker comedy provides Quentin Tarantino with the proper means to tackle deadly serious issues. In showing us how healthy escapism infuses great art he is the best director around.

References

a. Books

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Aristotle 2005 Aristotle, <i>Poetics</i>, translated by Stephen Halliwell, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Harvard University Press (2005).</p> <p>Bloom 2003 Bloom, Harold, <i>A Map of Misreading</i>, New York, Oxford University Press (2003).</p> <p>Bloom 2011 Bloom, Harold, <i>The Anatomy of Influence. Literature as a Way of Life</i>, New Haven and London, Yale University Press (2011).</p> <p>Eisner 2008 Eisner, Will, <i>Comics and Sequential Art: Principles and Practices from the Legendary Cartoonist</i>, New York, W.W. Norton & Company (2008).</p> <p>Fussell 1989 Fussell, Paul, <i>Wartime. Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War</i>, New York, Oxford University Press (1989).</p> <p>Gallafent 2006 Gallafent, Edward, <i>Quentin Tarantino</i>, Harlow, Pearson Education Limited (2006).</p> <p>Hoberman 2013 Hoberman, J., <i>Film After Film: Or, What Became of 21st Century Cinema?</i>, New York, Verso (2013).</p> <p>Kracauer 2004 Kracauer, Siegfried, <i>From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the German Film</i>, Princeton and</p> | <p>Oxford, Princeton University Press (2004).</p> <p>Nuttall 2007 Nuttall, A.D., <i>A New Mimesis: Shakespeare and the Representation of Reality</i>, New Haven and London, Yale University Press (2007).</p> <p>Pynchon 1991 Pynchon, Thomas, <i>Vineland</i>, London, Minerva (1991).</p> <p>Pynchon 2000 Pynchon, Thomas, <i>Gravity’s Rainbow</i>, New York, Penguin Books (2000).</p> <p>Pynchon 2005 Pynchon, Thomas, V., New York, Harper Collins (2005).</p> <p>Stevenson 1999 Stevenson, Robert Louis, <i>A Child’s Garden of Verses</i>, New York, Simon & Schuster (1999).</p> <p>Tanner 1982 Tanner, Tony, <i>Thomas Pynchon</i>, London and New York, Methuen (1982).</p> <p>Truffaut 1984 Truffaut, François, <i>Hitchcock</i>, with the collaboration of Helen G. Scott, New York, Simon & Schuster (1984).</p> <p>Vonnegut 1994 Vonnegut, Kurt, <i>Palm Sunday. An Autobiographical Collage</i>, London, Vintage (1994).</p> <p>Weisenburger 1988 Weisenburger, Steven, <i>A Gravity’s Rainbow Companion. Sources and Contexts for Pynchon’s Novel</i>, Athens, the University of Georgia Press (1988).</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

b. Chapters in books

- Kiely 2005** Kiely, Robert, "The Aesthetics of Adventure". In Harold Bloom (ed.), *Robert Louis Stevenson* (Bloom's Modern Critical Views), Philadelphia, Chelsea House Publishers (2005), pp. 25-52.
- Poirier 1986** Poirier, Richard, "Rocket Power". In Harold Bloom (ed.), *Thomas Pynchon's Gravity's Rainbow* (Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations), Philadelphia, Chelsea House Publishers (1986), pp. 11-20.
- Stevens 1997** Stevens, H. Brenton, *Look! Up in the Sky! It's a Bird! It's a Plane! It's Rocketman!: Pynchon's Comic Book Mythology in 'Gravity's Rainbow'*. In: *Studies in Popular Culture*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (April 1997), pp. 37-48.
- Willis 2012** Willis, Sharon, "'Fire!' in a crowded theatre: liquidating history in *Inglourious Basterds*". In Robert von Dassanowsky (ed.), *Quentin Tarantino's Inglourious Basterds: a Manipulation of Metacinema*, New York, Continuum International Publishing Group (2012), pp. 163-192.
- Hodler 2011** Hodler, Tim, "The Man o' Steel's Hawaiian Vacation". In *The Comics Journal* (March 17, 2011): <http://www.tcj.com/the-man-o-steels-hawaiian-vacation/>
- Menke 2010** Menke, Sally, "Analyzing *Inglourious Basterds*' tavern scene". In *Los Angeles Times* (January 13, 2010): <http://articles.latimes.com/2010/jan/13/news/la-en-lights-basterds13-2010jan13>
- Saito 2009** Saito, Stephen, "An Earful from Michael Fassbender". In *Fix* (August 18, 2009): <http://www.ifc.com/fix/2009/08/michael-fassbender-2>
- Taylor 2009** Taylor, Ella, "Quentin Tarantino: the *Inglourious Basterds* Interview". In *The Village Voice* (August 18, 2009): <http://www.villagevoice.com/news/quentin-tarantino-the-inglourious-basterds-interview-6391709>

c. Film reviews, interviews, Internet resources

- Bordwell 2014** Bordwell, David, "The 1940s are over, and Tarantino's still playing with blocks" (June 11, 2014): <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/category/directors-tarantino/>
- Hoberman 2009** Hoberman, J., "Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds* Makes Holocaust Revisionism Fun". In *The Village Voice* (August 18, 2009):

Repression as a Virtue: Post World War II Representation of Soldiers in the United States

Laura COMĂNESCU

MA Student, University of Bucharest
Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literature
E-mail: laura.comanescu@gmail.com

Abstract. In this paper, I will attempt to trace the evolution of the image of the soldier in the United States during the 20th century. Considering that, traditionally, the soldier represented the embodiment of ideal masculine identity in America, I will try to argue that the evolution of the image of the soldier is closely connected to the changes concerning the concept of masculinity and the masculine ideal. In the construction of the masculine ideal, the development of psychoanalysis after the Second World War had a major impact on the conceptualization of this ideal, to the extent that features traditionally associated with masculinity will start to be rethought from the perspective of the posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This tendency, which becomes even more powerful after Vietnam, will lead to a radical change in the conceptualization of the masculine ideal and thus, in the image of the soldier as well.

Keywords: masculinity, soldiers, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), popular culture, World War II, Vietnam.

The image of the soldier has been the epitome of traditional masculinity all throughout the 20th century, in the United States. As such, in discussing representations of soldiers, it will almost inevitably be bound with patriarchal ideals of masculinity. The symbolic representations of military ideals are not so much related with the actual gender of people actively serving in the military but rather with a possible identity rooted in an ideal that best suits the requirements of the military. During the first decades of this century, this myth was unproblematic; however, after the Second World War, and particularly after the Vietnam War, the assumption that soldiers are the embodiment of the masculine ideal becomes problematic. In tracing the evolution of the representation of soldiers in this latter half of the 20th century, though there are a myriad of contributing factors, I will attempt to discuss just a few that appear rather salient.

Defining Masculinity in Relation to the Military

Defining masculinity from a historical perspective will yield as many results as there are shifts in paradigms. Though some notions about what constitutes the ideal male identity seem to remain constant, still, this does not account for the multitude of possible representations and embodiments of the characteristics of masculinity. Biological sex,

though perhaps important to some extent, does not account for the fact that women too can ascribe to a masculine identity. Moreover, radical changes in masculine identity seem to clash with the notion that masculinity is, by and large, defined by a set of immutable features. As such, contemporary discussions on the issue of masculinity have reoriented themselves on “masculinities” rather than one, all-encompassing notion of a singular masculinity. Of these, military masculinity seems to be the one that has remained, to a certain extent, constant in the Western world. There seems to be a very tight bond between the institution of the military and masculine identity. Just as, until recently at least, the domestic sphere has appeared as a feminine space, the military has been the domain of masculine identities. As such, the definition provided by Aaron Belkin in his book, *Bring Me Men*, seems to be the most apt at accounting for the various apparent inconsistencies in the definition of military masculinity. He conceives of military masculinity as “a set of beliefs, practices and attributes that can enable individuals – men and women – to claim authority on the basis of affirmative relationships with the military or with military ideas” (Belkin 2012, 4). Though Belkin refers here strictly to masculinity in relation to the military ideal, one could argue that this approach towards masculinity can be

employed with respect to other types of masculinity as well.

Though there are many areas that come to play a role in how soldiers are represented, masculinity and the masculine ideal seem to factor in quite prominently. Arguably, this is due to the fact that, on the one hand, the warrior has been a masculine category par excellence, thus, the two categories inform each other throughout history, meaning that, shifts in masculine ideals will bear a significant weight on the representation of soldiers, and likewise, changes in the conceptualization of war will prompt changes in the representation of soldiers, and subsequently, masculine identities.

The characteristics often brought up when referring to a war-like environment are almost always gendered in some way, especially in relation to situations of power struggles. Naturally, this could be understood as a consequence of long standing patriarchal assumptions about the specific traits of each gender: masculinity is often associated with determination, action, whereas femininity is characterized by passiveness and submission.

Ultimately, in the conceptualization of masculine identity, the predominant myths surrounding soldiers come into contact with individuals. Certainly, military myths feature in a number of broader public narratives, such as those espoused by particular versions of the construction of the nation, and subsequently the people of that nation, their values, their history, and their enemies. Arguably, there is no environment in which these concepts bear more weight than that of the military, since in it is in this realm that people can actually take steps in order to defend, reinforce or further in a pragmatic, physical way, these otherwise abstract notions. Likewise, notions of masculinity, of authority and power, if one is to buy in to the patriarchal tradition, are bound not just with these public narratives, but also bear significant weight on the individuals themselves, in their day-to-day lives. If we indeed perceive masculinity more as matter of behavior, as Belkin proposes, how one enacts masculinity is ultimately a personal matter. Thus, military masculinity works not just as an institutionalized myth, imposed on people who remain otherwise passive, even in enacting it, but is rather the result of a dialogue, in which individuals receive these myths, but enact them in unique ways.

Traditional Masculinity and the Military Ideal in the U.S.A before the First World War

In his collection of essays, *The History of Men*, Michael Kimmel notes that, in their attempt to uncover what defines the “American”, most scholars point to roughly the same set of characteristics, “violence, aggression, extreme competitiveness, a gnawing insecurity” which, as he points out, “are also the defining features of compulsive masculinity, a masculinity that must always prove itself and that is always in doubt” (Kimmel 2005, 93). This need to prove ones masculinity came as a continuation of the 19th century concern with an emerging identity, that of the self-made man. As such, according to Kimmel, masculinity was no longer a given, rather it had to be achieved (Kimmel 2005). This meant that one’s masculinity was constantly under threat of being questioned or even denied. Since masculinity was no longer a clearly defined category, separating “real men” from all other possible identities became not just a matter of positive identification of features but also a matter of negative definition, a masculine identity emerging by contrast to that which was non-masculine. Of course, this is neither uniquely American, nor is it a uniquely 19th century approach, however, this clear split between masculine and non-masculine became an object of more focused concern during this period. Defining masculinity as opposed to all that is non-masculine also meant there was no room for grey areas, at least at the level of discourse. Moreover, the area best suited to develop the characteristics associated with this idealized version of masculinity was the military.

In practice however, the emergence of the middle-class proved quite a challenge to this strict dichotomy. Aaron Belkin argues that during the 18th and early 19th century, “Victorian standards of manliness had emphasized chivalry, self-restraint and honor, typified by the institution of the duel. Honor could be established by military service, but the duel was a civilian institution as well” (Belkin 2012, 13). He goes on to say that after the end of the 19th century, social shifts, particularly the rise of the middle class, the abolition of slavery and the rise of feminist movements prompted a shift in ideals. More specifically, the demands of self-restraint were replaced with “appropriations of rougher, lower-class codes of saloon masculinity which stressed prize fights, physical prowess, pugnacity and sexuality” in order to account for the social and economic changes that were

beginning the characterize the new middle-class self-made man, who would have otherwise been denied access to the masculine ideal (Belkin 2012, 13-14). This, Belkin argues, were the markers of so-called “primitive masculinity”. However, as he goes on to point out, at the same time “discourses of civilization were invoked to distinguish white Americans from racial minorities” (Belkin 2012, 14). Thus, already masculine identity rested on a contradiction, one which, according to Belkin, is essential for developing “good soldiers”.

Turning back to Kimmel’s assertion regarding the importance of violence in sketching the idealized masculine identity in the United States, the military seems to be the perfect environment for enacting and establishing this identity, which, as mentioned earlier, was now constantly under threat. Citing Neta Crawford, Belkin seems to agree with this assertion, noting that militarism and military violence have been central elements of American culture since 1607” (Belkin, 2012, 14). The image of the soldiers is thus painted in a mythical grandeur in the minds of young male Americans.

This glorification of the soldier became increasingly pronounced after the United States became involved in global processes, at the end of the 19th century. This new situation led to the realization that America’s role as a protector of freedom and democracy “[could] not [be met] without a strong, standing and federal military” (Belkin 2012, 15). According to Belkin, two trends regarding masculinity emerged; on the one hand, there was this new identity, as described earlier, with an emphasis on ruggedness and self-control, on the other, the glorification of the military as an institution (Belkin 2012, 15-16). Thus, it is plain to see that even before the beginning of the First World War, there was a pressure on young men to conform to this military ideal.

Glorifying the military is not a uniquely American practice. However, in the mythologizing process, in the case of the United States, several ideas factored in, ideas which, on the one hand, complicate the symbolic status of the soldier, on the other, facilitate the acceptance of this image as an ideal. For one thing, in this earlier period of the emergence of military masculinity as an ideal, America had been concerned with its status as an exceptional state, a defender of freedom and democracy across the world. Following the pragmatism that had been instilled in the American consciousness as an off-shoot of the Puritan

doctrine, joining the military would thus be the best way in which to participate in the consolidation of the mythical status of the U.S. as an exceptional state. This conceptualization of America as a defender of democracy is not wholly different than the European equivalent, that of conceptualizing the Empire as a civilizing force. However, unlike colonizers, the economic benefits for the U.S. were not immediately apparent, thus the myth could prevail as such. Naturally, this myth was not uncontested nor was it embraced wholeheartedly by all. However, the sense of an almost divine mission would carry on well throughout the 20th century, up until the late 1960s and the crushing defeat brought about by the Vietnam War. But the prevalence of this model prior to Vietnam was noticeable not just with respect to a military career, it also spilled into civilian life as well, “the broader applicability of the new code of civilian masculinity foreshadowed the military’s emergence as an important political entity which depicted itself as a symbol of the nation and the state for all Americans, not just some (Belkin 2012, 16). Thus military masculinity emerged both as a solution to the increased insecurity felt by (white) males, but also as a means of justifying America’s policies abroad.

World War I and the Development of Psychoanalysis

As Kimmel notes, “Every American generation since 1840 had fought in a war, and the generation of 1914 carried the additional burden of a masculinity-in-question [...] There was a lot on the line for America as a virile nation and enormous pressures on individual soldiers to prove themselves in battle, to emerge as a man among men” (Kimmel 2005, 90). After the First World War, the standard ideal of military masculinity did not radically alter. But some shifts did occur. One of the more significant developments was the rise of psychoanalysis. This new field of inquiry had been sketched earlier in the 19th century, with a particular focus on the issue of hysteria, which would later be developed into a broader study of trauma. In the context of the evolution of trauma as an object of study, the significance of the First World War cannot be denied. As Judith Herman points out, after a short period in which the popularity of the study of hysteria waned, “The reality of psychological trauma was forced upon public consciousness once again by the catastrophe of the First World War” (Herman 1992, 13). Herman goes on to say that “One of the many

casualties of the war's devastation was the illusion of manly honor and glory in battle (Herman 1992, 13). Herman is perhaps slightly over enthusiastic regarding the breakdown of the mythical status of the warrior. While there is an undeniable erosion of this status, the effects of the First World War on soldiers' psyche and the subsequent shift in the model of idealized masculinity are not instantaneous. However, this does not mean that the consequences of the emerging discussion on the effects of war on the soldiers' psyche are negligible. On the contrary, arguably, they prefigure the major turn that came after the Vietnam War.

One of the first issues encountered in the aftermath of World War I with respect to the effects of trauma on war veterans was how one could account for these effects, given the fact they seemed to go against the traditional imagining of soldiers and idealized masculinity in general. Whereas this ideal posited that men must be determined, honorable, and above all never let themselves fall prey to uncontrollable emotions, these men returning from war displayed quite the opposite reactions. As Herman describes, these glorious soldiers wept uncontrollably, had sudden bursts of anger with no apparent cause, froze up, in short, they displayed all the classical symptoms of female hysteria (Herman 1992). When it became obvious that physical injuries were not sufficient to justify these reactions, moral faults were invoked, "In the view of traditionalists, a normal soldier should glory in war and betray no sign of emotion. [...] The soldier who developed a traumatic neurosis was at best a constitutionally inferior human being, at worst a malingerer and a coward" (Herman 1992, 14). Thus, the justification provided, the myth could carry on unquestioned, regardless of the mounting evidence that the real experiences of soldiers on the front and the effects of these experiences were far removed from the idealized representation.

The reaction of the authorities regarding traumatic neurosis in soldiers was almost violent in nature. Judith Herman mentions the fact that some soldiers were liable to be court martialled or dishonorably discharged if they spoke out against the atrocities they had witnessed during the war (Herman 1992). These breakdowns were not taken as serious medical conditions, thus soldiers were actively encouraged to repress their already repressed trauma of the war. Part of the reason for this aggressive denial of the existence of traumatic neurosis in soldiers could be ascribed to the traditional ideal of military

masculinity as described above. But arguably there is also the fact that psychiatry itself emerged as a science that focused on women, more specifically on hysteria. As such, the object of inquiry for psychiatry was feminine in nature. Treating physical wounds was unproblematic, an absolute necessity in the case of war. Treating psychological ailments was, on the other hand, a practice which had focused primarily on women, thus, arguably, a feminized practice. Moreover, emotions had been traditionally a feminine realm. The symptoms of PTSD seemed to bring out precisely that which patriarchal representations of masculinity had tried to stamp out in men.

If one looks at the evolution of literature in the interwar period, it becomes apparent that indeed some of the institutionalized myths that had dominated public discourse in the years before the Great War were questioned. For one thing, the human psyche no longer appeared as a rational, perfectly intelligible object. Experimentation with the stream of consciousness technique in literature, as well as the development of cubism and expressionism in painting, betray a new understanding of the mind and the possibility of accurate representation in and through art. On the other hand, myths themselves were reinvented by authors such as T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, drawing on sources which could possibly have remained untainted. But throughout these attempts at reconceptualizing the grand narratives of the time, there is a definite sense of disenchantment. Ernest Hemingway's drab, uninvolved, emotionless prose is perhaps one of the most salient examples.

These examples have remained in history for their lasting impact on subsequent artistic movements. But at the level of popular culture, these explorations of long-standing symbols and myth were less frequent. And while these examples prove that there was some form of resistance against prevalent norms, arguably they do not echo the sentiments of the masses, but rather come as response precisely to the fact that society at large had yet to develop a critical understanding of these norms. One need look no further than the image of the Roaring Twenties, characterized by excessive drinking, drug abuse, jazz and a rediscovery of sexuality, while at the same time, Prohibition was in place. The two movements ran parallel until the '30s.

The developments in literature and arts seemed to be informed by the contemporary discussions on the construction of the human psyche. Though many are not directly concerned

with the effects of war and trauma, there are slippages which reveal certain attitude towards the individual in relation to others and towards themselves that is eerily reminiscent of Freud's notion of repression. In his early attempts at defining PTSD (then called "traumatic neurosis", Freud offers this definition: "A condition [...] which occurs after severe mechanical concussions, railway disasters and other accidents involving a risk to life" (Freud 1961, 6). Freud argued that because of the suddenness of the event, the ego, unable to cope with traumatic event, repressed and subsequently entered into a vicious loop of repetition, in an attempt to come to terms with the trauma, or in other words, "to restore an earlier state of things which the living entity has been obliged to abandon under the pressure of external disturbing forces" (Freud 1961, 30). While these assessments were made with respect to the individual, there is certainly a tendency in the arts of recovering a certain innocence that had been lost after the First World War. One could argue that the extreme excess and penchant for experimentation in all wakes of life of the Roaring Twenties function as a kind of mass compulsive attempt at coming to terms with the collective trauma of the Great War.

Children of Men: the Pressure to Conform to the Masculine Ideal during the World War II

As noted earlier, at the beginning of the First World War, men were faced with a double pressure: on the one hand, there was a long line of men who had served in the army and thus there was a pressure on young men to prove that they were worthy of their forefathers, on the other hand, masculinity was no longer a given, it had to be achieved and there was a constant threat of it being denied. For the generation that fought in the Second World War, one could add to these pressures created by the generation that had fought and survived in the First World War. By this point, World War I was still referred to as *The Great War*, thus the image these young men had to live up to was perhaps even more daunting than that of their fathers'.

Photography, Post-Memory and the Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma

So far, the representations of soldiers echoed idealized versions of masculinity. Real men were encouraged to keep their feelings bottled up, to avoid complaining about personal issues and to get the job done no matter what. This stereotype was not only enforced at an institutional level, but at the level of the family

as well, with generations of men who had served in the army passing on this tradition to their sons. The breakdown in this model that followed after World War II can be partly explained by the dynamics of the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Marianne Hirsch proposes the term post-memory to describe "the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth" (Hirsch 1997, 22). Though this concept was developed in relation to the children of Holocaust survivors, Hirsch believes "it may be useful to describe other second-generation memories of cultural and collective traumatic events and experiences" (Hirsch 1997, 22). Postmemory emerges on the basis of personal narratives combined with the presence of objects (especially photographs) that provide a certain degree of factuality to the narratives. As Roland Barthes observes, "language is, by nature, fictional [...] but the Photograph is indifferent to all intermediaries: it does not invent; it is authentication itself" (Barthes 1981, 87). It should be noted that this is the expectation of the viewer. Photographs are works of fiction, in a sense, in that they are constructed on the basis of deliberate choices made by their authors, authors who are themselves bound by their background to employ images in specific ways.

With the development of the equipment, photography became readily available to a wider audience, more so than it had been in previous decades. Moreover, the speedier process of capturing the image meant that subjects could now be caught on film in more natural poses. While photography had existed since the late 1800s, the relatively long period of time one had to stand still in order to produce a quality image meant that most subjects had a certain artificiality about them. Photographs would be taken at special occasions, thus the pictures would also be marked by a certain degree of ceremony and pomp. The myth of military masculinity thus had a certain continuity in the minds of the younger generation looking at these images of stern men in their Sunday best.

During World War I, photos of men that are less wrapped in an aura of authority start to emerge. Naturally, there are of course photos that become national images in support of the myth of military masculinity. But there are also personal photographs that often paint different pictures of these young men, now fathers and war veterans. Doubtless, if there were cases of PTSD, the contrast between pictures taken before the war and the person who survived it

would cast a shadow of doubt on the merits of glory and heroism as espoused by the rhetoric of the army.

From a psychological point of view, there indeed seems to be a transmission of trauma from fathers suffering from PTSD to their children. Rachel Dekel and Hadass Goldblatt have examined a number of studies on the intergenerational transmission of trauma, and they concluded that, while there are still many factors that have yet to be taken into account, there is clearly a tendency for children with parents suffering from PTSD to be affected by it (Dekel and Goldblatt 2008, 281). In the direct transmission of trauma, fathers often project their feelings of shame, guilt and persecution on to their children. As a result “the children may identify with the projected parts of their fathers’ emotions, and perceive his experiences and feelings as their own. These unconscious [...] may result in the development of symptoms that replicate the disturbances of the father such as social isolation, guilt and detachment” (Dekel and Goldblatt 2008, 284). Thus the virtue of repression appears not just at the level of public discourse, but also within the space of the family as well, with fathers passing on their trauma, and the values of traditional masculinity, to their children, who will eventually go on to fight in the Second World War.

Defining PTSD and Repression after the Second World War and Vietnam

In this context, by the end of World War II, the representation of soldiers was in dire need of reconceptualization. Kimmel argues that “In many ways, the post-war era, and especially the 1980s, resembles the turn of the century, in which similar economic and social changes have structured individual men’s struggles and America’s national struggle to appear heroic and masculine” (Kimmel 2005, 101). Indeed, there is a clear sense of crisis, not just with respect to masculinity, but with all institutionalized myths, a crisis which reached its height during the 1960s, with the Civil Rights movement. As described above, the idealized representation of the soldier, as constructed during the previous decades, was ostensibly white, male and middle-class. This image no longer felt adequate in the present state, since it ignored the contribution of African-Americans and women in the war effort.

After the Second World War, according to Judith Herman “[there] came a revival of medical interest in combat neurosis. In the hopes

of finding a rapid, efficacious treatment, military psychiatrists tried to remove the stigma from the stress reactions of combat. It was recognized for the first time that *any* man could break down under fire” (Herman 1992, 17). Thus the stigma on PTSD was slowly being removed. However, once again, this was a relatively slow process. The most significant change will occur after Vietnam, though arguably the seeds of this change had already been planted in this earlier period.

In *Hollywood Genres and Post War America*, Michael Chopra points out one of the major problems that followed after the end of the World War II, “The place of the ex-serviceman in postwar society was one of the major issues of the period immediately following the end of the war” (Chopra 2006, 95). Quoting de Bedts, Chopra mentions that, “As a result of America’s involvement in the war, around 31 million men were processed through selective service and around ten million of these men were actually drafted into the military” (qtd. in Chopra 2006, 95). While the most pressing issue was that of the economic impact of the return of so many men of working age, another issue was that of “the effects that the combination of training in the efficient use of violence and the brutalizing experiences of military service may have had on the psychological disposition of returning veterans, and consequently on their behaviour on returning to civilian life” (Chopra 2006, 95). In this context, masculinity had to be altered to fit the new social climate and conditions that had emerged, one that could account for the glorification of the soldier, while at the same time encouraging reassimilation into civilian life.

Masculinity as Performance

What Chopra notes, with respect to the representation of men in popular culture, is that masculinity is increasingly treated as a matter of performativity, “What we can observe in these discourses of the early postwar period is an opportunistic use of the idea that men’s identities may be performatively constituted rather than essential and inflexible” (Chopra 2006, 97). Of course, this new take on masculine identity is not actually a redefinition of gender as an essentially performative category, as it will be defined later on.

Chopra argues that military training has a dual purpose. On the one hand, it is meant to develop skills necessary for future soldiers, such as physical fitness and proper use of military

technology, on the other, training fulfills an ideological purpose, that of facilitating the transition from a civilian to a military identity (Chopra 2006). To illustrate his point, Chopra offers two similar accounts of how military masculinity is constructed. Waller points to military masculinity as a result of the environment of the army, arguing that the civilian identity is the “real” one, whereas Cherne argues that it is this civilian identity that masques an essentially violent, brutal nature (qtd. in Chopra 2006). While there is certainly a performative aspect to these accounts, rather than thinking of identity as something inherently fluid and flexible, there are only two basic poles between which masculinity can move. According to Chopra, “Cherne’s formulation works against any simple conception of civilian and soldierly masculinities as a dichotomy between essential core identities [...] Instead it suggests an identity consisting of a layering of successive performances leading to the production of particular synchronic performances of masculinity conditioned by the immediate social context, but which always retain traces of earlier performative modes” (Chopra, 2006, 101). While this layered identity is indeed moving more towards the notion of fluid identity, arguably it is still not fluidity that is essential to the definition of masculinity.

Shaping Military Masculinity through Contradictions and Paradoxes

The split that needs to be reconciled here is that between civilian and military life and what each of these two spheres of performance represent for the masculine identity. Reconciliation is problematic, since, if military masculinity is taken as the epitome of masculinity in general, than reintegrating former soldiers into civilian life would mean either reevaluating the significance of a military life or demoting them, as it were, to the status of civilians.

Traditionally, masculinity has been defined in opposition to whatever constituted the non-masculine, at least at the level of public discourse. In this case, the non-masculine counterpart of the military would be civilian life. Aaron Belkin argues that in the ideological construction of military masculinity, these apparently irreducible dichotomies form the basic mechanism for instilling obedience and conformity in soldiers. According to him, “the production of masculine warriors has required those who embody masculinity to enter into intimate relationships with femininity, queerness and other unmasculine foils, not just to disavow

them. The military has motivated service members to fight by forcing them to embody traits and identifications that have been framed as binary oppositions [...] and to deny those embodiments at the same time (Belkin 2012, 4). These contradictions offer a certain flexibility to the representation of soldiers, such that they may shift in order to fit the ideology of a certain period, while appearing to remain essentially the same. This flexibility, as noted by Belkin as well, is born out of necessity, rather than any concern for the individual’s identity.

Cowboys and Hardboiled Detectives: Masculinity in Post-war Popular Culture

While conceptualizing gender as an identity defined by flexibility is useful in critical analysis, with respect to the individual, this fluidity would be a major source of anxiety. Leo Braudy points out quite aptly the issues of representation faced by post World War II society, “Here was a central problem of democratic war: the disparity between the public image needed to inspire the troops – and the civilians at home – gets further and further separated from what is needed to win” (Braudy 2005). Popular culture needed to restabilize the essence of masculinity. Braudy argues that “in popular culture, it was the lonely hero – especially the cowboy and the detective – who furnished the image of stolid male heroism to counteract the fears of both anonymous atomic destruction and submersion in the totalitarian mass [...] postwar American popular culture reaffirmed and extended codes of camaraderie and alones for an audience [...] heavily made up of veterans, their families, and friends” (Braudy 2005). Braudy argues that Westerns created a sense of continuity of the masculine ideal, given the fact that most were set during the period from 1865 to 1880. Thus, the glorification of individual achievements, required in public discourse to further the image of the heroic soldier, could now be safely integrated into the image of the nation as a larger whole.

The cultural influence of the cowboy for American identity is unquestionable. As Jane Tompkins states in the opening of her book, *West of Everything*, “People from all levels of society read Westerns: presidents, truck drivers, librarians, soldiers, college students, businessmen, homeless people. They are read by women as well as men, rich and poor, young and old. In one way or another, Westerns [...] have touched the lives of virtually everyone who lived during the first three-quarters of this century” (Tompkins 1992, 5). Leo Braudy

indicates the popularity of Westerns, but his focus is on those created in the post-war era, "From 1946 to 1951, 20 percent of all U.S. movies made were westerns, and eight of the top ten television shows were too; fifty of the top grossing films between 1949 and 1952, twenty-five were westerns" (Braudy 2005). The importance of popular culture cannot be denied in this context, since, as was noted earlier, while at the level of academic discourse, there were attempts at rethinking male identity from a different perspective, at the level of the individual, there seems to have been a need for a reaffirmation of traditional models.

In her analysis of this genre, Tompkins identifies a number of features a protagonist must have "the qualities required of the protagonist are qualities required to complete an excruciatingly difficult task: self-discipline; unswerving purpose; the exercise of knowledge, skill, ingenuity, and excellent judgment; and a capacity to continue in the face of total exhaustion and overwhelming odds" (Tompkins 1992, 12). From this description, one can immediately recognize the generic features of that ideal masculine type as described earlier. There is also the tendency towards repression. What matters for a cowboy is fulfilling his duty, but rarely does he ever express any sort of emotional involvement. Likewise, on the issue of relationships, Tompkins notes, "the hero frequently forms a bond with another man – sometimes his rival, more often a comrade – a bond that is more important than any relationship he has with a woman [...] There is very little free expression of the emotions. The hero is a man of few words who expresses himself through physical action" (Tompkins 1992, 39). Of course, the point is not that all cowboys suffered from PTSD, but is interesting that this genre should attain such popularity during this period. It is not unlikely that, for veterans returning from war and their families, this representation of masculinity resonated with them. Repression and the inability to discuss traumatic experiences appeared not as a sign of weakness, but of manly stoicism.

During the '60s, a new cinematic genre emerges, that of film noir. According to Braudy, "Film noir merged with and reenergized the more individualist American hard-boiled detective style by focusing on heroes who struggle, desperately but often futilely, against phantasmagoric, all-powerful enemies" (Braudy 2005). Like the hero of the Western, the film noir detective tends to work alone. He is unable to establish meaningful relationships with other

characters, and when it comes to women, these relationships may even prove dangerous. Unlike Westerns, which seem to be structured almost like fairytales, with the focus on action and the results of those actions, film noir adds a psychological dimension to its protagonist, indicated directly through the use of voiceover commentaries made by this protagonist. However, often, the commentaries are mostly just observations, that almost never betray any emotional involvement. What matters for the detective is solving the mystery and dispensing justice.

The impact of Westerns and film noir on the public image of males and soldiers will become apparent after Vietnam, when the basic tropes of these genres will be recontextualized, not just in order to update them to fit the mentality of the time, but also as a critique of the myth they were supporting. As Braudy argues, regarding the image of the cowboy in post-war popular culture, "Held on for too long, that new image would become a trap itself and lead to the disillusionment of Vietnam" (Braudy 2005).

Redefining War and Soldiers after Vietnam in Popular Culture

For all the difficulties encountered during the Second World War, ultimately, the glorification of soldiers did carry on throughout the 1950s. Arguably, this due to the fact that, as far as public discourse was concerned, America was by and large regarded as a victor, "the good guy". This will all change, however after Vietnam.

For one thing, Vietnam will be America's first major defeat. The rhetoric of exceptionalism that had dominated all throughout the previous decades hinged on the myth that The United States had a sacred duty as defender of freedom and democracy. As described earlier, this conceptualization of America ran parallel to the glorification of the soldier as the embodiment of idealized traditional masculinity. Imposing freedom and democracy on the Vietnamese, however, proved to be a rather difficult task.

What's more, the Vietnam conflict was highly present in the media. World War II had also been represented in the press, but the images that reached a larger audience were largely in support of the institutionalized narrative regarding the war. During the Vietnam War, the public got to see a different side of the American military.

The issue of soldiers returning from war and having a hard time readjusting to civilian life had been a theme during the previous decades. In *Best Years of Our Lives*, for example, the entire movie focuses on this issue, with the three veterans each finding their own way to cope with life after the war. However, this type of movie was not, strictly speaking, in the category of popular movies. After Vietnam, this inquiry into the effects of war on soldiers was made even from the perspective of iconic representations of masculinity.

In 1964, *A Fistful of Dollars*, the first movie of the Dollars Trilogy, came out, and was a huge success. What is interesting about this trilogy is that, unlike earlier Westerns, such as those starring John Wayne, the morality of the main character is questionable. Whereas John Wayne's characters, however gruff, still remained clearly "good guys", fighting on the side of justice, Clint Eastwood's "Man with No Name" seems much more self-interested. Ultimately, his actions do benefit the weaker, disenfranchised, positive characters, however, his motivation is more survival and financial gain, rather than righting wrongs.

Regarding the representation of Vietnam, Paul Holsinger comments, <<Though Hollywood at first released a number of motion pictures that examined our lost national innocence, it was not long before other movies such as the "Rambo" series with Sylvester [...] and three "Braddock" pictures featuring karate champion Chuck Norris as an American colonel during and immediately after the war were produced to appease the hurt psyches of a large part of the American public>> (Holsinger 1999, 360-361). The "Rambo" type of character seems to have remained quite popular to this day, though it certainly has not had the impact of the cowboy. Arguably, these characters are, to a certain extent, the spiritual successors of the old cowboys.

The Contribution of the Cowboy Myth and Its Demise

In *Injured Men: Trauma, Healing and the Masculine Self*, Ira Brenner offers a number of case studies that are quite interesting in the constitution of male identity in relation to trauma. With the risk of overgeneralizing, it is interesting to note how often the interviewee references popular culture, especially cowboy movies, in order to describe the shock he experienced when faced with the reality of the battlefield. For instance, discussing the fact that he had not killed anyone during combat, to the

best of his knowledge, he mentions that, "I had this feeling and I can remember this clearly, thinking, so, if you're in Vietnam, you're walking around, there's some bad guys, you shoot 'em and you kill them, they don't then get up and kill you back like they do in cowboy movies 'cause we're all the cowboy TV generation, so I had this hypothesis, I guess, so if you have to kill somebody and nothing bad happens to you, then you realize killing isn't hard" (Brenner 2009, 122). And further on, describing the constant fear of getting ambushed, "we didn't get ambushed but the feeling of terror from that is something that I never forgot and I don't think any of the guys – you know, first of all, just kind of the sort of John Wayneism of it all, you know, John Wayne would attack the machine gun onslaught and, of course, all the guys would survive, so we knew better ..." (Brenner 2009, 130). It is not unlikely that many other young men sensed this discrepancy between the representations of manly approaches towards combat as depicted in Westerns and the actual conditions of the war. Rather than instilling a sense of pride and determination, these representations seem to have the opposite effect, according to the account of this veteran.

It would appear that the image of the soldier as the embodiment of idealized masculinity had finally been dismantled. After decades of accumulated pressure stemming from institutionalized glorification of the soldier, coupled with media representations of stoic manliness and last, but not least, personal family history and legacies, young men had reached the point in which they could no longer ignore the inadequacies of this model.

Soldiers as Victims

Describing the dichotomies around which military masculinity is constituted, Belkin provides a short list of oppositions; naturally, the basic one is masculine/feminine, from which the others derive, such as the opposition between strong and weak, or dominant/subordinate. In this category, Belkin also includes the opposition victor/victim (Belkin 2012). Since public discourse tended to focus on the masculinity of the soldiers as their defining feature, at an institutional level, there was a reluctance to portray soldiers as victims. There were of course cases of soldiers who had suffered physical injuries, but these men were cast as martyrs, as people who had been willing to make enormous sacrifices for their country, rather than victims.

Naturally, soldiers were not just represented as victims (the *Rambo* series provides sufficient evidence to the contrary). But after nearly sixty years, it was finally recognized at a public level that soldiers could be victims as well.

This new outlook on the representation of soldiers had consequences in the development of psychoanalysis as well, <<The moral legitimacy of the antiwar movement and the national experience of defeat in a discredited war had made it possible to recognize psychological trauma as a lasting and inevitable legacy of war. In 1980, for the first time, the characteristic syndrome of psychological trauma became a “real” diagnosis. In that year the American Psychiatric Association included in its official manual of mental disorders a new category, called “post-traumatic stress disorder>> (Herman 1992, 19). This change came in the context of a broader reconceptualization of victimhood.

Rethinking Victimhood after the Holocaust

According to Anne Roth “the broadcast of testimony from the Eichmann trials radically transformed the meaning of victimhood, introduced to social roles of witness and survivor into the public sphere, and disseminated these newly generated human kinds widely” (Rothe 2011, 22). Rothe defines human kinds as opposed to natural kinds, the difference being that human kinds “do not exist independently of the knowledge we create about them” (Rothe 2011, 22). Of course, people had been victims before the emergence of victimhood as a special category, however, what this category presupposed was brought to the public’s attention intensely after the Holocaust. Traditionally, victims were associated with a kind of passivity, whereas the perpetrator would have been the active element in this relationship. As such, victimhood would have been a “feminine” category, whereas the perpetrator (or victor, in Belkin’s account) would be associated with masculinity. After the Eichmann trials, however, victims now held agency in the eyes of the public. They were able to discuss their suffering and experience.

Thus, accepting the new image of the soldier as victim was not such a radical move as it may first appear to be. As Rothe comments, “the identities of victim, survivor, and witness rose to cultural dominance in the Western public sphere with the radio and TV transmission of testimony from the Eichmann trial” (Rothe 2011, 23). Thus, the new mode of understanding

victimhood permitted the reconceptualization of effects of trauma on soldiers, and the new representations of soldiers as victims were not actually leaning towards a “feminization” of the traditional discourse, but actually continued to play on the same binary oppositions that had already been in place. The status of the perpetrator had also been reconceptualized as a consequence. According to Rothe’s definition, perpetrators were generally thought of as people who caused gratuitous suffering by inflicting physical pain. However, in the context of advanced capitalism, with all its intricacies, identifying the individual responsible became nearly impossible and consequently, the role of perpetrator had now come to be attributed to abstract entities which, when anthropomorphized, served to “ensure the status quo that generated insidious victimization inherent in capitalism, patriarchal, ethnocentric, and hetero-normative hegemony remains unquestioned” (Rothe 2011, 24). The soldier was himself a victim of these higher powers, that, however anthropomorphized they may have been in media representations, still remained abstract entities. As survivors of war, their heroism and determination could remain unquestioned, even when faced with mental breakdowns or the undertaking of questionable actions, such as mass bombings or killing innocent civilians.

The concept of suffering itself underwent changes in this period. According to Rothe, “There are two traditions of understanding suffering in Western culture” (Rothe 2011, 24). On the one hand, there is the notion of suffering as sign of mental illness, brought about by the introduction of PTSD in the *Diagnosis and Statistics Manual of Mental Disorders* in 1980, which meant that “suffering acquired the meaning of a belated and long-term psychological state” (Rothe 2011, 24). On the other hand, according to Rothe, there is still the Christian notion of suffering as purification which has led to the representation of victims as “modern-day quasi-saints” and has invested suffering with “redemptive value” (Rothe 2011, 24). Representing soldiers as martyrs was of course not a modern-day invention.

Rothe adds another dimension to the Christian tradition of suffering as purification, “Beyond the revival of Christian notion of suffering in American Holocaust discourse, the transformation of sufferers into saint-victims became dominant in Western culture because of the ethical imperative that senseless suffering is unjust [...] victims generally find it intolerable

to think that their suffering and survival were arbitrary, and thus reinterpret suffering into a sacrifice and attribute metaphysical meaning to their survival” (Rothe 2011, 25). Though this new perspective on the value of suffering was foregrounded in relation to Holocaust victims, to a certain extent, the same conditions apply to Vietnam veterans. In all the other major wars discussed so far, the United States had come out victorious. Suffering was easily justifiable as a small price to pay for the greater good. In the case of Vietnam, however, there was no clear justification for the suffering endured by soldiers. The war that had dragged on much too long ultimately ended in a humiliating defeat for America. Anti-war movements fostered an inhospitable atmosphere for soldiers returning from Vietnam. Representing soldiers as victims in this context elicited sympathy from the wider public, while at the same time, the return to the Christian notion of suffering as a means of ennobling the spirit ensured the continued glorification of soldiers.

War in Popular Culture during and after Vietnam

Naturally, casting soldiers as victims of war is not the only possible representation in this period. Neither was the dominant myth of masculinity in previous decades. In popular culture, traditional representations coexist with these newer modes of understanding masculinity and the effect of trauma on the male psyche, and hence, masculine identity.

The pervasiveness of the soldier as victim image may explain why, for example, in Martin Scorsese’s *Taxi Driver* (1976) just one brief mention of Travis Bickle’s honorable discharge, toward the beginning of the movie, sets the tone for the entire movie. From that one line, it can be assumed that the audience will be able to fill in Travis’ background in order to better understand his seemingly insane decisions to follow. His tendency of acting as a knight in shining armor with no clear motivation is perhaps meant to echo the frustration of veterans who had grown up in the shadow of military figures fighting for just causes, but who were now left without a cause of their own.

Coppola’s *Apocalypse Now* (1979) is perhaps an even more biting critique of the military myth. This adaptation of Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* not only questions the purpose of the Vietnam war and the effects of this traumatic experience on the lives of the soldiers involved, it also seemingly extends this critique to the issue of America’s imperialist

tendencies and the value of war in general, by transplanting Conrad’s original narrative, about Belgian colonies in the Congo, and placing it in the context of Vietnam.

As mentioned earlier, the victim position implies the existence of a perpetrator. Since it is difficult to pin the blame on any one person for the suffering endured by soldiers, the perpetrator becomes a vague, abstract entity. In Stanley Kubrick’s *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964), suffering emerges as a result of the paranoia and confusion of those in charge. Similarly, in *Catch-22* (1961) by Joseph Heller, the authorities that control the soldiers’ lives, who are never actually present, operate by means of absurd regulations and bewildering orders. The soldiers appear to be in a perpetual state of confusion, with some going insane. A similar hint of absurdism can be encountered in the popular TV series *M.A.S.H.* (1970). The grim intro sequence coupled with the theme song, “Suicide is Painless” contrasts violently with the occasional laugh track and the overall tone of a typical episode.

While some of the examples mentioned are not concerned with Vietnam specifically, there is undoubtedly a more general reimagining of military myths that led to these representations. Vietnam thus worked as a catalyst for a preexisting tendency that, arguably, was in motion after the World War II, and even earlier.

Soldiers in Contemporary Culture

While there are still competing versions of masculinity, and hence competing conceptualizations of soldiers in the media and popular culture, this trend of representing soldiers such that a larger audience may sympathize with their struggles has carried on. With the inclusion of women in the military, public discourse seems to have dropped the term “soldier”, signaling perhaps a shift in mentality regarding the relation between masculinity and the military. Looking at speeches made by George W. Bush and Barack Obama, both tend to refer to soldiers as either “the troops” or “the (brave) men and women”, with numerous references to their sacrifice and their families back home (Bush 2003a; Bush 2003b; Bush 2003c; Obama 2011; Obama 2014). The performative aspect of military life is reinforced by references to the “uniform” and other visible markers of military affiliation. In effect, these speeches cast soldiers as civilians in special attire, willing to make great sacrifices for their

families and America. The bond between civilian life and military life is strengthened by this back and forth movement between the realities of war and the civilian life these people have left behind.

In popular culture, the variation in representation is somewhat larger. Cinema is perhaps most diverse, with representations of soldiers ranging from victims, to martyrs, to more traditional representations, to those that take the traditional imagery to comical extremes.

In more recent media, such as video games, interestingly enough, soldiers often appear to follow the traditional pattern of masculinity. Six popular video game franchises, *Wolfenstein*, *Call of Duty*, *Battlefield*, *Red Orchestra*, *Brothers in Arms*, *Company of Heroes* and *Sniper Elite* focus on the Second World War, to say nothing of the numerous tank, and plane simulators that are set against the background of World War II. There are of course video games that focus on other wars as well, or that have broader historical takes on armed conflict, yet, these franchises are perhaps among the most popular and all focus on the same period. Arguably, the narrative associated with the Second World War is one of the more simple ones, with a clear divide between “good guys” and “bad guys”. The medium, being relatively new, it is still in a phase of heavy experimentation in terms of its affordances, hence the interest in simpler narratives. Though, already there are some video games that try to break away from the pattern, such as *Spec Ops: The Line* (2012), which is yet another adaptation of Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, this time set in the Middle East, thus inscribing more recent conflicts into a larger critique of imperialist tendencies.

With the emergence of online media platforms, new, personal representations of soldiers have started to emerge. *Youtube* features numerous videos either made by soldiers or by their families, with videos of soldiers returning home to their families being among the most popular. While some of these videos are picked up by major news outlets, thus furthering the recent sympathetic representation of soldiers, undoubtedly many, if not most of these videos were not created with a clear agenda in mind. The impact of such videos remains to be seen.

Conclusion

That the image of the soldier has undergone changes since the beginning of the 20th century

is probably to be expected. As with any public representation, the myth has to be periodically revisited in order to better suit the needs of the time. In the conceptualization of the military ideal, there are many factors which have not been discussed, such as class and race. These notions are themselves closely associated with gender. Unfortunately, the complex relationships established at the interface of these categories make it almost impossible to consider them all at length at the same time. Nevertheless, it is important to at least bear in mind that these categories do factor in at all times.

Discussing soldiers as an inherently gendered group, the contribution of psychoanalysis brings to light the damaging effects of patriarchal stereotypes, not only on women, but on men as well. While stoicism, bravery and the ability to maintain one’s emotions in check at all times are not necessarily things to be avoided, when employed as markers of an ultimately unattainable ideal, these features will contribute to furthering the suffering of those who, for whatever reason, fall short of the ideal. Once the inability to voice one’s emotions comes to be understood not as virtue, but perhaps as a sign that someone is suffering, the process of healing may eventually commence.

The frustration caused by the clash between the military ideal and reality of war, coupled with decades of institutionally enforced repression finally broke out after the Vietnam defeat, thus showing that, ultimately, stoicism has, or perhaps must have, its limits.

Though the traditional masculine ideal has not been completely abolished, nor has the glorification of soldiers ceased, there have been some significant changes in public discourse. To what extent these changes have actually had an effect on the public’s perception of soldiers is somewhat harder to assess. With the advent of new media and thus new modes of public expression of private opinion, there will undoubtedly be more changes to come.

References

a. Books

- Barthes 1981** *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York, Hill and Wang (1981).
- Belkin 2012** Belkin, Aaron, *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American*

- Braudy 2005** Empire, 1989-2001, New York, Columbia University Press (2012).
Braudy, Leo, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, New York, Vintage Books (2012).
- Brenner 2009** Brenner, Ira, *Injured Men – Trauma, Healing and the Masculine Self*, Lanham, Jason Aronson, (2009).
- Chopra-Gant 2006** Chopra-Gant, Mike, *Hollywood Genres and Postwar America: Masculinity, Family and Nation in Popular Movies and Film Noir*, London and New York, I.B. Tauris, (2006).
- Freud 1961** Freud, Sigmund, *Beyond the Pleasure Principal*, New York, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. (1961).
- Herman 1992** Herman, Judith, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*, New York, Basic Books (1992).
- Hirsch 1997** Hirsch, Marianne, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard UP (1997).
- Holsinger 1999** Holsinger, Paul M., *War and American Popular Culture – A Historical Encyclopedia*, Westport, Greenwood Press (1999).
- Kimmel 2005** Kimmel, Michael, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities*, Albany, State University of New York Press (2005).
- Rothe 2011** Rothe, Anne, *Selling the Pain of Others in the Mass Media*, New Brunswick, Rutgers UP (2011).
- Tompkins 1992** Tompkins, Jane, *West of Everything: The Inner lives of Westerns*, New York, Oxford University Press (1992).

b. Papers in periodical journals

- Dekel and Goldblatt 2008** Dekel, Rachel and Hadass Goldblatt, *Is There Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma? The Case of Combat*

Veterans' Children. In: *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 78, no. 3 (2008).

c. Internet sources

- Bush, 2003a** Bush, George W., *President Bush's Address on the Iraq Invasion*. In: *Wall Street Journal* (18 March 2013) <http://blogs.wsj.com/dispatch/2013/03/18/full-text-of-president-george-w-bushs-speech-march-19-2003/> (on 2 July 2015).
- Bush 2003b** Bush, George W., *Full text: George Bush's speech to troops*. In: *The Guardian* (26 March 2003) <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/mar/26/iraq.usa1> (on 2 July 2015).
- Bush 2003c** Bush, George W., *Address at Camp Lejeune*. On: *American Rhetoric – Online Speech Bank* (3 April 2003) <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/wariniraq/gwbushiraq4303.htm> (on 2 July 2015).
- Obama 2011** Obama, Barack, *Obama on Afghanistan Troop Withdrawal*. On: *ABC News* (22 June 2011) <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/transcript-obama-afghanistan-troop-withdrawal-full-speech/story?id=13906420> (on 2 July 2015).
- Obama 2014** Obama, Barack, *Remarks by the President at the United States Military Academy Commencement Ceremony*. On: *The White House* (28 May 2014) <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/28/remarks-president-united-states-military-academy-commencement-ceremony> (on 2 July 2015).

Old Identity Constructions in New Clothes: on Regional Identities in the Cultural Post-Communist Press of Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina*

Anca FILIPOVICI

Postdoctoral researcher, "Petru Maior" University of Târgu-Mureș

E-mail: anca.filipovici@yahoo.com

Abstract. The present study aims to depict the construction of the regional cultural identity in Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina after 1989, by appealing to one of the most relevant sources: the cultural press. I investigated the main cultural reviews from the regions, published after 1990. For Banat and Transylvania, the relevant papers debating this subject were *Orizont* [Horizon] and *A Treia Europă* [The Third Europe] (Timișoara), *Aurora* (Oradea), *Alteră* and *Vatra* (Târgu Mureș), *Provincia* [The Province] (Cluj). Less active in the cultural field is Bukovina. I chose here to tackle the main Romanian review from Cernăuți, Ukraine – *Glasul Bucovinei* [Bukovina Voice] – and a review from Suceava, called *Bucovina literară* [Literary Bukovina]. The identity issue has several approaches or level of debates. 3 main directions were easily traced: 1) a re-connection of Transylvania to the concept of the Central Europe; 2) a redefining of the “Transylvanism” and “Bukovinism”. 3) the old literary complexes as regional – but mainly provincial – landmarks.

Keywords: center-periphery, regional identity, Banat, Transylvania, Bukovina, cultural press.

One of the most dynamic and creative historical processes is the making of the national identity. All sorts of instruments are at the disposal of the elites for modeling the identity of a nation: the folklore, literature and arts, national sports, monuments translated into mass culture (Thiesse 2000, 170). Identity is also a social construct always subject of reinvention. The historical turning points tend to challenge and redefine the identity landmarks, regardless of whether we speak about national, regional or individual identity (Dubar 2003). The heterogeneous Romanian space faced active manifestations of the regional identity, starting with the process of creating the Romanian nation, a process based on centralization on all the pillars of the society. The centralized system replicated after the French model left no room for regional assumption, as all the elements of the nation had to follow the same path. Especially after 1918, preserving regional individualities might have been the equivalent of

risking centrifugal tendencies (Livezeanu 1998). And this was something the Romanian authorities could not afford. Instead, the centralization generated certain complexes of the provinces that shaped the identity in the peripheries subordinated to the capital of Bucharest.

The historical background

In 1859 the principalities of Moldova and Țara Românească joined the Kingdom of Romania and the capital of Iași was replaced with a new center: Bucharest. This was the first “attack” on the regional pride of Moldova, a province that was said to be superior on the intellectual level, but far behind on the economic and social sphere. The second turning point: the Great Union in 1918 marking an unexpected victory in the process of creating the national unitary Romanian state. The provinces of Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia unified with the Kingdom doubled the territory and the population of Romania. As any historical process, this had also a reverse side. Former territories of the deceased empires (Austro-Hungarian and Russian), the provinces had a multiethnic population, with a cultural and identity inheritance that could not be erased overnight. Hence the process of Romanianization

* The research presented in this paper was supported by the European Social Fund under the responsibility of the Managing Authority for the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development, as part of the grant POSDRU/159/1.5/S/133652.

and unification proved to be sometimes overwhelming (Hausleitner 2001). On the other hand, the Romanian elite (especially in Transylvania and Bukovina) had a well-marked consciousness of the membership to the Romanian nation and also of the role they played in the creation of the state. However, the unifications measures imposed by the central authorities led to controversy around the center-periphery binomial (Boia 2015). In fact, it was about the subordination of the whole country to a single center of decision-making: the main political and cultural institutions were established in Bucharest; the regulations on all levels emanated from the center; the political representation of the provinces was diminished; the cultural and literary tendencies were also the appanage of the publishing houses and media from the capital. Furthermore, the abrupt centralization determined also the so-called superiority complexes manifested as a recovery reflex inside the parochial discourse of blaming the decaying capital.

In the communist decades, the theme of the regional identity is removed from the historical and cultural discourse as the centralization model reached its peak. No other identity was to be assumed except the Romanian one. The regional geography was reduced only to regional monographs reflecting the county geographies, while the cultural geography was banned out of ideology matters. The regionalist studies developed only under the frame of the “physical determinism” (Bendek 2009, 234). In the 80’s, even the historiography of the regions was to be forbidden. The things were even more complicated with Bukovina and Bessarabia: the northern of Bukovina was occupied by the Red Army in 1944 and today is part of the Ukrainian state. Bessarabia was also annexed by the Soviet Union and became an independent state in 1991, under the name of the Republic of Moldova.

The falling of the Ceaușescu regime in December 1989 led to a new chapter for Romania. There were high hopes and expectations revolving around democracy, freedom or market economy. The transition to a new modern European state was however extremely difficult, since the personal interest of the politicians arising from the ashes of Communism and the corruption replaced any democratic tradition. And this, despite of the famous 8th Point of the Proclamation of Timișoara. Put in a Western conceptualization, the

transformation of Romania as a former eastern country had to follow the difficult path of a “double synchronicity”: the integration to the West in the frames of a both-ways process and, secondly, the dealing with a profound transformation at the intern level challenging the society itself (Wagner 2004, 59). On the cultural sphere, an old phenomenon was reactivated: the freedom of expression permitted the cultural elites from the peripheries to stand for the reaffirmation of the provinces. The cultural press in Transylvania and Bukovina started to take small steps towards questioning the regional identity and the relation of the peripheries with the Capital. The identity issue has several approaches or level of debates, and is strongly connected to certain social and political events that trace the recent history of the post communist Romania. From the beginning, we have to draw the attention to the limited subject of investigation tackling the Romanian press only. For all that, the conclusion is far from a truncated image of the cultural regionalism.

The Re-connection to the Central Europe

The appurtenance to the spirit of the Central Europe was first designed after 1918 as a form of a superior identity complex. The dissatisfaction with the way of making politics in Bucharest created, on a certain level, two antagonistic blocks: one “touched” by the negative connotations of the “Balkanism”, represented by the Romanians from the Kingdom and the other one represented by the provinces (mainly Transylvania and Bukovina) that kept the virtues inherited from the disciplined Austro-Hungarian Empire. Of course, it was a matter of auto- and hetero-stereotypes, however, with a certain grain of truth (Stanzel 2003, 293). The imaginary geography of a Central Europe pending between East and West was relaunched in the 80’s, by Polish and Czech intellectuals. The Balkans as a geographic space at the periphery of Europe are not the product of the imaginary. However, the name received a sum of pejorative clichés traced back as discourse to the violent Balkanic wars (1912-1913) and after the Cold War, to the conflict in Yugoslavia. To this historical context there were progressively added many inadvertences resulted from a lack of geographical knowledge, an interfering of political and ideological factors and the extension of some local events to the whole region (Todorova 2000, 21).

Balkanism would designate thus the tribal, the primitive, the barbarian; an underdeveloped world at the periphery of the Western civilization. The place of Romania in the “Balkanic” picture has a relative dimension. Some cultural geographers exclude the country from the Balkans, other place only the Old Kingdom among them. Hungary, however, is associated exclusively to South-Eastern Europe (Todorova 2000, 55). The proximity with this country and the former status of Austro-Hungarian provinces explain the dissociation of Banat and Transylvania – and sometimes Bukovina – from the Balkans, while imaginary connecting the rest of the country to this blamed space. Banat and Transylvania assume thus the role of a bridge towards Central Europe, another symbolic concept recreated sometimes by means of reflective nostalgia (Boym 2001).

According to an analysis, after the 90's, the reaction of the Romanian intellectuals to the reinvention of Central Europe comprises four typologies. The democratic opponents of the Iliescu regime revealed the strong differences between the two spaces, in order to highlight the wrong path of the Romanian policies. Others rejected unequivocally the ideologically constructed myth of Central Europe, for the consequence of excluding the South-Eastern countries. The radical regionalists marched on the common identity of Transylvania and Banat with the Central Europe and the necessity for these regions to take the lead in the European integration. Finally, the moderate intellectuals promoted a political, cultural and economic integration with the Višegrad group, starting also from the premises of the Romanian-Hungarian political reconciliation in 1996 (Iordachi, Turda 1998, 161). The intellectual initiatives of the cultural press from Banat and Transylvania represent a mélange of the last two attitudes.

In Banat, the theme of the re-connection to the Central Europe evolved from a literary survey to a research project, due to the research group *The Third Europe* from Timișoara (Mircea Mihăieș, Cornel Ungureanu, Adriana Babeți, Daniel Vighi).

In 1990, *Orizont* [*Horizon*] review rediscovered the attraction to an intermediary Europe, placing though only the Banat region in the center of the discussion. Reaffirming the particular identity of this region proved to be the first step to a linkage with Central Europe. Issue no. 33/17 August 1990 was dedicated to the

novels, histories or diaries inspired by the *topos* of Banat, while a month later, the review announced the creation of the Institute for Central and South-Eastern European Studies (Orizont 1990). Five years later the issue still aroused the interest. Issue no. 2/14 February 1995 explores the valences of the regional identity and of the memory that creates this distinct construct (Orizont 1995). Lots of papers on Banat are being published. And the timing is not incidentally: in 1995 Romania signed the Association Agreement with the European Union. It seems that the country was not lost on its path to Europe, while Transylvania and Banat could be the proper link to the “civilized” world. This was also the argument of the editors who promoted the local cultures as a natural reaction to the danger of an abstract and bureaucratic European construction (Orizont 1995, 3-5). Furthermore, a series of articles (Orizont 1995a, 4-5) approached the identity on a specific level, questioning the values, culture and characteristics of Timișoara, the capital of Banat. Some local cultural personalities tried to define the spirit of the city. The answer ranged between placing Timișoara to the gates of Europe, as a symbol of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, pragmatism and aristocracy and rejecting any specificity, as the city was said to be cultural inactive before the 90s.

In 1997, the subject develops within the review *A Treia Europă* [*The Third Europe*], coordinated by the same research group from Timișoara: “we intend to rediscover *the third Europe*, overshadowed by political, cultural, literary superstitions and obscured by the nationalist fanatics everywhere” (Argument 1997). The whole demarche was recuperative. Banat searched for an alternative center, a counter model of the autochthonous center. A year earlier new legislative and presidential elections took place in Romania. After a contested mandate of the ex-communist leader Ion Iliescu, in 1996 the CDR (The Romanian Democratic Convention) coalition, as opponent of the National Salvation Front (FSN), took the power and Emil Constantinescu won the elections (54.4% in the 2nd round). The new government committed to a large series of reforms, but the rhythm was extremely slow. The internal conflicts between the parties of CDR rushed the emergence of crises and failures. The disappointment increased especially in the western part of the country, as the decisive vote in 1996 was conferred by Transylvania. This

won't be the last time when the political options of Transylvania draw an imaginary border between this province and the rest of the country (see Molnar, Andreescu 1999). In fact, it was about the reactivation of the old cliché: Transylvania "pulls" the country to the democratic West, while the Old Kingdom cannot quit the corrupted Balkanic habits. The political background can thus explain the wake-up call of the intellectuals from Timișoara for a cultural linkage with Central Europe. The main debate within the *Third Europe* review is structured in a series of surveys exploring the connections of Romania with Central European space intermediated by authors, themes and mentalities. Over 20 writers, essayists or literary critics share their opinions. Most of them associate only Banat region and some cities from Transylvania, together with Bukovina and Cernăuți, to the spirit of Central Europe. A clear delimitation dissociates the cultural and spiritual inheritance from any political implications. The manifestations of the spirit lies in identity landmarks like administrative discipline, decentralization (Adrian Marino), tolerance, nostalgia, regionalism (Ion Simuț), equilibrium, illusions, hopes, anguishes (Vladimir Tismăneanu), multiculturalism, dialogue. However, names like Eminescu, Slavici, Caragiale or the Transylvanian School are designated as the channels for the penetration of the central-Europeanness in the Romanian culture. Identity is also built by the reference to the Otherness. In this context, the Otherness seems to be the inhabitants across the Carpathians, in Moldova and Muntenia. The stereotypic invoking of the "Balkanism" characteristic of the "Regăteni" would place the western province on a higher level of civilization. The tendency of idealization is obvious when emphasizing on the mental differences between regions. In fact, the identification of Banat and Transylvania with Central Europe derives probably from the feeling of exclusion partially conceivable: the complex of the periphery marked the identity crises of fin-de-siècle Wien, while the provinces of the 90s claim their discontents in relation to the capital. The apple of discord comes most of the times from the welfare distribution mechanism and the decreased trust in the capacity of the state to solve the society problems. The emphasis of the historian Ion Bulei is very suggestive: "We are not such a unitary culture as believed. The 1918 Union was a political union. It

was not total back then nor nowadays, especially in terms of culture" (Orizont 1998, 23).

The echo of the initiatives deployed by the *Orizont* [*Horizon*] review manifested also in the *Aurora* review from Oradea. The publication led by Ioan Derdișan, Ioan Țepelea, Ion Simuț appeared under the auspices of the Society of the Man of Science and Writers from Bihor. In the first issue in 1993, the editors claimed that *Aurora* delineates from any temptation of bad provincialism or regionalism, intending to rouse the local cultural life (*Aurora* 1993, 11). The motto of the demarche was that bad provincialism is not the same thing with exploring the local/regional particularities. Thus, in the 2nd issue, *Aurora* opens the same research file as *Orizont*: the identity of the Central Europe and the relation of Oradea to this mental specter. During several issues, the review will reproduce excerpts from authors of the Central Europe, translations and studies. The purpose of this demarche is very clearly stated by Ion Simuț: the dual affiliation has to come clear in the contemporary consciousness, because Oradea (and Transylvania) is a province of Romania and a cultural province of Europe (*Aurora* 1994). The central-European identity is visual and mental as revealed by the Jugendstil facades, downtown squares, multiculturalism and the general urban atmosphere that connects Transylvania with the civilized spirit of Prague (Mihaiu 1994, 46-48). Furthermore, the first steps towards European integration started in 1995 determine the organization at Oradea of the colloquy regarding Romania and Central Europe. A few questions have mapped the debate, from the meaning of the identity to the geographic delimitation. However, one of the interrogations seemed to be dilemmatic: is the fascination of the West an imaginary escape from reality? The main idea expressed during the interventions at the colloquy refers to the shaping of Transylvania as an interference zone between West and Balkans. And although the European component is well assumed, the Balkanism tends to be repudiated (*Aurora* 1995, 75-79). Thus, the question above is converted into a real charge brought by some intellectuals from the center to the provincial claims of connections to the Central Europe. Timișoara Open College (the foundation of the *Third Europe* research group) debated this aspect in 2001, with Horia Roman Patapievici as guest. The philosopher saw the so-called identity of Banat as "bovaric" and "fashionable", a way of

dissociation from the Romanian identity in hard times. In his opinion, the demarches of the *Third Europe* group seemed rather opportunistic in 2000 Romania (Orizont 2001, 16-17). However, Patapievici did not take into account that before 1989, such initiatives could not be initiated. A lack of understanding on how provinces with multicultural inheritance work can be easily traced.

Double-sided Landmarks: “Transylvaniam” and “Bukovinism”

The terms emanated after the 1918 Union from the ethnic minorities intellectuals who proposed thus an alternative identity to the one created by harsh centralization policies. The feedback of the Romanian nationalistic politicians rejected brutally any tendency of cosmopolitanism, arguing that *homo transilvanicus* or *homo bucovinensis* are only abstract, anti-national creations.

In 1990, Târgu Mureş was the scene of what will be later called “The Black March”. Violent incidents between Romanians and Hungarians took place on the occasion of celebrating the 15th of March, the national day of Hungarians everywhere. The three hundred injured victims and even a couple of dead people were a huge disappointment for what it was supposed to represent the “Transylvaniam”: a peaceful cohabitations between ethnics. *Vatra* review from Târgu Mureş, coordinated by Cornel Moraru and Al. Cistelean, was one of the first stones placed for rebuilding normal relations between Romanians and Hungarians. The review also debated the Transylvanian spirit, trying to reinforce the multi-ethnicity as a regional identity landmark. In 1991, the review conducted a survey called “What is Transylvania?”. Among a lot of poetic references and definitions, almost all respondents insisted on the equivalence between Transylvania and Europe. Al. Muşina was even more radical: Transylvania “is the last chance of being again in Europe. On the condition that the capital will be moved to Ardeal”. Many other responses allude to the political transgressions and to the manipulation undertaken by the Romania Mare Party (PRM) (Vatra 1991, 11). In 1994, Aurora review from Oradea had a similar demarche with the survey conducted by Ovidiu Pecican and called “Talks about Transylvania”. Professionalism, civilization, central-European mentality, but also the identity crisis were the main directions approached by the respondents.

Aurora also re-published excerpts from articles and studies on Transylvania signed by authors like Eliade or Noica, in order to highlight the distinct place this region is worth having. In 1995, *Altera* review conducted by the Pro Europe League tried to argue scientifically the idea of regionalism and proposed thorough research on the history and culture of the ethnic minorities in Romania. Issue no. 6/1997 approaches a courageous subject for that time: federalism, including the federalist traditions in Transylvania (Vatra, 1997).

If other reviews were in search of an alternative imaginary center, *Provincia* [*The Province*] review from Cluj proposed Transylvania as head leader of Romania, in the frames of a daring project with administrative and political bases. The proposal took place in 2000-2002, from a Romanian-Hungarian initiative, reuniting publicists and intellectuals like: Al. Cistelean, Gusztáv Molnar, Caius Dobrescu, Sabina Fati, Marius Lazăr, Daniel Vighi, Ovidiu Pecican. Though misunderstood, the project had a very constructive side, promoting the inter-ethnic dialogue based on the common history and traditions. Sharing this desideratum was not by chance. The statistics of the 2000 elections offer a proper interpretation grid: in the first round, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the leader of the extremist party Romania Mare obtained a high percentage (30-40%) in Transylvania, indicating the tense relations between Romanians and Hungarians. Some accused though that the tension was maintained and exploited from the center, PRM being a party created and coordinated from Bucharest. In the 2nd round, however, Ion Iliescu won the presidency with 66% votes. Another aspect of *Provincia* [*The Province*] referred to the administrative reform consisting in a profound decentralization, allowing the province of Transylvania to take the lead in the European integration process. The claims were also articulated within a memorandum asking for political and administrative competences for territorial entities. *Provincia* [*The Province*] pointed the finger at the corruption and the unfair distribution of the budget from Bucharest. Two years earlier, the journalist Sabin Gherman from Cluj launched a real polemic storm when proposing the autonomy of Transylvania in the manifest “I’ve had enough of Romania!” (Monitorul de Cluj 1998). Then, in 1999, Gabriel Andreescu and Gusztáv Molnar published *Problema transilvană* [*The Transylvanian*

Problem]. Based on the voting options of the inhabitants of Transylvania, the authors emphasized the democratic and western orientation of the province. The proposal received many critics, especially for taking over the map of Samuel Huntington where Transylvania is separated from the rest of the country and included in the sphere of the Western Catholic countries (Huntington 1996). In 2000, *Provincia* [*The Province*] rejected however any regionalist-irredentist temptations, promoting instead a restoration of the Transylvanian specificity (Cistelean 2001, 1). The revealing of the specificity sounded like the landmarks of Banat: behavior patterns in contrast with the ones of the “Regăteni”, tolerance, labour worship, mixture of Romanian, Hungarian and German culture and traditions, value of education. The lack of a linguistic unity seemed to be, paradoxically, the main cultural aspect unifying the population of Transylvania in a strong regional nucleus, justifying the construction of a distinct political identity.

A different situation occurs in Bukovina, a territory cut in half by history. Whether in Cernăuți, a city with a large Romanian population pertaining now to Ukraine, or in Suceava, the appeal to “Bukovinism” has negative connotations: “Bukovinism” promotes in fact the denationalization politics conducted by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The new edition of *Glasul Bucovinei* [*Bukovina Voice*] review, appearing in Cernăuți since 1994, under the auspices of the Romanian Cultural Institute, uses this idea as a motto. The review conducted by Alexandrina Cernov, Ștefan Hostiuc, Ilie Luceac, Vasile Tărățeanu promotes the Romanianism, exploring the history, culture and traditions of Romanian inhabitants from Ukraine, focusing also on all possible connections with Romania. The perspective is thus different from the one in Banat or Transylvania, as Bukovina was forced several times to adjust its identity according to new borders: between 1359-1744 it was part of Moldova; 1775-1918 – a duchy of the Habsburg Empire; after 1918 the province joined Romania; 1944-1991 – the northern part lies under soviet occupation; 1991-present – the northern of Bukovina is part of Ukraine. This territory looks nostalgically to Bucharest as the desired center of life, while the construction of identity insists on elements able to strengthen the appurtenance to Romania. The multiculturalism is not seen as an

asset, but as a burden. Some authors are even more radical: Ștefan Hostiuc, in a study on the Romanian press in Bukovina after the 50s, stresses that the term of northern-Bukovinian is also erroneous because it settles the halving of the province and establishes a new *homo bucovinensis* (Hostiuc 1997, 18). It is probably no wonder that *Glasul Bucovinei* [*Bukovina Voice*] reacted negatively to the appeal of Sabin Gherman in 1998, blaming him of stupidity and betrayal. The attack was also directed on other historians and intellectuals (Sorin Mitu, Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Adrian Marino) who dared to propose a history of Transylvania without the classical Romanian nationalist component. The author of the article, Viorica Moisuc, was however at that time, a member of the România Mare party. Her position followed thus the party line from Bucharest (Moisuc 2004).

Literary Complexes as Regional Identity Landmarks

One of the most blamed attitudes of Bucharest in the interwar period was the monopolization of the literary market, while imposing the main literary tendencies. The writers from the peripheries felt the neglect of the center that refused to publish their works. The literary complexes were transposed in a mixture of inferiority and superiority complexes of the province and became another identity landmark. Two aspects have to be taken into consideration: on the one hand, the newly formed state in 1918 promoted cultural works marked by the Romanian nationalist spirit. The writers from the annexed provinces could generate regionalist tendencies, so it was safer to keep them at a certain distance. On the other hand, the literary production in the capital was especially conducted by the publishing houses and media trusts who had in mind the market rules and the obtaining of the profit. Young marginal writers could be always a risk for an editor (Bucuța 1928, 370).

After 1990, the literary regional press flourished again. In the Romanian Bukovina, a review – *Bucovina literară* [*Literary Bukovina*] – has set to promote the literature of the province. For a better prominence, the writers from this part of the country also created a dissident structure of the Romanian Writers Union, called the Society of Writers from Bukovina (first established in 1939). The editorship included over time names like Ion Beldeanu, Mihail Iordache, Adrian Dinu Rachieru,

Mircea A. Diaconu, Alexandru-Ovidiu Vintilă. Three main directions contributed to a reinforcement of the old identity complexes: the lack of the cultural funding; the ignoring of the Writers Society by the Writers Union from Bucharest; and the fighting against the provincial etiquette by using classic anti-Bucharest clichés. The Bukovinan rapporteurs from The General Assembly of the Writers Union and other literary circles often complained about the distrust and superiority manifested by their colleagues: “unfortunately, there is the mentality that once you are or become an inhabitant of the Capital, you become even more talented” (Deleanu 1995, 31). And the feeling is not characteristic only to the writers from Bukovina, but also to those from other peripheries: “It still stuns me, for instance, the preconceived idea of some people from Bucharest who think that it is enough to live in the Capital in order to have a meaning in the values system” (Vulturescu 2003, 3). The Capital is often associated with negative clichés like: the good old “Balkanism”, arrogance, gossip, careerism. In opposition to these, the identity of the provincial writer designates virtues, seriousness, talent, depth. Of course, the mechanism of representation functions very well in this identity construction process. Many interviews with provincial writers tackle the issue of the center-periphery antagonism, whether the periphery is Bukovina looking to the Capital as center, or the province is the Romanian literature aiming to integrate into the European one. In 2002, the answer of a writer sounded like a curse: “Provincialism is the most strident feature of the Romanian literature today” (Crăciun 2002, 4). Certain delimitation is also claimed in relation to other cultural centers from Moldova, especially to Iași. The delimitations come often from frustrations. For instance, one of the editors is very harsh on the refusal of the Polirom publishing house for printing one of his books and, in reply, all sorts of complains are proliferated (Beldeanu 2006, 3). Bukovina tries thus to define its particular literature inspired by the history and scenery of the region and requests a special recognition that could consolidate its regional identity.

Conclusion

It takes time to consolidate an identity. Furthermore, the process is always vulnerable to the background factors. As far as the regional identity is concerned, many identity elements

developed during the interwar period are still preserved in the contemporary epoch, despite the leveling communist efforts. However, the different evolution of Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina after the Second World War determines opposite approaches of symbols capable of becoming identity landmarks. The integrity of the borders and the geographical proximity seem to be the key elements in proposing an identity choice. A crumbled Bukovina has no stake in reactivating older belongings. Yet, this will not stay in its way when showing that sometimes, an “artificial” center cannot impose but “artificial” claims.

References

a. Books

- Boia 2015** Boia, Lucian, *Cum s-a românizat România* [How Romania was Romanianised], București, Humanitas (2015).
- Boym 2001** Boym, Svetlana, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York, Basic Books, (2001).
- Dubar 2003** Dubar, Claude, *Criza identităților. Interpretarea unei mutații* [The Crises of Identities. The Interpretation of a Shift], Chișinău, Știința (2003).
- Hausleitner 2001** Hausleitner, Mariana, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens: 1918-1944*, Munchen, R. Oldenbourg Verlag (2001).
- Huntington 1996** Huntington, Samuel P., *The clash of civilization*, Simon&Schuster (1996).
- Livezeanu 1998** Livezeanu, Irina, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare. 1918-1930* [Cultural Politics in Greater Romania], București, Humanitas (1998).
- Molnar, Andreescu, 1999** Molnar, Gusztav, Gabriel Andreescu, *Problema transilvană* [Transylvanian Problem], Iași, Polirom (1999)
- Thiesse 2000** Thiesse, Anne-Marie, *Crearea identităților naționale în Europa: secolele*

- XVIII-XX [The Creation of National Identities in Europe, 18th-20th Centuries], Iași Polirom (2000).
- Todorova 2000** Todorova, Maria, *Balkanii și balcanismul [The Balkans and Balkanism]*, București, Humanitas (2000).
- b. Chapters in books**
- Bendek 2009** Bendek, József, "The Emergens of New Regions in Transition Romania". In James W. Scott (ed.), *De-coding New Regionalism. Shifting Socio-political Contexts in Central Europe and Latin America*, Ashgate Publishing Company (2009).
- Bucuța, 1928** Bucuța, Emanoil, "Politica bibliotecii și a cărții" ["The Politics of Libraries and Books"]. In *Politica culturii. 30 prelegeri publice și comunicări organizate de Institutul Social Român [The Politics of Culture. 30 Public Conferences and Communications Organized by the Romanian Social Institute]*, București, s. n. (1928).
- Stanzel 2003** Stanzel, Franz K., "Imagologia literară. O introducere" ["Literary Imagology"]. In Mihaela Grancea (ed.), *Introducere în istoria mentalităților colective și a imaginarului social. Antologie [Introduction to the History of Collective Mentalities and Social Imaginary]*, Sibiu, Alma Mater (2003).
- Wagner 2004** Wagner, F. Peter, "Sonderweg Romania". In Henry F. Carey (ed.), *Romania since 1989. Politics, Economics and Society*, Oxford, Lexington Books (2004).
- c. Papers in periodical journals**
- Argument 1997** *Argument*. In: *A Treia Europă [The Third Europe]*, no. 1 (1997).
- Aurora 1993** *Aurora*, no. 1 (1993).
- Aurora 1994** *Aurora*, no. 3 (1994).
- Aurora 1995** *Aurora*, no. 5 (1995).
- Beldeanu 2006** Beldeanu, Ion, *Faimoșii de la Polirom [The Famous from Polirom]*. In: *Bucovina literară [Literary Bukovina]*, no. 11-12 (2006).
- Cistelecan 2001** Cistelecan, Al., *Provincia minima. În căutarea ardelenismului [Provincia minima. Searching for Transylvanism]*. In: *Provincia [The Province]* (aprilie 2001).
- Crăciun 2002** *Interview with Gheorghe Crăciun*. In: *Bucovina literară [Literary Bukovina]*, no. 9 (2002).
- Deleanu 1995** Deleanu, Ioanid, *Până acolo mai este [There's More to That]*. In: *Bucovina literară [Literary Bukovina]*, no. 2 (1995).
- Hostiuc 1997** Hostiuc, Ștefan, *Jocul de-a cultura sau cultura ca instituție? O retrospectivă tematică a presei românești din nordul Bucovinei (II) [The Game of Culture or Culture as an Institution? A Thematic Retrospective of the Romanian Press in Northern Bukovina]*. In: *Glasul Bucovinei [Bukovina Voice]*, no. 13 (1997).
- Iordachi, Turda 1998** Iordachi, Constantin, Marius Turda, *Reconciliere politică versus discurs istoric: percepția Ungariei în istoriografia românească, 1989-1999 [Political Reconciliation versus Historical Discourse: the Perception of Hungary in Romanian Historiography, 1989-1999]*. In: *Altera*, no. 8, IV (1998).
- Mihaiu 1994** Mihaiu, Virgil, *Cât de central? Cât de european? [How Central? How European?]* In: *Aurora*, no. 4 (1994).
- Moisuc 2004** Moisuc, Viorica, *Un teritoriu care se cheama*

	<i>Transilvania [A Territory Called Transylvania]. In: Glasul Bucovinei [Bukovina Voice], no. 43-44 (2004).</i>	Orizont 1998	<i>Orizont [Horizon], no. 2 (1998).</i>
Monitorul de Cluj 1998	<i>Monitorul de Cluj [The Monitor of Cluj], 16 September (1998).</i>	Orizont 2001	<i>Orizont [Horizon], no. 10 (2001).</i>
Orizont 1990	<i>Orizont [Horizon], no. 33, 17 August (1990).</i>	Vatra 1991	<i>Vatra, no. 2 (1991).</i>
Orizont 1995	<i>Orizont [Horizon], no. 2, 14 February (1995).</i>	Vatra 1997	<i>Vatra, no. 6 (1997).</i>
Orizont 1995a	<i>Orizont [Horizon], no. 3, 20 March (1995).</i>	Vulturescu 2003	<i>Interview with the poet George Vulturescu. In: Bucovina literară [Literary Bukovina], no. 1 (2003).</i>

Yidish Literary Translations after 1989: Between Preservation of Cultural Heritage and Promotion of World Literature*

Camelia CRĂCIUN, Ph.D.

Postdoctoral Researcher, Romanian Academy

E-mail: camicr@yahoo.com

Abstract. While the Jewish community in Romania is unfortunately shrinking, the interest in Yiddish culture and literature seems to increase. The current paper aims to present the situation of Yiddish literature in Romania by analyzing the translations published after 1989 and the responsible factors for selecting the authors, texts and publishers.

Keywords: translations, Yiddish literature, minority culture, Communism, Holocaust, interwar period.

According to the 1930 census (Iancu 2000), the Jewish community represented 4.2% of the Romanian population (on the criterion of religious affiliation), respectively 756,930 individuals, being thus the fourth largest Jewish community in the world during the interwar period (after communities in the USA, USSR and Poland). Regarding mother tongue affiliation, 2.9% of the population claimed to speak Yiddish, mainly in regions such as Northern Moldavia, Bessarabia and North West Transylvania, while the 1.3% gap between the percentage representing the Jewish population and the percentage representing the number of Yiddish speakers signalled a significant level of acculturation towards local languages (Hungarian, German, Russian, Romanian and even Hebrew) (Mendelsohn 1983). The distribution of the population which was already acculturated to Romanian varied, being particularly dominant in the Old Kingdom, ranging from 82.9% in Oltenia and 79% in Muntenia to only 32.3% in Moldavia. In Bessarabia, acculturation to Russian was lower, with a large majority still speaking Yiddish, while the Old Kingdom (with an obvious attraction for

Romanian) and Transylvania (moving towards German and Hungarian) were the most acculturated regions. In Bukowina, although largely dominated by Yiddish, a small local elite was acculturated to German.

This brief analysis highlights the fact that, within decades, the population shifted from using traditional Jewish languages (Yiddish, Hebrew, Ladino, *etc.*) to assimilating majority's languages through the acculturation process which was determined by the need of modernization, integration and emancipation. Starting with the last decades of the 19th century, the Jewish community was going through a profound process of modernization, self-emancipation and acculturation stimulated by the *Haskala* ⁽¹⁾ program (which started to be influential among the Old Kingdom Jewry during the beginning to mid-19th century), by the ideas of the 1848 Revolution, which included Jewish emancipation among its objectives, and also by the successful participation of the Jewish population to the economic modernization, industrialization and urbanization of the country. Even more, the rapid social and economic progress determined a strong need for acculturation and secularization that had been supported by the elite through the creation of an

* This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/159/1.5/S/136077.

⁽¹⁾ *Haskala* is an intellectual movement representing the Enlightenment within the Jewish world starting with the 18th century.

education system in Romanian language, supported by the community, and of Jewish press in Romanian language, which, eventually, during the last quarter of the 19th century, generated the emergence of a group of acculturated intellectuals.

Soon, however, the need of preserving and consolidating cultural, social and political identity required the translation of classical texts in the new languages accessible to the recently acculturated population. Starting with the beginning of the 20th century, the urgent need to promote Jewish culture through translations becomes evident and it materializes through a number of translations from Hebrew and Yiddish into Romanian, the last category of texts representing the subject of the current article. Following the process evolving in time, the current research aims to present it from two perspectives: by focusing on the selection of the main actors (authors and translated texts, translators, publishers and institutions involved), but also by analyzing how the alteration of political regimes and, implicitly, of cultural policies on the one hand, and the changes which affected the Jewish population within the last century on the other hand influenced the way in which Yiddish literature is perceived within Romanian cultural space. Eventually, the status of Yiddish literature changed from a national corpus of texts requiring a new approach through translations for acculturated population in order to maintain its accessibility and to preserve heritage and identity towards a natural part of world literature and culture, just as other cultures.

Translations from Yiddish Literature before 1989: Stages and Actors

The situation of the translations from Yiddish literature into Romanian language is extremely interesting. Considering that Yiddish literature in its modern form is eventually recognized relatively late, due to strong conservative ideologies which supported Hebrew language as the language of worship and prestige within the community, translations into Romanian appeared rapidly, just a few years after their publication in original. Thus, given the fact that the flourishing period of Yiddish literature started in the last decades of the 19th century, Romanian translations appeared almost immediately in the Jewish press of Romanian language and, as early as the first years of the 20th century (Rosenfeld 1904; Sholem Aleichem 1906), in full-fledged volumes. As the

first translations appeared specifically in the Jewish press of Romanian language, it is obvious that they were addressed to that part of the community that was already acculturated and no longer able to read directly in the Yiddish original.

Until the Second World War, a range of authors and literary works appeared in Romanian translation, starting with classic authors, such as Sholem Aleichem (Aleichem 1906; Aleichem 1912; Aleichem 1920; Aleichem 1921; Aleichem 1923; Aleichem 1923; Aleichem 1928; Aleichem 1931; Aleichem 1941; Aleichem sinne anno a; Aleichem sinne anno b; Aleichem sinne anno c; Aleichem sinne anno d; Aleichem sinne anno e; Aleichem sinne anno f), I. L. Peretz (Peretz 1915; Peretz 1920; Peretz sinne anno) and Mendele Mocher Sforim (Mendele 1934; Mendele sinne anno), and continuing with modern authors, like Sholem Asch (Asch 1928; Asch 1935; Asch 1932; Asch sinne anno a), Joseph Opatoshu (Opatoshu sinne anno), Morris Rosenfeld (Rosenfeld 1904), Jacob Gordin (Gordin 1915) and S. An-sky (An-sky 1927). Clearly, the selection of authors and works that were to be translated was often based on a clear ideological motivation, frequently detailed in the prefaces or through the selection of texts, but the mere diversity of these options provided a broad and balanced representation of the literary landscape of the period. Translators were numerous, a sign that, within a population with a significant level of acculturation, but strongly attached to traditional Jewish culture, bilingualism and double literary career were not exceptional; thus, besides the young I. Ludo ⁽²⁾, successful writer and subsequently an exceptional and prolific translator during the postwar period, other important intellectual and political figures, such as Horia Carp ⁽³⁾, Felix Aderca ⁽⁴⁾ and C.

⁽²⁾ I. Ludo (1894-1973) was a writer, journalist, translator, editor of the periodicals *Absolutio*, *Versuri și proză*, *Informația*, *Mântuirea* and director of journal *Adam*. He published volumes of prose of great success: *Hodje-Podje* (1928); *Mesia poate să aștepte* (1934); *Domnișoara Africa* (1935). A controversial figure during the post-war period due to his anti-sionist and anti-Israeli campaign in Romanian press. A remarkable translator (Șalom Alechem, S. An-sky, etc.).

⁽³⁾ Horia Carp (1869-1943) was a reputed politician and journalist, senator representing U. E. R. (Uniunea Evreilor Români) (1927-1928 and 1928-1931), editor of the journal *Cultura* and *Der Yiddische Geist*. Contributor for *Curierul israelit*. Author of the volumes: *Sbucium* (1903); *Gânduri fărâmate* (1905);

Săteanu, were active, together with professional translators, such as Gustav S. Gal, B. Zeilig or Schoß-Roman. The publications appeared often in the form of brochures which were often preferred to the massive volumes which were more difficult to be published and marketed; publishers were numerous, starting with institutions dedicated to Jewish culture, such as Editura Societății Culturale “Saron”, Editura “Şalom Alehem” or Editura “Slova-Hasefer”, to mainstream publishers, such as “Eminescu”, “Adeverul”, “Viaţa românească” or “Brănişteanu”. Of interest were also the book series devoted to Jewish literature, as “Biblioteca clasicilor evrei” or “Biblioteca evreească”, or series of world literature, such as “Lectura – Floarea literaturilor străine”, within which also titles from Yiddish classic literature appeared. Clearly, the translation activity is intense during this period in which the Jewish population was significant and the impact of acculturation was strong, causing many potential readers not to have access to the original Yiddish texts. In addition, the need to promote Jewish culture among acculturated population, especially in order to strengthen identity and cultural preservation, led to many similar initiatives.

For obvious reasons, 1943-1944 represented a dark period in terms of cultural and translation activity, as well. The Anti-Jewish Legislation blocked any initiative and possibility of continuing institutionally the activity or publishing the translation of such works. The case of writer Emil Dorian, who, during Holocaust, initiated the project of an anthology of Yiddish poetry in Romanian translation, is an exceptional example and it may qualify as a form of “resistance through culture”, the manuscript remaining unpublished for five decades, until the end of the Communist regime.

Over 80% of the Holocaust victims were Yiddish speakers, the Ashkenazi community and therefore Yiddish culture receiving thus a deadly

blow. Among survivors and their descendants, the trauma caused by Holocaust, corroborated with the impact of Zionist ideology which supported the assimilation of Hebrew against retaining of Yiddish, the process of *aliya*, the efforts and linguistic policies of erecting the Israeli state with Hebrew as a national language and, eventually, the acculturation to the languages of the new migration countries have increasingly reduced the influence of Yiddish culture.

The Period of Transition (1945-1947) signalled a return to the interwar effervescence, as Jewish cultural institutions continued to operate relatively independently for a while and the objective of translations and publications returned to the center of intellectual life. Publishers such as “Forum”, “Bicurim” or Editura Institutului de Cultură Evreească “Yavne” had a remarkable activity within the short period between regimes; translations from Sholem Aleichem (Sholem Aleichem 1945a; Sholem Aleichem 1945b), I. L. Peretz (Peretz 1946) and Mendeley Moche Sforim (Mendeley 1946), but also from Sholem Asch (Asch 1945a; Asch 1945b; Asch sinne anno b), Joseph Opatoshu (Opatoshu 1945) and Eliezer Steinberg (Steinberg 1947a; Steinberg 1947b) were published. Translators were, basically, writers who embraced this activity due to the pressing conditions imposed by the postwar economic situation or simply due to ideological reasons; well-known intellectuals, such as I. Ludo, Isac Cotiugaru (⁵), B. Zeilig, Emil Dorian or M. Rubin, were particularly active during this period.

Starting with 1948, the entire structure of the cultural life altered according to the change of political regime. From then on, all publishing houses were state property and, obviously, under the political control of the authorities, inevitably reflecting both through the selection of authors and texts published, but also through the accompanying critical pieces (prefaces, footnotes, introductory studies, glossaries) the profound ideological impact of the new regime on the cultural and intellectual life in Romania. The place of the Jewish private publishers who were involved in the promotion and popularization of Yiddish literature among the acculturated masses was taken by official publishers: Cartea Rusă, Editura de Stat, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură şi Artă, Editura pentru Literatură Universală, Editura

Povestea unui bătrân cuminte (1912); *Suflete obosite* (1918) şi *Din vremuri de urgie* (1924). He published a volume of *Discursuri parlamentare* (1928).

(⁴) Felix Aderca (1891-1962) was a reputed writer, poet and journalist. Contributor for *Sburătorul*, *Flacăra*, *Vremea*, *Revista Fundaţiilor*, *Adam*, *Contemporanul*, etc. He published volumes of prose and novels: *Domnişoara din strada Neptun* (1921); *Omul descompus* (1925); *Aventurile Domnului Ionel Lăcustă Thermidor* (1927); *Mărturia unei generaţii* (1929); *1916* (1936); *Oraşe înecate* (1936).

(⁵) Isac Cotiugaru is one of the pseudonyms of the later novelist Victor Rusu.

pentru Literatură and Editura Tineretului often included also translations from Yiddish literature among the mass publications from Soviet culture. Mass print-runs and extensive distribution were among the few beneficial aspects of the moment and even today they are responsible for making these publications available for the public. The selection of authors and translated works was guided by obvious ideological framing; this is how writers such as Sholem Aleichem or Eliezer Steinbarg were frequently translated, being assimilated to Communist ideology and almost identified with Yiddish literature on the Romanian cultural market, while the large majority of authors were ignored. During the same period, the only publication of the Jewish community, *Revista Cultului Mozaic*, which started to be published in 1956, included a single page in Yiddish, basically comprising summaries of the most important articles written in Romanian; in time, this Yiddish language island would also disappear due to the lack of audience. During the Communist regime, popularizing minority cultures served, in fact, to promote official ideology in a new form, addressing directly to the population belonging to the specific minority, while the role of self-representation and cultural heritage preservation ending in the background. In this context, the representation of Yiddish culture and literature in Romania became less visible itself, being transformed in an obvious political tool.

Since the mid-1960s, when the ideological paradigm shift implicitly drove the cultural policies towards an obvious nationalism-communism, a strong interest into Yiddish literature, as part of local culture, appeared in the context of promoting the creation of minorities in Romania, in original and in translation. Kriterion Publishing House ⁽⁶⁾ was established in 1969 with the evident purpose of promoting minorities' literature in Romania, by publishing works in original languages, but also translations into

Romanian; among the many series of Hungarian, German, Russian, Ukrainian or Albanian literatures, a number of translations from local Yiddish literature were published, in parallel with the publication of several works in Yiddish. The most important titles introduced to the public the work of Itzik Manger (Manger 1977; Manger 1983), considered one of the most successful authors of Yiddish language in Romania, although he spent most of his life abroad. Basically, from that moment on, translations from Yiddish literature became exclusively the task of Kriterion Publishing House as, except for the volume of I. L. Peretz's stories (Peretz 1974) published in 1974 at Univers Publishing House, it would be the only institution which would publish such translations, continuing to activate also after 1989. Basically, if until mid-1960s, the authors promoted by major state publishers were mainly Sholem Aleichem (Aleichem 1949; Aleichem 1951; Aleichem 1955; Aleichem 1956; Aleichem 1957; Aleichem 1959; Aleichem 1961; Aleichem 1964; Aleichem 1966; Aleichem 1968; Aleichem 1969; Aleichem 1970; Aleichem sinne anno a) and, to a lesser extent, Eliezer Steinbarg (Steinbarg 1955; Steinbarg 1961), after the cultural policies shift, the selected authors were representatives of local Yiddish creativity (besides Itzik Manger, the great director and poet Yankev Shternberg (Shternberg 1983) was also published). Translators were basically the same; I. Ludo continued to be the most visible and his great success remained the translation of Sholem Aleichem's work. Emil Dorian and Cecilia Voinescu were present through the republication of Eliezer Steinbarg's fables. Itzik Manger was translated by Iosif Andronic and, as far as his poems were concerned, the translation was completed also by a poet to stylize the verse (for the volume published by Kriterion, the translation was completed by Israel Bercovici and Nina Cassian).

Yiddish Writers in Romanian Translation after 1989: Between Marketing Strategy and Necessary Recuperation

The end of the Communist regime brought the liberation from the domination of official ideology that imposed for decades a certain selection of authors and works, but it also offered a new political context favourable to the creation of the official publisher of the Federation of the Jewish Communities of Romania, Hasefer, dedicated to

⁽⁶⁾ Kriterion Publishing House is created in 1969 in Bucharest (its manager is the Hungarian-language writer Géza Domokos (1928-2007)). In 1997, the publisher house is no longer subordinated to the Ministry of Culture, and in 1999 it becomes a private institution. In 2002, the offices are relocated to Cluj-Napoca. Kriterion publishes book series dedicated to Albanian, Armenian, Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, German, Yiddish, Hungarian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Tartar, Turkish and Ukrainian literatures.

promoting Jewish culture, history and literature. As it is presented on its official website,

“Hasefer publishes works on Jewish history, the Jewish contribution to Romanian and universal culture, Jewish philosophy, the works of Nobel Prize laureates, specialized dictionaries, art albums. The entire activity of the publishing house aims to add to the general knowledge of the specific values of the Jewish minority in Romania, its contribution to the development of Romanian culture and civilization based on mutual respect, for living together in multiculturalism”.

For the first time after the Second World War, Yiddish culture found a proper space in which it may be presented without restrictions, although certainly it may not be the only one.

After the end of the Communist regime, with its specific policies concerning cultural minorities and their ideological stakes, the most translated Yiddish author is, without doubt, Isaac Bashevis Singer (Singer 1990; Singer 1995; Singer 1997; Singer 2000; Singer 2001; Singer 2002; Singer 2003; Singer 2004; Singer 2005; Singer 2006; Singer 2007; Singer 2008). Introduced to the Romanian public by all publishers as “Nobel Prize Winner” in all promotional materials, I. Bashevis-Singer enjoyed the same visibility as Sholem Aleichem in his glorious 1950s and 1960s, but without the obvious political manipulation that accompanied the promotion of the great classic. To secure a safe marketing success, I. Bashevis-Singer was presented as a world literary figure, beyond his representativity for Yiddish and Jewish culture, strategy employed also by Hasefer Publishing House. Thus, a series of his novels were published here, including most popular titles such as *Familia Moskat* and *Dușmance*.

Without exception, Anton Celaru ⁽⁷⁾, the last Yiddish translator into Romanian, published twelve of I. Bashevis-Singer’s novels which appeared starting from 1990, when *Ghimpl-netotul*

și alte povestiri was published by Cartea Românească, and continuing with other novels subsequently published by Hasefer at a sustained pace of one title per year (since 2000: *Scamatorul din Lublin. Roman. Cabalistul de pe East-Broadway și alte povestiri; Robul; Familia Moskat; Moartea lui Matusalem și alte povestiri ciudate; Dușmance. O poveste de iubire; Rătăciți; Șoșă; Conacul; Urmașii; Pierdut în America and Judecătorul de pe strada Krohmalna*). Anton Celaru’s authority on Bashevis-Singer’s translations has been publicly recognized, given the fact that the volumes he translated appeared not only at Hasefer, but also at other publishers, such as Cartea Românească or Casa Școalelor. Activating not only as translator, but also as editor and introductory studies author, Anton Celaru felt the need for extensive contextualization of I. Bashevis-Singer’s work, adding glossaries and series of explanatory notes which were, most likely, unnecessary before, in the context of a dynamic Jewish traditional culture.

As far as the presence of Yiddish literature after 1989 in Romania is concerned, Sholem Aleichem (Aleichem 1992; Aleichem 1995; Aleichem 2004; Aleichem 2012) comes only second, losing his former supreme position in favor of Nobel Prize Laureate I. Bashevis-Singer. Although he continues to be the most popular author in spite of the lack of republications during the recent decades (his last volume during the Communist era appeared in 1970), Sholem Aleichem now enjoys attention from publishers, although much less, if compared with the political and editorial manipulation from the first decades of Communism. After 1989, only four volumes of his work were published: *Farsa tragică. Un roman nemaipomenit* (translated by S. Stein) ; *O catastrofă care n-a avut loc. Povestiri de pe drumul-de-fier* (in Anton Celaru’s version); the only republication, *Menahem Mendel: romanul unui om de afaceri* (using I. Ludo’s well-known earlier version) and *Poveste de dragoste* (translated by Antoaneta Olteanu). As in I. Bashevis-Singer’s case, publishers attracted by popular world literature became lately interested to promote Sholem Aleichem’s writings due to commercial reasons (such as ARA, Hasefer, Teșu and Allfa).

Sholem Asch (Asch 2009; Asch 2010), twice nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature and the most successful Yiddish writer during his lifetime, was published twice by editors who

⁽⁷⁾ Anton Celaru (1919-2010) was a journalist and editor-in-chief of *IKUF Bleter*, later of *Unirea*, eventually *Viața nouă* (journal of CDE) until 1953. Journalist for *Informația Bucureștiului* until 1974 (retirement). Career in translations from Yiddish literature (I. Bashevis-Singer, Mendele Moicher Sforim, Șalom Aș, etc.).

identified the same marketing advantages in his works; by publishing novel *Apostolul* (in Cătălina Hârceag's translation), Lider Publishing House sought to attract the audience with the historical and religious plot of the book, while Hasefer, specializing in Jewish history and memory preservation, chose to publish *Vrăjitoarea din Castilia* (in Anton Celaru's version).

Another great classic, I. L. Peretz (Peretz 1996), is present with a republication which used the edition appearing in 1974, *Schițe și nuvele*, at Univers Publishing House, translated by S. Schneider. The book including a foreword of Anton Celaru was published by Hasefer in 1996. This republication re-established Peretz's profile within the new intellectual and political context, as the only edition of his works published during the Communist era tried to wipe off the strong Hassidic influence in the writings of the great Yiddish master, according to the ideological lines. In this new context, Anton Celaru's preface eventually reconstructed the intellectual structure of I. L. Peretz's work.

Itzik Manger (Manger 1992; Manger 1993), the most important Yiddish author emerging from the Romanian lands, was also republished, as his novel, *Cartea Raiului. Neasemuita descriere a vieții lui Șmul Abe Abervo* (initially printed in the late 1970s by Kriterion in Iosif Andronic's version) appeared again published by the same editor in 1993. His poetry appeared in Romanian version at the same publisher, Kriterion, a year earlier, in 1992; the volume consisted basically of a series of poems dedicated to the legendary literary personality of Yiddish Romanian culture, Velvl Zbarjer: the volume *Velvl Zbarjer scrie scrisori frumoasei Malcale* was published in Iosif Andronic and Paul Drumaru's translation.

An act of literary restitution occurred when Hasefer Publishing House eventually published a volume dedicated to the work of another classic, very little translated into Romanian in general and not at all during the Communist era: Mendele Mocher Sforim (Mendele 2011) was at last available in Romanian language with his work, *Drumețiile lui Biniomin al treilea*, translated and prefaced by the same Anton Celaru in 2011.

Besides translations of books dedicated to the work of a single author, also several anthologies of Yiddish literature (Anthology 1995; Anthology 1996; Anthology 1998) appeared

relatively frequently on the book market in post-Communist Romania. The mid-1990s represented obviously a time when the selection of works of the most representative authors, be it children's literature, poetry or prose, appeared to be more attractive to the public than single author translations. Thus, the selection of children literature texts *O capră și un vițel, un hoț mititel, un meșter scamator și alții asemenea lor. Povestiri pentru copii* was published in 1995, at Hasefer, in Anton Celaru's translation and with illustrations by Tia Peltz. In 1996, Kriterion published a selection of Yiddish poetry translated during Holocaust by poet and writer Emil Dorian, a manuscript which remained unpublished for over five decades. Edited by Anton Celaru, the volume was prefaced by the translator's daughter, Margaret Dorian, who also edited *The Quality of a Witness* (published by Hasefer in Romanian version as *Jurnal din anii de prigoană*), her father's Holocaust diary. Finally, two years later, a prose volume completed the image offered by anthologies of Yiddish literature in Romanian version; *La Lisabona, într-o sâmbătă. Antologie de proză idiș* appeared in the same Anton Celaru's version, being published by Hasefer in 1998.

Quo Vadis? The Last Translator and the Future of Yiddish Literary Translations in Romania

Currently, the most important obstacle to an adequate representation of Yiddish culture in Romanian language is the lack of translators. After a long period in which the translations were frequent and of outstanding quality due to the demographic and cultural context provided by a significant Jewish population, for which bilingualism was a reality and, often, as in the case of the volumes published by I. Ludo, translation meant, after all, recreating the original Yiddish text into Romanian language, things started to change dramatically. Himself an exceptional writer of Romanian language, but also Yiddish, I. Ludo was also a remarkable stylist and a prolific translator, and his version of Sholem Aleichem's work is unsurpassed to this day. Even now, when a project to publish a text of Sholem Aleichem's work comes to discussion, I. Ludo's version remains the main reference and is often used for republications. This is the case, for example, of the republication of novel *Menaheem Mendel: romanul unui om de afaceri*, which appeared in 2004 at Teșu Publishing House and which is based

on I. Ludo's version. I. L. Peretz's prose encounters the same situation, as the short stories volume which appeared at Hasefer in 1996, *Un bătrân copac a răs. Schițe și nuvele*, translated by S. Schneider, is actually a republication of the volume printed in 1974 by Universe Publishing House.

But republications do not represent the rule. Unfortunately, the representation of Yiddish literature in Romania is limited to a few texts and authors, and new texts need obviously new translators. The most active translator after 1989 was clearly the late Anton Celaru; publicly known as Isaac Bashevis-Singer's official translator, Anton Celaru translated also works of Sholem Aleichem (*O catastrofă care n-a avut loc. Povestiri de pe drumul-de-fier*), Sholem Asch (*Vrăjitoarea din Castilia*) or Mendele Mocher Sforim (*Drumețiile lui Biniomin al treilea*) and collected several anthologies. A real Yiddish scholar, Celaru often had to edit and compile glossaries and explanatory footnotes and foreword texts which were more and more elaborated for an audience which was increasingly less and less familiar with Yiddish culture.

Iosif Andronic was particularly active in the 1970s and 1980s especially for Kriterion Publishing House, but he mysteriously disappeared after 1989 as the version he gave to Itzik Manger's novel, *Cartea Raiului. Neasemuita descriere a vieții lui Șmul Abe Abervo* (1993), being a mere republication of the volume which appeared in the 1970s at the same publisher. He translated another volume of Itzik Manger's poetry, *Velvl Zbarjer scrie scrisori frumoasei Malcale*, which was published by the same editor in 1992. After this moment, his work was no longer visible.

A remarkable gesture of restitution occurred when Emil Dorian's translations completed during the Anti-Jewish Legislation and Holocaust found their way to print. Published after five decades of oblivion in manuscript, in 1996, at Kriterion Publishing House under the title *Idișul cântă. Antologie lirică*, the anthology completed the panorama of Yiddish literature with a perspective on its lyrical aspects.

The consequence of the mentioned crisis as far as the availability of translators is concerned led to the emergence of a worrying phenomenon, although suggestive enough for the precarious situation. The clear demands for translations from Yiddish literature coming from the book market

conflicted with the inability of providing adequate translation services: translations using intermediary versions instead of originals. For example, the novel *Poveste de dragoste* or *Stempeniu* by Sholem Aleichem was translated by Antoaneta Olteanu using an intermediary Russian version for Allfa Publishing House in 2012, while the footnotes were provided by the same translator. An earlier example was represented by Sholem Asch's novel *Apostolul*, translated from English by Cătălina Hârceag for Lider Publishing in 2009.

Romanian Publishers and the Interest for Yiddish Literature: between Editorial Project and Improvisation

The post-Communist period offers, finally, a normalization of the overall situation. The state monopoly of all publishing houses and the control of their activity using restrictive cultural policies, censorship and propaganda disappear with the fall of Communism. In 1990, Hasefer Publishing House, belonging to the Federation of the Jewish Communities of Romania was created, focusing on publishing scholarly works, but also primary sources, reference texts and literary works able to present and promote Jewish culture, history and literature. Despite its official program of recuperating and promoting Jewish culture, also the activity of Hasefer Publishing House seems to be subjected to the same rules of the market economy, ignoring less known authors, while focusing more on successful modern authors such as I. Bashevis-Singer, who is present with more than a dozen titles already translated, boosting the public interest in Yiddish literature (*Conacul*, 2005; *Dușmance. O poveste de iubire*, 2002; *Familia Moskat*, 2000 and 2002; *Judecătorul de pe strada Krohmalna. Istorisiri*, 2008; *Moartea lui Matusalem și alte povestiri ciudate*, 2001; *Pierdut în America*, 2007; *Robul*, 1997 and 2002; *Rătăciți*, 2003; *Urmașii*, 2006; *Șoșa*, 2004). Also, other classical authors were published by Hasefer during this period, but with a smaller visibility, if compared with I. Bashevis-Singer: Sholem Aleichem is present with *O catastrofă care n-a avut loc. Povestiri de pe drumul-de-fier* (1995); Sholem Asch with *Vrăjitoarea din Castilia* (2010) and, finally, I. L. Peretz with the republication of the 1974 edition of Minerva Publishing House, *Un bătrân copac a răs. Schițe și nuvele* (1996). Undeservedly less known, Mendele Mocher Sforim, the classic author which Shalom Aleichem

called “the grandfather of Yiddish literature”, was published with *Drumețiile lui Biniomin al treilea* as late as 2011, this being the last texts translated by Anton Celaru. In the mid-1990s, two anthologies, one dedicated to prose and another one to children’s literature, were published in an attempt to attract the interest of the public with a variety of texts at hand: *La Lisabona, într-o sâmbătă. Antologie de proză idiș* (1998) and *O capră și un vițel, un hoț mititel, un meșter scamator și alții asemenea lor. Povestiri pentru copii*, with illustrations by Tia Peltz.

Kriterion Publishing House, created two decades earlier and dedicated to the culture of minorities in Romania, continues to exist until today, but its activity as far as Yiddish literature is concerned is less visible on the cultural market because, since 1989, only a few titles have been published here, especially Itzik Manger’s work: the poetry volume *Velvl Zbarjer scribe scrisori frumoasei Malcale* (translated by Iosif H. Andronic and Paul Drumaru in 1992), a republication of the novel *Cartea Raiului. Neasemuita descriere a vieții lui Șmul Abe Abervo* (translated by Iosif Andronic in 1993) and, finally, the anthology of Yiddish poetry, left in manuscript by Emil Dorian, *Idișul cântă* (1996).

Although, since 1989, other publishers were interested in the translation of Yiddish literary texts, this initiative has been reduced, usually, at unique publications; this is the case of ARA Publishing House, which translated Sholem Aleichem’s novel, *Farsa tragică. Un roman nemaipomenit* (1992) and of Teșu Publishing House that came with another of Sholem Aleichem’s novels republished after the classic version of I. Ludo, *Menahem Mendel: romanul unui om de afaceri* (2004). Successful authors, such as I. Bashevis-Singer, became of interest for other publishers: Cartea Românească published

Ghimpl-netotul și alte povestiri (1990) and ephemeral publishing house Casa Școalelor – *Scamatorul din Lublin. Roman. Cabalistul de pe East-Broadway și alte povestiri* (1995). Finally, although lacking adequate resources and resorting to unacceptable intermediary versions, other publishers have recently published translations from Yiddish, confirming a significant interest of the book market for this literature: Allfa Publishing House published Sholem Aleichem’s novel *Poveste de dragoste* (2012) and Lider Publishing House – Sholem Asch’s volume *Apostolul* (2009).

Yiddish Literature in Romanian Translation since 1989: a Paradigm Shift.

In the context in which, during the interwar period, translations were primarily aimed to provide access for the acculturated people to Jewish cultural heritage, the dramatic decrease of the population after the Holocaust and the subsequent *alyia* process resulted in a dramatic change of the present socio-cultural landscape, a restructuring of the reading public and a reformulation of the editorial priorities. Although interest in Yiddish culture and literature was significant also after 1989, the publishers perceived and prepared the editorial events as recovery attempts in terms of world literature and larger heritage of mankind. As a result, the selection of authors and texts is one of safe editorial success and accessibility, many authors of the first rank and numerous texts remaining still unknown to the public. Successful reception of I. Bashevis-Singer’s work in Romania confirms this trend. The selection based on ideological criteria, censorship and propaganda has been replaced by the new demands of the book market, unfortunately functioning just as mercilessly.

References

- Aleichem 1906** Aleichem, Sholem, *Ispășitoarele (Die Kapurris) sau Greva păsărilor [The penitents (Die Kapurris) or the birds’ strike]*, translated by Ioseph Marcus-Ami (1906).
- Aleichem 1912** Aleichem, Sholem, *Ester. O istorioară de Purim – și Pessăh în Sat. Idilă [Ester. A Purim story –*

and Pessach in the shtetl. An idyll], translated by M. B., București (1912).

- Aleichem 1920** Aleichem, Sholem, *Mi-e dor de acasă și alte povestiri [Missing home and other stories]*, translated by Horia Carp, București, Ed. Societății Culturale “Saron” (1920).

- Aleichem 1921** Aleichem, Sholem, *Stația Baranovici și alte schițe* [*Baranovici station and other sketches*], translated by C. Săteanu, Iași (1921).
- Aleichem 1923a** Aleichem, Sholem, *Cartofoarii. Schițe și nuvele* [*The gamblers. Sketches and stories*], translated by C. Săteanu, Iași, Viața românească S. A. (1923).
- Aleichem 1923b** Aleichem, Sholem, *MenaheM Mendel: nuvele umoristice* [*MenaheM Mendel: humorous stories*], translated by I. Ludo, București, Slova-Hasefer (1923).
- Aleichem 1928** Aleichem, Sholem, *Povestiri tragi-comice* [*Tragi-comic stories*], translated by C. Săteanu, with an introductory study dedicated to the author by Octav Botez, Iași (1928).
- Aleichem 1931** Aleichem, Sholem, *Societate veselă* [*The gay society*], translated by H. Picher, București, Adeverul (1931).
- Aleichem 1941** Aleichem, Sholem, *Nalewka la băi* [*Nalewka at spa*], translated by Isac Ludo, București (1941).
- Aleichem 1945a** Aleichem, Sholem, *Cuțitașul. Povestire* [*The small knife. Story*], translation, București, "Bicurim" (1945).
- Aleichem 1945b** Aleichem, Sholem, *Croitorul fermecat* [*The enchanted tailor*], translated by I. Ludo, București, "Bicurim" (1945).
- Aleichem 1949** Aleichem, Sholem, *Băiatul Motl* [*Motl boy*], translated by I. Ludo, București, Cartea Rusă (1949).
- Aleichem 1951** Aleichem, Sholem, *Mister Green are o slujbă și alte povestiri* [*Mister Green has a job and other stories*], translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă (1951).
- Aleichem 1955** Aleichem, Sholem, *Opere alese* [*Selected works*], translated and foreword by I. Ludo, București, Ed. de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă (1955).
- Aleichem 1956** Aleichem, Sholem, *Halal de mine, sunt orfan!* [*Good for me, I am an orphan!*], translated by I. Ludo, foreword by A. L. Zissu, București, Ed. Tineretului (1956).
- Aleichem 1957** Aleichem, Sholem, *Mister Green are o slujbă și alte povestiri* [*Mister Green has a job and other stories*], translated by I. Ludo, București, E.S.P.LA (1957).
- Aleichem 1959** Aleichem, Sholem, *Opere alese. Romane. Povestiri* [*Selected works. Novels. Stories*], vol. 1, foreword and translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. pentru Literatură Universală (1959).
- Aleichem 1961** Aleichem, Sholem, *Tevi lăptarul* [*Tevi the milkman*], translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. pentru Literatură (1961).
- Aleichem 1964** Aleichem, Sholem, *Opere alese. Stele rătăcitoare. Roman* [*Selected works. Wandering stars. Novel*], vol. II, preface of Marin Sorescu, translated by Olga Brateș and Meer Sternberg, București, Ed. pentru Literatură Universală (1964).
- Aleichem 1966** Aleichem, Sholem, *Opere alese. Întoarcerea de la iarmaroc: povestiri din viață* [*Selected works. Return from the fair: life stories*], vol. III, translated by Olga Brateș and Meer Sternberg, București, Ed. pentru Literatură Universală (1966).
- Aleichem 1968** Aleichem, Sholem, *Opere alese. Schițe și povestiri* [*Selected works. Sketches and stories*], vol. IV, translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. de Stat pentru Literatură Universală (1968).
- Aleichem 1969** Aleichem, Sholem, *Opere alese. Schițe și povestiri* [*Selected works. Sketches and stories*], vol. V, translated by Olga Brateș and Meer Sternberg, București, Ed. pentru Literatură Universală (1969).
- Aleichem 1970** Aleichem, Sholem, *Romanul unui om de afaceri. Halal de mine, sunt orfan!* [*The story of a businessman. Good for me, I am an orphan!*], translated by I. Ludo, preface and chronology of V. Mogilescu, București, Minerva

	(1970).		
Aleichem 1992	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Farsa tragică. Un roman nemaipomenit</i> [The tragic farce. An unbelievable story], translated by S. Stein, București, ARA (1992).	Anthology 1995	<i>O capră și un vițel, un hoț mititel, un meșter scamator și alții asemenea lor. Povestiri pentru copii</i> [A goat and a calf, a small thief, a master conjuror and the like. Stories for children], translated by Anton Celaru, București Hasefer (1995).
Aleichem 1995	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>O catastrofă care n-a avut loc. Povestiri de pe drumul-de-fier</i> [A catastrophe which never took place. Railway stories], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (1995).	Anthology 1996	<i>Idișul cântă. Antologie lirică</i> [Yiddish sings. Anthology of poetry], translated by Emil Dorian, preface by Margareta Dorian, bibliographical notes by Anton Celaru, București, Kriterion (1996).
Aleichem 2004	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Menahem Mendel: romanul unui om de afaceri</i> [Menahem Mendel: The story of a businessman], translated by I. Ludo, București, Teșu (2004).	Anthology 1998	<i>La Lisabona, într-o sâmbătă. Antologie de proză idiș</i> [In Lisbon, once upon a Saturday. Anthology of Yiddish literature], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (1998).
Aleichem 2012	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Poveste de dragoste</i> [Love story], translated from Russian by Antoaneta Olteanu, București, Alfa (2012).	Asch 1928	Asch, Sholem, <i>Dumnezeul răzbunării. Dramă în 3 acte</i> [God of vengeance. Three-act drama], translated by Schoss-Roman and Cidel-Roman, București (1928).
Aleichem sinne anno a	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Romanul unui om de afaceri</i> [The story of a businessman], translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. de Stat (sinne anno).	Asch 1932	Asch, Sholem, <i>O execuție la Varșovia</i> [An execution in Warsaw], translated by Aurel B. Luca, București (1932).
Aleichem sinne anno b	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>O catastrofă comică</i> [A funny catastrophe], translated by C. Săteanu, București, Adeverul (sinne anno).	Asch 1935	Asch, Sholem, <i>Petersburg. Varșovia. Moscova</i> [Petersburg. Warsaw. Moscow], novel, translated by F. Aderca, I – III, București, Eminescu (1935).
Aleichem sinne anno c	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Ssst! Plecăm în America</i> [Sh! We're leaving for America], translated by H. Picker, București, Adeverul (sinne anno).	Asch 1945a	Asch, Sholem, <i>Judecata. Evreul cu psalmi. Roman</i> [The trial. The Psalmist. Novel], translated by M. Rubin and Cecilia Wechsler, București, Forum (1945).
Aleichem sinne anno d	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Un șaizeci și șasă, și alte nuvelete umoristice</i> [A sixty-six and other funny stories], translated by C. Săteanu, București, Adeverul (sinne anno).	Asch 1945b	Asch, Sholem, <i>Tâlharii. Povestiri</i> [The thieves. Stories], București, "Bikurim" (1945).
Aleichem sinne anno e	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Stăteam trei la taifas</i> [Three of us were chatting], translated by I. Ludo, București (sinne anno).	Asch 2009	Asch, Sholem, <i>Apostolul</i> [The apostle], translated from English by Cătălina Hârceag, București, Lider (2009).
Aleichem sinne anno f	Aleichem, Sholem, <i>Gimnaziu cu bucluc</i> [Calamity gymnasium], translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. Bibliofilă (sinne anno).	Asch 2010	Asch, Sholem, <i>Vrăjitoarea din Castilia</i> [The witch of Castile], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2010).
An-sky 1927	An-sky, S., <i>Dy buck. Legendă dramatică în patru acte</i> [Dy buck. Dramatic legend in four acts], translated by I. Ludo, București, Ed. I. Brănișteanu (1927).	Asch sinne anno a	Asch, Sholem, <i>Cea mai frumoasă din Iehuda</i> [The most beautiful of

	<i>Iehuda</i>], translated by București, Emil Albu (sinne anno).	Bashevis-Singer 2008	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Judecătorul de pe strada Krohmalna. Istorisiri</i> [<i>The judge on Krohmalna street. Stories</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2008).
Asch sinne anno b	Asch, Sholem, <i>Scaunul electric</i> [<i>Electric chair</i>], translated by Ritz Drummer, București, Forum (sinne anno).	Gordin 1915	Gordin, Jacob, <i>Din țara sclaviei. Nuvele</i> [<i>From the country of slavery. Stories</i>], translated by Horia Carp, București, Ed. Societății Culturale Saron (1915).
Bashevis-Singer 1990	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Ghimpl-netotul și alte povestiri</i> [<i>Gimpl-the-fool and other stories</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Cartea Românească (1990).	Iancu 2000	Iancu, Carol, <i>Evreii din România de la emancipare la marginalizare. 1919-1938</i> [<i>The Jews of Romania from Emancipation to marginalization. 1919-1938</i>], București, Hasefer (2000).
Bashevis-Singer 1995	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Scamatorul din Lublin. Roman. Cabalistul de pe East-Broadway și alte povestiri</i> [<i>The Lublin conjurer. Novel. The East-Broadway Kabbalist and other stories</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Casa Școalelor (1995).	Manger 1977	Manger, Itzik, <i>Cartea Raiului. Neasemuita descriere a vieții lui Șmul Abe Abervo</i> [<i>The book of heaven. The amazing description of Șmul Abe Abervo's life</i>], translated by Iosif Andronic, preface of Paul Anghel, București, Kriterion (1977).
Bashevis-Singer 1997	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Robul</i> [<i>The slave</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (1997).	Manger 1983	Manger, Itzik, <i>Balada evreului care a ajuns de la cenușiu la albastru. Versuri</i> [<i>The balad of the Jew who turn from grey to blue. Lyrics</i>], translated by Nina Cassian and Israil Bercovici, preface by Nina Cassian, București, Kriterion (1983).
Bashevis-Singer 2000	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Familia Moskat</i> [<i>Family Moskat</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2000).	Manger 1992	Manger, Itzik, <i>Velvl Zbarjer scrie scrisori frumoasei Malcale</i> [<i>Velvl Zbarjer writes letters to beautiful Malcale</i>], translated by Iosif H. Andronic and Paul Drumaru, București, Kriterion (1992).
Bashevis-Singer 2001	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Moartea lui Matusalem și alte povestiri ciudate</i> [<i>Matusalem's death and other strange stories</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2001).	Manger 1993	Manger, Itzik, <i>Cartea Raiului. Neasemuita descriere a vieții lui Șmul Abe Abervo</i> [<i>The book of heaven. The amazing description of Șmul Abe Abervo's life</i>], translated by Iosif Andronic, 2 nd edition, București, Kriterion (1993).
Bashevis-Singer 2002	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Dușmance. O poveste de iubire</i> [<i>Enemies. A love story</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2002).	Mendele 1934	Mendele, Mocher Sforim, <i>Fișke șchiopul</i> [<i>Fișke the cripple</i>], translated by B. Zeilig, preface of Eugen Relgis, București, Șalom Alechem (1934).
Bashevis-Singer 2003	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Rătăciți</i> [<i>Lost</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2003).	Mendele	Mendele, Mocher Sforim, <i>Fișke</i>
Bashevis-Singer 2004	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Șoșa</i> [<i>Shosha</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2004).		
Bashevis-Singer 2005	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Conacul</i> [<i>The manor</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2005).		
Bashevis-Singer 2006	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Urmașii</i> [<i>The heirs</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2006).		
Bashevis-Singer 2007	Bashevis-Singer, I., <i>Pierdut în America</i> [<i>Lost in America</i>], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2007).		

- 1946** *șchiopul* [*Fișke the cripple*], translated by B. Zeilig, București, “Bicurim” (1946).
- Mendele 2011** Mendele, Moïher Sforim, *Drumețiile lui Biniomin al treilea* [*The travels of Benjamin the third*], translated by Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (2011).
- Mendele sinne anno** Mendele, Mocher Sforim, *Jețul din Mizrach* [*The Mizrach seat*], translated by M. S. Metzer, București, Societatea culturală Saron (sinne anno).
- Mendelsohn 1983** Mendelsohn, Ezra, *The Jews of Eastern Central Europe between the World Wars*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press (1983).
- Opatoshu 1945** Opatoshu, Joseph, *Păduri poloneze* [*Polish woods*], translated by I. Ludo, București, Bicurim (1945).
- Opatoshu sinne anno** Opatoshu, Joseph, *Linșaj. Nuvele / Proză scurtă* [*Lynching*], translated by Gustav S. Gal, București, Socec (sinne anno).
- Peretz 1915** Peretz, I. L., *La fakir și alte nuvele* [*At the fakir's and other stories*], translated by Horia Carp with a bibliographical note by Dr. I. Niemirower, București, Tipografia Progresul (1915).
- Peretz 1920** Peretz, I. L., *Jerifa* [*The sacrifice*], translated by Oscar Cramer, with an introductory study by I. Botoșanski, București, Institutul de Arte Grafice “Lumea Nouă” (1920).
- Peretz 1946** Peretz, I. L., *Molima* [*The plague*], translated by Isac Cotiugaru, translator's preface București, Bicurim (1946).
- Peretz 1974** Peretz, I. L., *Schițe și nuvele* [*Sketches and stories*], translated by I. Schneider, foreword by M. Rispler, București, Univers (1974).
- Peretz 1996** Peretz, I. L., *Un bătrân copac a râs. Schițe și nuvele* [*An old tree laughed. Sketches and stories*], translated by S. Schneider, preface of Anton Celaru, București, Hasefer (1996).
- Peretz sinne anno** Peretz, I. L., *Poveste ca multe altele* (*Povestea măritășului meu*)
- Rosenfeld 1904** Rosenfeld, Morris, *Cântece din Ghetto* [*Ghetto songs*], translated by M. Rusu, with a biography and the author's portrait, Iași, Ed. Librăriei Nouă Iliescu, Grossu (1904).
- Shternberg 1983** Shternberg, Yankev, *Oraș în profil. Versuri* [*The profile of a city. Poems*], translated by Iosif H. Andronic and Andrei Roman, foreword by Aurel-Dragoș Munteanu, București, Kriterion (1983).
- Steinbarg 1947a** Steinbarg, Eliezer, *Fabule* [*Fables*], translated by A. Clain, Bacău (1947).
- Steinbarg 1947b** Steinbarg, Eliezer, *Fabule* [*Fables*], translated by Emil Dorian, București, Ed. Institutului de Cultură Evrească “Yavne” (1947).
- Steinbarg 1955** Steinbarg, Eliezer, *Fabule* [*Fables*], translated by Emil Dorian, București, Ed. Tineretului (1955).
- Steinbarg 1961** Steinbarg, Eliezer, *Fabule* [*Fables*], translated by Clementina Voinescu, preface of Șt. Cazimir, București, Ed. Pentru Literatură Universală (1961).

Identity Politics and the Muslim Other: a Study of Shyam Benegal's *Mammo*

Vivek SACHDEVA

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

GGSIP University, New Delhi

E-mail: viveksachdeva09@gmail.com

Abstract. Cinema as a cultural practice in India cuts across the barriers and strongly influences the popular consciousness of a society. The collective cinematic experience in India, while being a formative influence on the popular consciousness, is also a signifier of the society. Cinema has been instrumental in constructing and propagating identities embedded in the psyche of Indian society. Ranging from the Mughal Emperors to the Nawabs to courtesans, Hindi cinema has portrayed different aspects of Muslim identity. The portrayal of the Muslims in Hindi cinema on different historical junctures has revealed the anxiety to relocate Muslims vis-à-vis India as a nation-state. Partition of India along religious lines in 1947 and the emergence of insurgency in Kashmir have led to perception of the Muslim as the Others of India. Placing in the discourse of Hindutava ideology and partition films in Hindi cinema, the present paper makes an attempt to understand the status of Muslims and their search for “home” in post-colonial India. To hypothesize the argument, the present paper studies how realist aesthetics of Shyam Benegal in *Mammo* probes into the ambivalence of the relationship of the “otherized Muslims” and/in India imagined as a Hindu nation.

Keywords: identity, Hindi cinema, nation, nationalism and the Muslim Other.

Identity formation has been an ongoing process since the ancient past, but the coming of the British rule is a critical threshold. Under colonialism the policy of divide and rule crystallized identities vicariously by promoting the individual interests of different groups. Stereotypes were constructed and individual groups were typecast through constant reinforcement. Unfortunately, the departure of the British has not put an end to such stereotyping, which is reductionist in approach. This has created certain popular yet clichéd perceptions about different social and caste groups in the Indian popular cinema. From the beginning voices were raised on such stereotyping and the parallel cinema, also called the “art cinema” has been articulating a nuanced understanding of the Indian socio-cultural fabric. Since the 1990s, Shyam Benegal in his films endeavours to blend commercial and realistic cinema and has been questioning some of the over-simplifications in the popular cinema, in particular with regard to the Muslims. 1990s saw the flaring up of the Kashmir issue and a certain othering of the Muslims came to be visualized on the filmscape. Images of “terrorist”, “jihadis” came to be commonly attached to the Muslim characters. It is in this backdrop that this

paper makes an attempt to understand the problems of Muslim women in cultural sphere of post-independence Indian society, with special reference to the portrayal of Muslims in *Mammo* by Shyam Benegal.

One of the various challenges that Indian leaders faced immediately after Independence of India in 1947 was to consolidate India as a nation. However, the building of India as a nation was based on the values of nationalism, secularism and democracy while “recognizing and accepting India’s immense regional, linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity” (Chandra, Mukherjee 2008, 2). The challenge was to accommodate multiple identities of Indians and give them equal space in the country. The challenge became more daunting as identities in India are formulated on various bases. Besides language and religion, territory and caste have been important parameters of identity formation in India, which makes sometimes identities fluid and overlap. Simultaneously, the freedom of the country stood precariously with communal violence in Punjab, which has been one of the factors responsible for the perception of Muslims in a particular light. From the very beginning India accepted secularism as one of its defining

principles of the modern nation-state, despite the unfortunate division along the religious lines. Popular perception of the Muslims ever since the emergence of insurgency in Kashmir, which also coincides with increasing popularity of Hindutava ideology, has also contributed towards making the Muslims of India as the Others. Owing to policies adopted by the British administration during the colonial period, communal riots in 1947, increasing popularity of the Hindutava ideology in the political sphere and popular imagination of Indian masses in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and appropriation of History from the Hindutava point of view, Muslims in India became the Others of India (read India as a Hindu nation). Some scholars have highlighted India's projection as a Hindu nation in popular Hindi cinema especially since 1990 (Sarkar 2010; Kazmi, Kumar 2011, 171-187; Islam 2007, 403-422; Khan, Ashraff 2011, 1-15). The present paper is an attempt to study nuanced representation of Muslims in Indian society and their search for home in post-colonial India in the context of increasing popularity of the Hindutava ideology with special reference to *Mammo* directed by Shyam Benegal.

"In Hindi films the image of the nation as a mythical community- a family- collapses under the weight of its own contradictions. Gender, heterosexuality, class, and religious communities crosshatch the nation, and each of these disrupts the nationalist narration in Hindi cinema to reveal a different history" (Virdi 2003, 1).

Jyotika Virdi begins her book with the above quoted note for developing her argument on restructuring the social history of India through popular Hindi Cinema. Virdi opines that in India, a country with a lesser literacy rate than the European countries, the visual nature of cinema played a similar role to that of book publishing played under capitalism in the West (Anderson 2006). Hindi cinema helps Indian audience imagine India as a nation. Most of the structuring patterns of popular Indian imagination are determined by the nature of Hindi cinema. Hindi cinema has also been instrumental in constructing and propagating certain identities in people's imagination in India. By "making complex but decipherable hieroglyphics" (Virdi 2003, 7), Indian popular cinema "configures the nation and constructs a national imagery" (Virdi 2003, 7). On the one hand, the 'images' of India that cinema propagates have influenced the way Indian

audience imagines India; on the other, it also reflects the perception of various minority groups in India by the majority group.

Hindi cinema has been portraying different aspects of Muslim identity in different epochs of Indian history. In the pre-independence India, cinema also became a new medium through which identities were formulated and propagated. In the decade of 1920s and 1930s, films like *Sati Savitri*, *Sati Sita* and films based on Hindu epics were being made, in the same decade films like *Laila Majnu* (1922 and 1927), *Shirin Farhad* (1926), *Hatim Tai* (1929), *Alibaba and the Forty Thieves* (1927) and *Anarkali* (two in 1928), *Lal-e-Yaman* (1933), *Rashk-e-Laila* (1934), *Judgement of Allah* (1935) were also made. These films, based on Persian legends, Arabic tales and Mughal history, became part of the "emergent political-nationalist discourse" (Mukhopadhyay 2013, 41) in the colonial India. Seen in the historical context of India's struggle for freedom, these films helped people imagine India as a nation. But these films, besides creating Indian "self" and the coloniser "other", also helped in the assertions of religio-cultural identities in the colonial India. If seen in the context of the "collapse of the Congress-Muslim League pact in the 1920s" (Mukhopadhyay 2013, 12), these films played a role in formulating and strengthening separate Hindu and Muslim identities in the colonial India. Division of Indian society along the religious lines thus played a crucial role in the communalist politics of India not only until India's partition, but later too. Though Indian constitution asserts India to be a secular state, but the division of India and Pakistan across the religious lines led to popular (mis)-understanding of India being a Hindu majoritarian state. In the post-colonial India, films based on Muslims have served dual purpose. On the one hand, these films helped in imagining India as a nation with syncretic *Hindustani* culture; on the other, these films also reflect the anxiety of Muslims to claim their space in India and in the popular imagination of Indian audience. Through the genres of Muslim Historicals, Muslim Courtesan Films and Muslim Social (Bhaskar, Allen 2009), Hindi cinema explored various aspects of Muslim identity in Indian society, which Ira Bhaskar and Richard Allen have studied as the culture of Islamicate. Their study reveals that representation of Muslims in the popular cinema has been limited to certain categories such as Muslim Historicals, Courtesans and the Nawabs. In a "mass-based cultural form, these idioms

were also recast, elevated and consolidated to articulate the cultures of the elite” (Bhaskar, Allen 2009, 5). Seen in the post-colonial context, such celebratory images of Islamic culture through constant reinforcement have led to straight jacketing of Muslims in a particular manner. These films have a strong tendency to freeze the time in which Muslim culture is imbued with spirit of nostalgia with a certain degree of romanticization of the Muslim culture. Islamicate as conceived by Marshall Hodgson is not limited to the Muslims or the followers of Islam, rather it pertains to the “social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims” [...] and found even “among non-Muslims” ⁽¹⁾. Films portraying the romanticized version of Islamicate culture in post-colonial India eventually become relics of past or what Deleuze calls ‘crystals of time’ (Deleuze 1986, 190) with pathos of decadence evocative of a lost era running in the undercurrents of the narratives. The mise-en-scène of these films highlights Indo-Islamic architecture, grandeur of Islamic rulers during the medieval period, glory of the Nawabs after the decadence of the Mughal period, their sophistications, mannerism, finesse, stylized dialogues with emphasis on Urdu poetry and also importance to feudal notions of honour of the Nawabs associated with their mansions (*Haweli*). With extensive emphasis on *ghazal* (a form of Urdu poetry), music, sophistications and finesse, Muslims in these films are shown as feudal, anti-modern and “invariably cultivated Hindustanis” (Benerjee). The aesthetics of realism in Indian New Wave cinema, however, presented a non-romanticized version of the Muslims in India, representing the changing dynamics of the Muslim identity in post-colonial India. Films like *Garam Hawa* (M.S. Sathyu 1973), *Mammo* (Shyam Benegal 1994), *Sardari Begum* (Shyam Benegal 1996), *Fiza* (Khaled Mohammed 2000) etc., portray the challenges confronted by the Muslims in India, their negotiation with modernity while searching for their identity and their positioning vis-à-vis India as a nation.

⁽¹⁾Hodgson’s concept of Islamicate is very close to what is popularly known as Hindustani culture – a syncretic culture of Muslims and Hindus with denominators of commonly shared culture. But Ira Bhaskar’s and Richard Allen’s study is limited to the Muslim films only, not of the Islamicate culture in non-Muslim communities of India. For details see Bhaskar, Allen, 2009, 3.

Mammo (1994) is based on a real-life story written by Khaled Mohammed, the famous film critic, about his great-aunt. Shyam Benegal read Khaled Mohammed’s piece and was so touched by the magnitude of human tragedy in the story that he decided to make a film on this subject. Shyam Benegal’s reaction to the story has been quoted by Sangeeta Dutta in her book. To quote:

“I was deeply moved by the story. It was one of the myriad human tragedies that took place in the aftermath of the Partition of India, tragic story of families torn apart by man-made borders and barriers. It was an exquisite miniature and in a microcosm expressed the trauma that had affected the entire subcontinent” (Benegal quoted by Datta 2002, 187).

Mammo (1994) is the first film in Muslim women trilogy made by Shyam Benegal between 1994 and 2001. All the three films – *Mammo* (1994), *Sardari Begum* (1996) and *Zubeidaa* (2001) deal with the issue of Muslim woman’s identity in Hindu dominated and patriarchal Indian society ⁽²⁾. *Sardari Begum* deals with the struggle of a light classical *thumri* singer in a patriarchal society; *Zubeidaa* deals with a young Muslim woman who wanted to become a film actress and after her divorce from the first husband, she became second wife of a Hindu prince. *Mammo* is the story of a middle-class Muslim widow and her metaphorical journey back to her roots. Mammo, the eponymous character of the film, was born at Panipat, (now in Haryana, India), then a part of Punjab (India). After marriage, she shifted to Lahore, Pakistan. After the death of her husband, owing to the ill treatment of her in-laws, she wants to come back to her sister, who is staying in Bombay (now Mumbai). Her status and stay in India becomes problematic because of diplomatic ties with Pakistan and the rules of Indian bureaucracy. Towards the end of the film, Mammo is able to dupe Indian and Pakistani bureaucracy by twisting the rules and documents to her advantage.

John W. Hood (Hood 2000) reads *Mammo* like *Suraj Ka Satwan Ghoda* (Benegal 1992) ⁽³⁾ to be rich in literary realism than cinematic

⁽²⁾ This should be read irrespective of religious communities as patriarchy can be found across all major communities or socio-cultural groups in India such as Hindu, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians etc.

⁽³⁾ The film is an adaptation of Hindi novel with the same title written by Dharamvir Bharti.

realism. It is not that Hood is trying to make a point that stories like *Mammo* are more suitable for verbal medium than cinematic, he is perhaps trying to assert that the structure of the film remains under the influence of the verbal medium. Khaled Mohammed is Zubeidaa's son, a real woman who once acted in Indian cinema. She is only referred to in the film and Riyaz is Zubeidaa's son. Shyam Benegal, retaining his realist and non-melodramatic style of film making, touches upon different issues pertaining to Mammo's identity, which has been further complicated by the partition of India in 1947 and Indian bureaucracy. Through Mammo's character, Benegal is also trying to problematize the notions of "home" and "nation"; "insider"/"outsider" and the status of Muslims in India. From bureaucratic perspective, Mammo is a Pakistani woman, who has been granted visa for three months which is extendable by 25 days. After the expiry of this duration, she is expected to leave India. Since she has decided to continue to live in India against the rules, she is forcibly sent back to Pakistan. Back in Pakistan, she is not welcomed by her in-laws after her husband's death. In a state of utter loneliness and helplessness, she has nowhere to go but her sister's place.

The film begins with a series of montage showing frames of young Riyaz running frantically on the roads and the railway station. Inherent violence in Mammo being forcibly taken away and other scenes of the film from Riyaz's childhood are interspersed with dark frames. The montage of traumatic separation gives way to *ghazal* on the sound track of the film that touches on the irony of being away from home while being at home. The ironical distance, as said in song, remains untraversed. The opening couplet of the *ghazal* has been used as a refrain in the film which punctuates the narrative with its echoes and adds meaning to the narrative. In the beginning of the film, adult Riyaz (Rajit Kapoor) is shaken off his sleep by a disturbing dream. He gets up from his bed and begins to write the story of Mammo (Farida Jalal), his grandmother's sister who appeared in his dream. The adult Riyaz talks to his grandmother Fiyazi (Surekha Sikri) about Mammo. She brings Mammo's letters which Riyaz reads out aloud stating her condition. Suddenly the door bell rings. Riyaz goes to open the door and the film observes an extradiegetic analepsis ⁽⁴⁾. The young Riyaz finds that an old

woman named Mammo, his grandmother's sister, has come to stay with them. Mammo feels at home with her sister in Bombay. In spite of Riyaz's initial resistance, she soon strikes a friendly note with Riyaz, who is an adolescent boy ready to embark upon manhood. Mammo becomes his friend, guide and confidante. Understanding the psychology of an adolescent boy, she makes Riyaz feel secure in her company. In her natural way she also educates Riyaz on various aspects of human nature. She shares her traumatic experience of partition and introduces the young Riyaz to progressive writers like Saadat Hasan Manto and Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Although she is warm and affectionate towards Riyaz and his grandmother's real sister, yet she is considered an 'outsider' and called so once by irate Riyaz. Her sister's silence on Riyaz's remarks strengthens his position. Hurt by Riyaz's behaviour and her sister's silence, Mammo leaves the house. This gives Riyaz his final lesson as he realizes his mistake after Mammo left the house. Riyaz and his grandmother both look for Mammo and find her sitting at the Haji Ali's shrine. Riyaz apologizes to her and she agrees to come back home. Soon after this, the police officials come and send Mammo forcibly back to Pakistan. After many years, the adult Riyaz wakes up to Mammo's dream and starts writing her story. As a young boy, he had always wanted to write her story. He once shared his idea of writing a story on Mammo's life with his friend, who was not intelligent and imaginative enough to understand Riyaz's view point. Young Riyaz gives clear expression to the idea of his story that "everyone goes back to one's roots" ⁽⁵⁾ reflects the idea of the film.

Through two old sisters and Mammo's relationship with young Riyaz, Shyam Benegal has raised multiple issues. The film is not only about a young boy's coming to terms with his old aunt, who has suddenly appeared to stay with them in their small flat in Bombay. The film also problematizes the identity of a Muslims in the post-colonial India. The film is about Mammo's search and struggle for "home" as she has become an "outsider" in the country

is popularly known as flashback. Extradiegetic analepsis is a kind of analepsis in relation to the first narrative. For details, please read Genette, Gerard, *Narrative Discourse*, Cornell University Press (1987).

⁽⁴⁾ An anachrony in which narrative goes back to the past in relation to the present time in the narrative. It

⁽⁵⁾ From the film. Young Riyaz says this to his unimaginative friend.

where she was born. Born in Panipat, she became a citizen of Pakistan after partition. Quite often she talks about her desire to go back to her roots in the film. The pull of *watan ki mitti* – the homeland – is so strong in her that she comes back to her roots time and time again. Her state of mind is aptly expressed by the Urdu couplet used in the film – *Yeh Kaisi sarhaday uljhi hui hai pairon mein* (What web of borders is tangled around my feet) ⁽⁶⁾. But Mammo's journey back home is not going to be so easy, which is symbolically reflected when Riyaz and his grandmother bring angry Mammo back home from the shrine of Haji Ali. While going back home, they are welcomed by gusts of strong wind which made their homeward journey difficult, symbolic of Mammo's arduous journey in search of home. In the next shot, she is sitting in front of the aquarium and reflecting that fish therein the tank are safe as no one can throw them out of their home. Besides highlighting the fish tank by bringing it in the foreground of the frame, on couple of occasions Mammo has been shown talking to the fish. Mammo, identifying herself with the fish in the fish tank, sometimes wishes freedom for them and sometimes, she feels that the condition of the fish in the fish-tank is better than her condition. In her opinion, even if the fish are confined in a tank, they at least have a home of their own. The association between the fish and anxiety for home is similar to the anxiety of Punjabi diaspora in the play *Kaamloops Dian Machhian* (The Fish of Kaamploops) written by Atamjit Singh. The playwright has used fish as symbol for the desire of Punjabi diaspora to go back to their roots. The playwright borrowed the idea from behaviour pattern of the fish of Kaamloops that swim away from their 'birth place throughout their lives, but before their death all the fish start swimming back towards their birth place. Mammo's desire to go back to her roots cannot be seen as similar to what Atamjit Singh is referring to in his play as there are basic differences between Mammo's circumstances and the condition of Punjabi diaspora in the West, but the fish aptly symbolize Mammo's anxiety in the film. Soon Mammo is forced to leave India by the Police. After almost twenty years, young Riyaz is writing Mammo's story when the door bell rings. He finds old Mammo standing outside. This time Mammo is able to ditch the offices in both the countries by producing a fake death certificate. The film seems to give a highly

ironic solution for a 'happy ending' by giving Mammo her home, but more important question is about the status of all Muslims in India.

The mise-en-scène of *Mammo* does not offer the spectacle of Indo-Islamic architecture of medieval or late medieval period; nor does it portray the mansions of Nawabs cherishing feudal values, their mannerism and glory. On the contrary, the realist aesthetics of Shyam Benegal's cinema portray the struggle of a middle-class Muslim woman to claim her space in a small flat and also in India as a nation-state. The mise-en-scène, rather, shows cramped small flats in Bombay where her sister Fayyazi has devoted her life to bring up her daughter's son selflessly. Mammo's (the central character) situation becomes more problematic when understood in the context of identity formation and identity conflicts in India. The identity constituted either on the basis of language, gender or religion to some extent fails to capture the complexities of identity in Indian context. In a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic society of India, besides the parameters of religion, race, gender and class, the caste and territory angle are important while understanding the formation of identity. Caste and class issues are closely intertwined in India. Besides religion, class, caste and language, territory plays an equally crucial role in forming one's identity in Indian society. Sub-national or regional identities such as Punjabis, Bihari, Kashmiris, Bengalis, Gujrati, Tamil, Telgu, Marathi or Maharashtra are all constituted on the basis of language and territory. Mammo is an Urdu speaking Muslim woman who was born at Panipat, a part of Punjab before states in India were reorganized on linguistic basis. At the same time, linguistic and territorial identities in India cut across different castes. There can be a Kashmiri Brahmin or a Kashmiri Muslim. Similarly, in the ethno-cultural group called Punjabi there are Punjabi Muslims, Punjabi Sikhs, Punjabi Hindus who may belong either to high caste or the low caste in all the above mentioned religious groups. Thus, traditionally identity in a country like India has to be understood at different levels-territory, religion, language and caste. The gulf between Hindus and Muslims was widened by the British language policies of administration in the colonial India. The British rule in India introduced India to modernity in terms of industry, science, new political institutions and administrative models; at the same time, the British policies for administration led to crystallization and polarization of fluid and

⁽⁶⁾ Translation is mine.

porous religious identities. The aftermath of polarization of identities was felt by Indians and seen by the world during the holocaust of the Partition in 1947. *Mammo* is thus a story of Punjabi Muslim woman, who went to Pakistan after marriage (as her husband's family decided to shift to Pakistan), but she feels a sense of belonging only in India. Mammo's struggle is for her "home", as after partition and ignored by her in-laws after her husband's death she feels homeless. Mammo, as a woman, stakes her claim for home in a patriarchal post-colonial India. As discussed earlier, the dynamics of claiming the space has been shown artistically in the film through the use of fish-tank. Besides, the fish tank also divides the space flat into two parts- Riyaz's personal space and the other common space for all. In the earlier part of the film, when Riyaz and Mammo have not become friends, the conflict of space becomes evident as Riyaz never liked Mammo's crossing the invisible border within the house. The part of the flat beyond the fish-tank is Riyaz's exclusive space. Riyaz has never approved of Mammo's intrusions into his personal space. Inter-textuality, provided by M.S. Sathyu's *Garam Hawa*, reasserts the search for home by Muslims in the post-colonial India. Riyaz, Mammo and Riyaz's grand-mother go to watch a movie, which gives a cinematic frame to comment on the theme of home for the Muslim in post-colonial India. *Garam Hawa*, written by Ismat Chughtai and directed by M.S. Sathyu, looks at the Partition and migration of the Muslim from India to Pakistan from the point of view of the Muslims. The film presents before us the perspective of the Muslim in India, who had to leave their homeland in order to shift to Pakistan. The Muslim in the film hopes that the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi would not go waste and they will finally be accepted by Indian Hindus. The dream of being accepted by the Hindus, the fear of accepting a new land (Pakistan) as their 'home' and anxiety associated with it sums up the trauma and perils of Partition and migration from the point of view of the Muslims. The Muslims, who were born in India and were forced to migrate to Pakistan, were suddenly left homeless in their own homeland. Mammo too, in the film, is trying to stay back in India (her home) like the protagonist of *Garam Hawa*, who decides to stay in India and also owns up India's problems by jumping into the protest march at the end of the film. The frame of inter-textuality provided by *Garam Hawa* puts *Mammo* also in the category of partition films, but in a different way. *Mammo* does not

tell us the story of Partition, but it brings on the surface the after effects of Partition in Indian society, in particular on women. Two-nation theory created two countries for different communities, which has problematized the status of the Muslim in Indian. Communal hatred sitting at the heart of violence of Partition and the Hindutava ideology gaining currency in the country renders Muslim homeless in their own home and make them outsiders in their own country.

"Set years later, *Mammo* is a film that demonstrates how the Partition is not yet over. The survivors are still dealing with its fall-out as the two nation-states, India and Pakistan, play out their political tensions in a manner that heartlessly ignores the lives of individuals caught in the literal and metaphoric crossfire" (Bhaskar, Allen 2009, 311).

The Muslim identity in India, irrespective of the territorial dimension, becomes a politically contentious concept especially when perceived through the lens of the Hindutava ideology. The Hindutava ideology, expressed initially by Savarkar among others during the British rule in India ⁽⁷⁾, gained impetus during the latter half of 1980s with the demand of reconstructing the Ram Temple on the site of Babar's mosque. A section of media further fanned the ideology of Hindutava. The broadcast of the TV serial the *Ramayana* directed by Ramanand Sagar, based on the Hindu epic, helped in propagating the Hindutava ideology. The demolition of *Babri Masjid* (read Babar's mosque) brought on the surface the chasm in the matrix of Indian society. The discourse of Hindutava ideology is based on imagining Muslims as "outsiders" and a potent threat to Hindu *rashtra* (nation) or the dream of *Akhand Bharta* (Undivided India). The ideology of Hindutava controversially co-opts Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism (religions that originated in India) under the umbrella concept of Hindus, but Islam and Christianity (which originated outside India) are perceived as aliens or outsiders.

The historical moment when this film was made makes the question of the Muslim in Indian society more relevant. The polarization of Indian society increased further since 1980s and early 1990s. These years of post-colonial India also witnessed fast revival of the ideology of

⁽⁷⁾ *Essentials of Hindutava*, the ideological pamphlet of Hindutava, was published in 1923. The pamphlet was retitled as *Hindutava – Who is a Hindu?* and republished in 1928.

Hindutava, facilitated by the broadcast of TV serials based on Hindu mythology and privatization of Indian economy ⁽⁸⁾. The decade of 1990s also saw the emergence of NDA ⁽⁹⁾ into power, which played a crucial role in making the discourse of Hindutava becoming a part of day to day register of language. In this context, Meera Nanda quoted by Kazmi and Kumar becomes more meaningful. I quote:

“Aided by the new political economy, a new Hindu religiosity is getting ever more deeply embedded in the everyday life, both in public and private spheres. Use of explicitly Hindu rituals and symbols in the routine affairs of the state and electoral politics has become so commonplace that Hinduism has become the *de facto* religion of the “secular” Indian state which is constitutionally bound to have no official religion” (Nanda as quoted therein the article by Kazmi and Kumar 2011, 171-187).

In December 1992 and January 1993, Bombay witnessed communal riots orchestrated against Muslims by the Shiv Sena, which also changed the character of the city afterwards ⁽¹⁰⁾. It was during this violence in Bombay riots, in which a Muslim bakery across the road was burnt down in front of the filmmaker. “There was an urgent questioning of the position of minorities and, in particular Muslim identity” (Datta 2002, 186).

⁽⁸⁾ Fareed Kazmi and Sanjeev Kumar in their article entitled *The Politics of Muslim Identity and Nature of Public Imagination in India: Media and Films as Potential Determinants* find correlation between privatization and revival of Hindutava ideology, which is debatable. However, they have made an interesting observation about the nexus between political economy and communal politics as, according to them, the benefits of privatization were reaped mainly by Hindu middle class. The point they fail to catch is that polarization of Indian society did not start with privatization of Indian economy, but during the British colonial period. For details, see Kazmi, Fareed and Kumar, Sanjeev, *The Politics of Muslim Identity and the Nature of Public Imagination*. In: *European Journal of Economics and Political Studies*. 4(1) (2011), 171-187.

⁽⁹⁾ National Democratic Alliance.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Based on Arvind Unni's paper presented in a conference. Arvind has studied the representation of the “Muslim Space” in Indian cinema. See details, Unni, Arvind, *Reading the Muslim Space in Bombay (Mumbai) through Cinema*. Paper presented at the international RC21 conference 2011 Session: RT 14.2 Religion, Media and Urban Space.

Shyam Benegal wanted to bring the issue of Muslim identity in the context of rising Hindu fundamentalism in front of people through his medium. *Mammo* without portraying a single shot of riots on the streets of Bombay touches upon the issue of Muslims in Indian society. The filmmaker has also succeeded in questioning the idea of dividing a nation into two on the basis of religion, which has produced fractured identities in India and Pakistan. By adding the frame of *Garam Hawa* through inter-textuality and bringing in the voice of progressive Urdu writers like Saadat Hasan Manto and Faiz Ahmed Faiz within the narrative, who have also questioned the very idea of partition and the spread of violence during the partition, Shyam Benegal touches the issue of identity politics, communal violence, two-nation theory and its adverse effects in the history. The strength of the film lies in touching upon all the above mentioned issues without making any melodramatic or propagandist statement against partition and offering the spectacle of violence of partition. The film seems to be an old woman's struggle for getting a “home” for herself. When placed in the larger frame of dislocation and dispossession, the narrative of film transcends an individual's search and becomes allegorical search for “home” of all the Muslims in post-colonial India. “The film-maker touches the issue of Muslim refugees in the city by tapping into the historical tragedy of partition” (Datta 2002, 193). The filmmaker's concern is not for the refugees in a city, rather he looks at all those who have been denied their “home” as refugees. Shyam Benegal's understanding of the communal violence is not narrow, local and immediate; rather he finds the roots of this problem in the history. It would be wrong to assume that Muslim and non-Muslim conflicts suddenly erupted in the 1947 as there is a long history of conflicts and hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims (Hindus and Sikhs) behind ⁽¹¹⁾. These chasms were widened by the British policies and they surfaced during a particular historical juncture. But the filmmaker,

⁽¹¹⁾ This refers to conflicts between the Mughals and Rajputs, Shiva ji (Marathas) and Aurangzeb and Guru Gobind Singh (the tenth Guru of the Sikhs) and Aurangzeb. The conflict between Rajputs and the Mughals and the Marathas and the Mughals have been read as conflict between Hindus and Muslims in terms of national self-determination; but the conflict between Sikh gurus and the Mughals cannot be seen in the same light.

instead of indulging into jingoistic nationalism, hints towards the roots of the problem and portrays a sensitive picture of the status of the Muslim in India as a nation-state. The proponents of Hindutava perceive Muslim rulers, along with European colonizers, as “outsiders”. Under the Hindutava discourse, with central premise on “insider” and “outsider”, there occurs “otherization” of all the communities that have their origin outside modern Indian territory. The proponents of Hindutava fail to catch the difference between the nature of the Muslim rule in India and European colonization of India. The followers of Hindutava ideology also willfully forget the syncretic tradition of Hindustani culture in India. It cannot be denied that there were conflicts between Muslims rulers and Hindu rulers/Sikh Gurus in the medieval India, but these conflicts cannot be seen as communal in nature. This paper does not allow me to go deep into the nature of Muslim rule in India and causes behind the conflicts between the ruler and the subject in medieval India and also to problematize among Hindus and Muslims who is insider and who is outsider ⁽¹²⁾. The process of re-writing or appropriating history from the point of view of Hindutava, creates two categories – the Hindu “Self” and the Muslim “Other”.

Shyam Benegal, who has been committed to the minorities and the oppressed in Indian society, raised the question of “insider/outsider” through the metaphor of “home” for the Muslims in India. “Without the benefit of any dramatic highs, the film-maker unobtrusively confronts the question of a land and its people torn apart by artificial borders” (Datta 2002, 191). Through the question of Mammo and her roots in India, Shyam Benegal has raised his voice for all the Muslims in India perceiving them not as outsiders, but as much insiders as any other group of India. Maidul Islam has criticized *Mammo* on the ground that this film also shows stereotypical portrayal of Muslim women as *burqa* clad Muslim women. The point Maidul Islam has missed here is that the signifiers of stereotypical characterization cannot be brought to the presence or absence of *burqa* ⁽¹³⁾, which is a part of Muslim dress code, but on the overall characterization, the role they play in the narrative and the problems in the

society they negotiate with. The strength of the film lies in that it does not show stereotypical image of Muslims as regressive Nawabs or members of Muslim feudal society and terrorists; rather the films also shows the struggle of two ordinary middle class Muslim women in Bombay. Mammo, in the film, is shown as a victim of partition, patriarchy and Indian bureaucracy. Through the question of Mammo’s identity, problematized by partition and bureaucratic rules, the filmmaker has also questioned the idea of dividing a nation into two on the basis of religion, also aptly done by Saadat Hasan Manto in his story *Toba Tek Singh* ⁽¹⁴⁾ *Mammo* also sensitizes on problems created by the partition, which on the one hand resulted in giving new national identities to people and on the other, it uprooted people from the land they belonged to and they had become diaspora in the new nation or “home” given to them. The ideas of “home” and “roots” run in the undercurrents of the narrative that deals with what Priya Kumar, borrowing Vazira Fazila-Yaccobali’s phrase, calls the narrative of “Pakistani-Indian” yet “not-Pakistani-not-India”. (Kumar 2008, 220).

The narrative of *Mammo* does not operate between stereotypical binaries for Hindus and Muslims, which are generally created in popular Hindi films such as *Bombay*, *Roja* and others. When placed in the larger context of contemporary history, the story of Mammo becomes the narrative of “gendered narrative of dislocation and dispossession” (Datta 2002, 193) of the Muslim in post-colonial India. The relationship of sisters between two middle-class Muslim women and Mammo’s search for “home” in the land she was born is allegorical of relation between India and Pakistan and condition of Muslims in India. In the battle of defining Us and Them, Benegal throws light on fundamental questions of human condition in general and the Muslim in particular in Indian society divided by communal boundaries. The question is how come Mammo, who was born in India, suddenly becomes “They”? The “otherization” ⁽¹⁵⁾ of the Muslim

⁽¹²⁾ This refers to the debate if Aryans were indigenous or they were outsiders. The scholars of Hindutava do not subscribe with the thesis in History that Aryans were also outsiders.

⁽¹³⁾ *Burqa* is Urdu for veil that Muslim women wear.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The film invokes story written on partition by Saadat Hasan Manto along with another written by Gulzar and a poem on partition written by Faiz Ahmed Faiz.

⁽¹⁵⁾ David Cavarallaro gives a brief account of theory of the Other in *Critical and Cultural Theory*. For details, see chapter 5 on The Other in Part-II of the book. Cavallaro, Dani, *Critical and Cultural Theory*. The Athlone Press, London and New Jersey, 2001.

not only pushes them to the margins, but also makes them “others” in their own home land. Benegal, giving his film the historical frame of partition, has touched upon the issues of ‘identity’, “insider/outsider”, “home” and “nation” in Indian context. Made in the aftermath of the Bombay riots of 1992, this film raised questions about the way Muslim identity in post-colonial India is misconstrued. Mammo’s struggle for staking her claims in India as her home is allegorical of the Muslim’s quest for staking their claims in post-colonial India as a nation. The film presents Mammo’s life as the tragedy of misconstrued identity.

References

a. Books

- Anderson 2006** Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso (2006).
- Bhaskar, Allen 2009** Bhaskar, Ira, Allen, Richard, *Islamicate Cultures of Bombay Cinema*, New Delhi, Tulika Books (2009).
- Chandra, Mukherjee, 2008** Chandra, Bipan, Mukherjee, Mridula Mukherjee, Aditya, *India Since Independence*, revised edition, Delhi, New Penguins (2008).
- Datta 2002** Datta, Sangeeta, *Shyam Benegal*, New Delhi, Roli Books (2002).
- Deleuze 1986** Deleuze, Gilles, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*. (trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta), Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press (1986).
- Hood 2000** Hood, John W., *The Essential Mystery*, Hyderabad, Orient BlackSwan (2000).
- Kumar 2008** Kumar, Priya, *Limiting Secularism: the Ethics of Coexistence in Indian Literature and Film*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black (2008).
- Mukhopadhyay 2013** Mukhopadhyay, Urvi, *The Medieval in Film: Representing a Contested Time on Indian Screen (1920s-1960s)*.

From her liminal subjectivity (Kumar 2008, 228) of not-Indian-not-Pakistani (*Ibid.*), Mammo questions the very idea of dividing one nation into two along religious lines and poses fundamental questions to Indian bureaucracy. Ironically, in order to be assimilated into India, Mammo has to “die” to the nation-state on papers. The film is all the more poignant as it is also a commentary on the plight of women in such politically fractured verdicts, as they are more vulnerable to dislocation and ensuing violence in both public and private space.

- Hyderabad, Orient BlackSwan (2013).
- Sarkar 2010** Sarkar, Bhaskar, *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition*. Hyderabad, Orient BlackSwan (2010).
- Virdi 2003** Virdi, Jyotika, *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as History*, Ranikhet, Permanent Black, (2003).

b. Paper in periodical journals

- Benerjee** Benerjee, Purba, *Muslim Identity Formation in India through the Bollywood Political Culture*, <http://tinpahar.com/article/255>
- Islam 2007** Islam, Maidul, *Imagining Indian Muslims: Looking through the Lens of Bollywood Cinema*. In: *Indian Journal of Human Development*, 1 (2), (2007).
- Kazmi, Kumar 2011** Kazmi, Fareed, Kumar, Sanjeev, *The Politics of Muslim Identity and the Nature of Public Imagination*. In: *European Journal of Economics and Political Studies*, 4(1), (2011).
- Khan, Ashraff 2011** Khan, Muhammad Ashraf, Syeda Zuria Bokhari, *Portrayal of Muslims in Indian Cinema: A Content Analysis of Movie during (2002-8)*. In: *Pakistan Journal of Islamic Research*, vol. 8, 1-15, (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.bzu.edu.pk/PJIR/eng1AshrafKhan&Zuria.pdf>, dated 18/04/2014.

Scandals on Statues.

Dangerous Nostalgia, Unfinished Polemics during Post-Communism

Mihaela GRANCEA, Ph.D.

Professor, "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu, Romania

E-mail: mihaela_grancea2004@yahoo.com

Olga GRĂDINARU

Ph.D. Candidate, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Comparative Literature Department

E-mail: olgagradinaru@gmail.com

Abstract. Both factual and symbolical history supposes a micro-history of statues. Starting from modernity, the state imposed a cult of heroicized personality, a cult that took shape through building eponym pantheonic monuments. Throughout the official discourses, the statues become pedagogical examples, legitimations of political and identity projects, "places of memory". Due to that "illustrated" pedagogy, history becomes fiction, mythology and thus, tradition. The statue is transformed into the centre of some political rituals (through celebration, commemoration, reaffirmation of group solidarity, configuration/legitimation and conservation of identity images due to the suggestive force), the substitute of personality. These rituals, through their nature, involve micro groups or, through mediated forms, even the nation as a collective character. When we talk about the collective memory that the statues evoke and stimulate it is inevitable that the discussion is placed in the spaces of political culture.

The paper brings to attention the scandals regarding various forms of legitimation through monuments both in Romania and other post-communist countries. We are to explore various means of manifesting national feelings, even extremist national movements that are centered on disputable historic figures and their potential materialization as busts, statues or groups of statues. On the other hand, we analyse the way in which different post-communist countries deal with the dilemmatic Soviet recent past and its monuments, causing diplomatic scandals and difficult situations.

Keywords: historical monuments re-evaluated, post-communist Romania, Romanian and Hungarian nationalism, ethnic and diplomatic conflicts, post-Soviet context.

Every age, especially when operating with major social changes, proposes a re-evaluation of the pantheon and of the statues as identity representations. Some of us have witnessed such events. I have witnessed a part of the operations in the spring 1990 while the statue of Lenin was removed from Piaţa Presei Libere (Square of the Free Press) in Bucharest. The scene was watched by several hundred curious people, probably still suspicious regarding the ambiguous nature of the new Romanian power. The removal of the statue was meant to convince people of the so-called "death of communism". None of the projects related to the "historic justice" after the 1989 Revolution proved that such public (political) operations were relevant, and, in most cases, they were inconsistent debuts of change. It is thus

inevitable when we talk about statues and collective memory (that they invoke and stimulate) to find ourselves in the space of political culture, as the collective memory functions as a collective construction of the common past (Gildea 1994, 10).

Although the historic past has an objective dimension that keeps un-altered and partially unrecognizable/impenetrable, the part that provoked and supposed sensitivity and representations is subdued to a permanent selective and subjective process of re-imagination and fictionalization. This past, reconstructed in the imaginary plan becomes the substitute of the historic time itself. In the same way, the statue, a pawn in this symbolic and collective game, is a substitute of the era, of the political act, of the

represented and mythologized personality. In many cases, the man who is represented replaces the historic actor. Therefore, the people with a precarious culture limit the biography and the significance of a personality to the topos of the statue, which has a certain (personalized) significance in the topography of nostalgia and emotional reactions (if adults remember that while being young, they had meetings at this and that statue, but they really know few aspects of the represented character in marble, granite or bronze).

Statues as Substitutes of the Other, Proofs of a Dangerous Potential

It is worth mentioning that the monuments of the Soviet soldiers built in the countries of the Communist Block immediately after World War II represent the sacrifice of the Soviet soldiers in the process of liberation from the Nazi occupation, while the later, post-Stalinist monuments on the same subject were of smaller dimensions and were transformed in sources of local legitimation, suggesting the idea of a national revival (in Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland) (Welch 2013, 229). The liberation was represented in a metaphorical manner, while more monuments dedicated to local war heroes, victims of the Fascist occupation and partisans appeared in the public space of countries of the Eastern Block after Stalin's death (Fowkes 2004, 11-32). After the Hungarian events of 1956 the liberating Soviet soldier was discredited as the symbol of the victory against Fascism, which determined the artists to express the victory of the Second World War in abstract ways (Fowkes 2004, 11-32). The matter of dimensions in the representation of Soviet monuments dedicated to the victory during World War II was an issue even in Brezhnev's era, as it was mentioned that the grandeur of the war heroic deeds mustn't be confused with the "pomp". On the other hand, the grandeur of some monuments was not a sign of a similar aesthetic value (Welch 2013, 231).

The status of Soviet-era war memorials was contested after the fall of the Soviet Union in various ways. The Soviet monuments in the Eastern Europe were targets of vandalism, graffiti, fueling political debates between the Russian leadership and national governments. As Kelly Hignett mentions, the starting point of these debates is the different approach on the recent past, especially events regarding the so-called

Soviet "liberation" of the Eastern European countries (Hignett 2011). While Russia maintains the Soviet vision on the heroism of World War II, ensuring consistency for the Russian military glory and promoting the cult of World War II and its associated myths, the Eastern European countries regard the Soviet monuments as painful reminders of communist era and Soviet occupation. The removal or destruction of Soviet war monuments in countries of Eastern Europe are part of a larger project that concern the main communist symbols like hammer and sickle, fact that determined vehement Russian reactions.

It is relevant to mention the case of a so-called Leninopad in Ukraine in 2014 – a massive movement to destroy and remove Lenin's monuments, a process that (surprisingly) didn't take place after the declaration of Ukrainian independence (on 16 July 1990) and not after the so-called "Orange Revolution" (in 2004, bringing Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko to power). Euromaidan and 2014 Ukrainian revolution starting in November 2013 replaced the President Viktor Yanukovich (elected in 2010) with Petro Poroshenko (elected on 25 May 2014, voted also in October 2014). According to Ria Novosti, between 2009 and 2012, 12 Lenin statues were destroyed. Lenin statues were the battlefield of divergent Ukrainian perceptions – Soviet symbols of occupation or historical treasures. They were toppled across Ukraine: Zhytomyr, Odessa, Kiev, Khmelnytsky, Harkiv are only a few cities where in 2014 this phenomenon took place. The event was largely discussed by the international press (see the articles in *The Guardian*, *Huffington Post*, *Washington Post*, etc.), pointing out the protester's desire to tear away from Ukraine's Soviet history and to move toward West. The Russian press expressed different perspectives on these events, emphasizing the ideas of the Slavic peoples' unity and that Leninopad or "de-Leninization" had nothing to do with the historical truth, according to which Lenin was the one to begin the "process of Ukrainization" and he is the "founding father of modern Ukraine, giving away the territory of Novorossiya" (Marinovich 2014). On the other hand, Russian press mainly contested the legitimacy of the new Ukrainian President, as well as the new Kiev Government, along with any public vandalizing acts of the Soviet monuments by the so-called "controversial revolutionaries". Although the Eastern part of Ukraine

(Novorossiia) was more protective toward the Soviet tradition and skeptical regarding the Ukrainian revolutionaries, several “Falling Lenins” took place there, and even several in Ukrainian Crimea of those days. In Kiev Lenin’s statue was even replaced with a golden toilet (on February 3, 2014), a symbol of regime excess based on rumors that Yanukovich had such a toilet in his grand estate.

The Romanian and international press was preoccupied in the spring of 2007 with the scandals and diplomatic incidents that illustrated East-European attitudes regarding the artefacts of the Soviet dominance – the statues of “Soviet liberating soldiers”, which survive, in the space of former communist Europe, the fall of communism (see the articles from the end of June 2007 in national press – *Adevărul* and *gândul* – as well as in regional press, especially in *Ziarul de Iași*). The sign of a conflictual animation of the relations with Russia was given by the Tallinn event. As an Estonian law of 2006 forbids the public exhibition of monuments that glorify the Soviet occupation, the authorities tried to move the statue of the “Soviet Soldier” in a military cemetery. The operation triggered the hostility of the Russian speaking population, which represents a quarter of Estonia’s population. The militants swore to defend the monument. Thus, on Tallinn’s streets, there have been violent confrontations for several hours between around 1.000 demonstrators and the policemen. Although only conventional means were used during this confrontation, especially tear gas, hostilities had a dramatic outcome: one dead, 40 wounded and 300 arrests (according to other sources 153 injured and 8000 arrests; Hignett 2011). This troubled situation and the removal of the statue triggered an intense, but short diplomatic conflict. Russia issued a vehement protest, a sign of deteriorating bilateral relations (still difficult once Estonia adhered to the Euro-Atlantic structures).

Similar events, but less violent, took place in other post-communist countries, requiring official explanations. Thus, the general Polish consul in Sank Petersburg – Jaroslaw Drodz – declared that the existence and conservation of the Soviet mausoleums must not be discussed in the context of the symbols associated with the influence the USSR had manifested in Poland. The consul intended to temper the tensions caused by the Polish traditional and grim Russo-phobia. Instead, the Hungarian officials, although they

have had several scandals concerning the presence of a similar monument near the building of the public television, ignored these events, considering them violent manifestations of the right wing extremists.

The most interesting manner of contesting the Soviet war heroism represented by a monument to the Soviet Army was the Bulgarian case in Sofia when the morning of 18 June 2011 marked a makeover of the monument (built in 1954). The Red Army soldiers were painted to represent popular American icons as Superman, Captain America, The Joker, Ronald McDonald and even Santa Claus. The flag of the soldiers was painted to resemble USA flag, while a daring declaration was written below the monument: “Moving with the Times/In Step with the Times”, a phrase that may only suggest either that American pop culture icons became more relevant for the Bulgarian space or that one “imperialist” influence was replaced by another. However, both the Bulgarian Minister of Culture and the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that it was an “act of vandalism” and respectively, a “mockery of Soviet soldiers who died in the name of freeing Bulgaria and Europe from Nazism” (Hignett 2011). The same monument was also painted once in pink in 2013 (on the 45th anniversary of the Prague Spring with words “Bulgaria apologizes”), and recently the central figure of the monument and the flag were painted in yellow and blue as a means of support for the Ukrainian protesters in February 2014 (Wheatstone 2014).

Other ways of dealing with similar Soviet monuments were not that sophisticated as the Bulgarian one. The demolition of a World War II Soviet war memorial of 46 meters high concrete and bronze structure in Kutaisi, Georgia, in 2009, was a source of another conflict between the Russian and Georgian officials, as well as protests of Red Army veterans and pro-Russian groups in Georgia. The monument was built to commemorate the Georgians (about 300,000) who died fighting against Nazism, and on its site was built the new national Parliament building, inaugurated on 26 May 2012 by President Mikheil Saakashvilli, who signed in 2011 the amendment of constitution to locate the parliament in the Western city of Kutaisi in an effort to decentralise power. However, the destruction of the monument in December 2009 had safety issues, as two people died as a result of flying pieces of concrete and other four were wounded. The act was

severely criticized by Russian Prime Minister Putin and described as an “attempt to erase the former Soviet peoples’ memory of their common and heroic past”, stating the intention to build a replica of the monument in Moscow (Hignett 2011).

In Romania there was also a confusing Russo-phobic incident, showing authorities’ false innocence, but being basically a case of qualified theft. While analyzing the facts, an investigator would start from stating the obvious: the Ambassador of the Russian Federation, who went from Bucharest to Iași, at the end of May 2007 to pay the honour to the statue of the Soviet soldier. The Ambassador “discovered” in Iași that the statue didn’t exist! The present administration of the city (the mayor Gheorghe Nichita and Direcția de Patrimoniu [the Department of Heritage]) demonstrated that during this legislature the statue “isn’t registered in the City hall records” (see the investigations described by the newspaper *gândul* and *Ziarul de Iași* at the end of June 2007). An ad-hoc story of the statue would state the “post-communist history” of the monuments and would ascertain that in 1990 the huge statue made of bronze was still in front of the “Parcul Expoziției”, on the Carol I boulevard; the “soldier” was moved then to the cemetery “Eternitatea” and then removed in 1998 and placed in a city warehouse for three years. The former mayor, Constantin Simirad, during his mandate in 2001 “responded to a request” of the branch “Asociația Veteranilor de Război” [“The Association of War Veterans”] in “helping to create a bronze statue of Mihai Viteazul”. The mayor Simirad donated the remains of the bronze statue, as it was deteriorated and parts of it were stolen, so it was unrecognizable; the remains being fused and used for the statue of Mihai Viteazul [Michael the Brave] – the first Romanian Unifier of Romanian Principalities.

The case of vandalizing the Soviet cemetery in Vlădeni (Brașov County) was configured as premises of a diplomatic conflict even more serious than in the case of Tallinn events. The head of the “Oficiul Național pentru Cultul Eroilor” [ONCE, “The National Bureau for the Cult of Heroes”] didn’t have any immediate reactions, although Romania had signed an agreement in 2005 with the Russian Federation, which allows the Romanian researchers to catalogue all the tombs of the Romanian soldiers in the Russian territories and to mark those areas

by raising crosses or monuments. In Russia and in Ukraine more than 55 thousands Romanian soldiers died during or after World War II, and in most of the cases, the places where they were buried are not known – see the case of the out of time discovery of the renowned cemetery at Țigănești. Besides, the Romanian cemeteries were altogether the victims of profanation and more efforts are necessary to protect and conserve them. The Romanian authorities didn’t give any official explanations, but the local authorities and ONCE try to accredit the idea that the discussed events have no political or Russo-phobia connotations; they are not connected to the incidents in the Eastern Europe and are considered as acts of delinquency, expressions of a certain impiety, manifested by Romanians towards the symbols of the past, regardless of their origin – Romanian or foreign.

These reactions may be specific for the Romanian politics, but the forum writers express different attitudes (see the forums of *Adevărul* and *gândul*, at the end of June 2007): most of them accuse the Russian and Ukrainian authorities for desecrating the cemeteries of the Romanian soldiers who died during World War II (situated on Russian, Ukrainian or Transnistrian soil). Others mention that when the Soviet soldiers “liberated Romanians from the Fascist occupation, they raped, stole and provoked tragedies” (see Leonard’s notes on the online forum of the newspaper *Adevărul*). Insults and quotes of an anti-Russian epigram, composed by Păstorel Teodoreanu, are another means of expression, insulting verses that were also written on the pedestal of the mentioned statue in Iași. It is clear that there is less decency and rational analysis in approaching the event of the disappearance of the statue of the Soviet soldier, which is a proof of primitivism and lack of self-respect to do away with the statues and tombs, regardless of their origin. Those who had died on Romanian territory were, in most of the cases, “cannon fodder” and victims of conjuncture and history; even if they had identified with the finalities of the Soviet power, the deceased soldiers deserve the right to memory. Maybe most of these attitudes, animated especially by the inhabitants of the nowadays Republic of Moldova, also known as Bessarabia and the Romania’s region, called Moldova are determined by xenophobia, aggressively manifested on Russian websites as www.aif.ru, www.kp.ru, www.rodina.ru, www.slavrus.net,

www.za-rodinu.ru, websites where the peoples, emancipated from the Russian influence are disqualified through stigmatized definitions. Thus, Moldavian inhabitants are called “maldavani-byki” (oxen), Estonians are “suki” (Fascist bitches), Ukrainians are “haholi” and “krahabori” (retarded), while Belarusians are considered “zaiki” (rabbits)!

The Romanian Statues and the Internal Competition

There have always been political and/or cultural scandals around building, placing and preserving statues with a public (political) impact. The political actors tried to confiscate the legacy of their predecessors, who had played a role within the community and benefited from such posthumous representations. At the beginning the scandal usually started with expressing some exigencies regarding the aesthetic aspects of the monument and manifesting reserves concerning its location. Presented in that manner, the contestation of the monument dissimulated political rivalries and petty conceit. Although the scandals didn't last, they pointed out the fact that some statues are linked with identity feelings, nostalgia, personal beliefs and habits (for many city inhabitants the monuments situated in the public space are landmarks, according to which the meeting points are established; the statue of Gheorghe Lazăr in Sibiu is this kind of axis, its symbolism being enriched by the bloody December 1989, by the status of a witness to those tragic events). We may offer interesting images on the traditional role and place of the statue and on the envisioning manner of this symbolic status through the analysis of theatre plays and film adaptations based on Ion Luca Caragiale's plays. In a nutshell: in front of the statue that marks the centre of the square, the significant aspects of the play happen; probably this is the reason for the fact that Caragiale's heroine, named Mița Baston, claimed that she swore “...on what had remained dear to her, the statue of Liberty in Ploiești, which is going to make history!”

An episode of political confrontation took place around the statue of Gheorghe Lazăr in Sibiu, a so-called “modernist” statue from the '80s. When the mayor Klaus Johannis launched a plan to rehabilitate Piața Mare [Big Square] of Sibiu and thus restructure it, taking into account the existing information concerning the traditional image of the centre (which supposed the

relocation of the mentioned statue in another setting), the nationalists considered that the mayor's intention was dictatorial and anti-Romanian. Actually, the senator of the party “Romania Mare” [PRM – Great Romania Party] – Aron Belășcu – declared in the meeting of the Senate on March 3, 2003 that in Sibiu “there is an unimaginable thing happening..., in the name of a delusive, sick and misunderstood democracy, permanently subdued to some protocols that have kept giving birth to monsters for 13 years”. The senator simulated a presumable panic that the inhabitants of Sibiu would have felt regarding the idea of reinstalling the statue of St. Nepomuk, the traditional patron of the city. The mayor's intentions were considered a “cultural impiety”, an offence to the historical memory – the statue of the teacher Gheorghe Lazăr was perceived as a symbol of the Romanian cultural emancipation. The reality didn't involve any dramatic elements. Radu Aftenie, the artist who gave the city the first statue of Gheorghe Lazăr, made another statue that is placed at one side of the Big Square and it is greatly integrated in the new structure, while the inhabitants of Sibiu are pleased with this compromise.

This scandal didn't have the actors and the necessary “support” of the complex discourse and polemics of the scandal of the “Statue of Liberty” (Szabadság-szobor) in Arad (made by the sculptor György Zala, this is the case of a group of statues that pays tribute to the heroes of the Hungarian Revolution in 1848-1849, thirteen generals executed in Arad on October 6, 1849; the statue was inaugurated in 1890 and removed in 1924 on Brătianu's Government orders due to the fact that those generals had fought against Romanians). Radu Vasile Government decided on September 20, 1999 to transfer the statue to the administration of Franciscan Order in Arad. The statue was the starting point of many controversies concerning its relocation in Arad.

The relocation of the monument was negotiated by the political parties UDMR (Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România [Hungarian Democratic Union from Romania]) and Partidul Social democrat (PSD [Social Democrat Party]), but the nationalist reactions of some members of PSD, especially those of PRM determined some indecision and abandonment of the project. The press mirrored the event from various angles, depending on the political and ideological membership. The event involved in

the polemic a part of the Romanian and Hungarian intelligentsia, especially the ones who were preoccupied with the principles of “political correctness” (see *Observator cultural*, no. 191/2003 – the polemic between Lajos Notaros, Szilágyi N. Sándor and Gabriel Andreescu). The historical connotations of the monument, as well as the demands of the Hungarian minority made the “Statue of Liberty” more than a simple statue. It was made and uncovered during the Austro-Hungarian dualism, an era when the Hungarians had enjoyed the benefits of the association, but they had tried to highlight their “historical exemplarity”; the Hungarian historians were obsessed with the historiographical representation of conquering the “European homeland” (Honfoglalás). In the name of the right of the conqueror the process of society modernization and the object of constituting one homogeneous nation was undertaken, aspects that supposed, invariably, the assimilation of the Romanian population.

Modernization and display of the identity pride have contributed to placing many such “symbolical objects” throughout Hungary that would satisfy that pride and would cherish the idea of a plenary emancipation, which would mean the reconstruction of the millennial “Greater Hungary”. This cultural heritage still vitalizes the Hungarian intellectual elite in Romania; as in the inter-war period, it often exerts a nationalist feeling of Romantic origin, with a restorative touch, appealing to the traditional symbols of this identity and to the props, proposed by the historical argument. In the context when identity has been extracted from the pre-totalitarian past, partaking with no discernment some disused images and ignoring the relationship between synchronic-diachronic elements, these elites inevitably reproduce an obsolete and vindictive discourse, with powerful resentful notes. The elements of the symbolic space (monuments, historic places and events, identity emblems become not only brands, but also means of concentrating the claims and of provoking some conflictual states). That is why we are not to be amazed by the fact that the demands of the Hungarian ethnicity, politically represented by UDMR, have focused on the negotiation of the replacement of the “Statue of Liberty” in Piața Pompierilor (Firefighters’ Square). But when it seemed that negotiations were going well, almost signing the protocol in August 13, 2003, the TV

channel “Realitatea” broadcast the PSD senator Adrian Păunescu, who required stopping the political initiative in a fiery nationalist discourse. Thus the idea of replacing the famous statue was abandoned for seven months. Adrian Năstase Government decided in March 4, 2004, despite the vehement protests of some PSD members, among them senator PSD Sergiu Nicolaescu, the relocation of the Statue of Liberty in a Park of Romanian-Hungarian Reconciliation, situated in the nowadays Piața Pompierilor. The new unveiling of the Statue of Liberty took place in April 25, 2004, where Romanian and Hungarian authorities were present, as well as the chief of the delegation of European Commission in Romania. This unveiling was a compromise, as in the same park there is a Romanian monument – Arch of Triumph (made by Ioan Bolborea), which is the symbol of the Transylvanian revolution. As Schwartz mentions, the dimensions of the Arch of Triumph are much smaller than those of the Statue of Liberty, being considered not that fortunate from the aesthetic perspective (Schwartz 2004). On the other hand, the entire story with the Reconciliation Park and resettlement of the Statue of Liberty gives a hint on the artistic subordination to the political realm, as the project of the Arch of Triumph wasn’t born out of a patriotic feeling, but as a response to the presence of the Hungarian monument. Schwartz states that in many other cases with monuments (see the abandoned project of an alley with the busts of the men involved in the Great Union of 1918 in Arad) the political act substitutes the artistic one, as the political criteria on expressing something in the form of monuments is “the bigger the better” (Schwartz 2004).

The Park of Reconciliation was the target of some incident during the last years: in 2011 bronze elements were stolen from the Statue of Liberty. After three months a young man was caught trying to sell the items at a centre of metal recycling. On February 14, 2015, the Statue of Liberty was vandalized by three men who painted elements of the monument in the colours of the Romanian flag, and obscene words were written of the statue with a black spray. The Hungarian leader of UDMR declared that it was “an unfortunate act, especially in a place where reconciliation should be respected”. The mayor of Arad – Gheorghe Falcă – stated in a press release that it was “an inadmissible act of vandalism

against a public monument, an offense brought to the national flag” (Pasca, Buga 2015).

The Faces of the Past

This type of conflicts with an identity substratum has taken place in other cultural spaces. Such an episode happened in Mexico. In the town Espanola, in the Northern Mexico, there is the equestrian statue of Juan de Onate, the conquistador who in 1598 established the first European colonists in the region. A hero in textbooks, Onate resembles Hernán Cortés and it is believed to have a “Hispanic face”. Inaugurated in 1994, the statue provoked ardent polemics. Those who appreciated the representation with an identity significance were those who consider themselves Hispanic-American; from this perspective, they consider that Onate’s arrival in this colony of the New Spain had been a major event for the North-American civilization. On the other hand, Anglo-Americans, Pueblo Indians and Chicanos consider the statue an insult to the memory of the exterminated Indians during the Spanish domination (in 1599 Onate’s soldiers had massacred around 1000 local people). This episode reflects the relative and differential perceptions of the historical past, as well as the manner in which the identity affect the collective memory and generates ideologies and ethnical tensions. The public space becomes the place of dispute, contestation and imposition of symbols specific to collective identity (see Nieto-Phillips, Datchi-Phillips 2003).

Some other Romanian scandals have provoked the initiatives of both Romanian and Hungarian extremists and their initiatives are focused on the rehabilitation of some sinister characters of World War II. Raising bust and/or statues representing Baron Albert Wass or marshal Antonescu are part of this effort that aims at rediscussing the biography and the political historical status of these war criminals. In Odorheiu Secuiesc, the mayor Szász Jenő, a militant for the Hungarian autonomy, have initiated the placement of the statue of Albert Wass in the central park (politician and man of culture responsible for the death of thousands of Romanian and Jewish civilians). While the Romanian officials were paralyzed by political conjunctural reasons, the representatives of the Romanian community in Szeklerland and the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania protested against the initiative of Hungarian

extremists and asked for the removal of the statue from the public space, invoking not only the historical arguments, but also the legislation that forbids the cult of the war criminals. The representatives of the Hungarian minority ignored the mentioned appeals, hoping that the public opinion would be distracted by other stringent matters. Meanwhile, a publishing house from Târgu Mureș, “Editura Mentor”, where the leader UDMR Markó Béla had 45% of main stock shares, edited several works to support the rehabilitation process of Wass Albert. Moreover, in 2002 senator UDMR György Frunda requested the Attorney General of Romania to annul the sentence for Wass Albert who was condemned in 1946 for war crimes committed in 1940, when Transylvania was occupied by Horthyst troops.

During the same period of reaffirming nationalist extremist ideas, between 1999 and 2002, more initiatives of the Great Romania Party tried to reconfigure publically another image for marshal Ion Antonescu, considered by C. V. Tudor the “tragic hero of national history” (see the public discourse and the newspaper *Tricolorul*). In November 1999, G. Funar, the mayor of Cluj, manifested his desire to raise a statue to Antonescu “near the river Someș”. Only Péter Eckstein-Kovács opposed this posthumous glorification, the Minister for national minorities back in those days. From time to time, with a certain consistency and regularity new members of the posthumous cult appeared from the army, secret services, church (Pippidi 2000, 227-230). A similar initiative was announced by the senator PRM Dumitru Codreanu, who launched the idea of raising a bust of marshal Ion Antonescu in Botoșani (with personal funds). The reaction of the Branch of Party of Roma Party came quickly, as the secretary demanded that the town hall to ignore the initiative and not to forget the genocide effects that Antonescu’s policy had over the Roma community.

These nationalist excesses both racist and xenophobic were censored by the Decree no. 31/2002. The reaction of extremist nationalists was caustic; we quote from the sayings of the aggressive PRM deputy (in that period) Olguța Vasilescu: “it is an insult to every Romanian and it only means a fight with the statues in memoriam to our heroes. Moreover, no one asked for it, but Adrian Năstase named marshal Antonescu a war criminal, slapping the face of the entire Romanian army. On the other hand, the Hungarians

organized another interment to honour the one who sent to Nazi extermination camps both Jewish people from Hungary and North-Western Transylvania, which was under the Hungarian occupation. That brute was rehabilitated, while marshal Antonescu, the one who saved thousands of Jews, giving them passports to reach Palestine, is a criminal". The speeches in the Deputy Chamber in June 4, 2002 were indirectly accusing Năstase Government of antinationalism, offering as a reference some blamable events that took place in Hungary, episodes that are examples of the Hungarian extremism. Olguța Vasilescu ignored the existence of a statue of marshal Antonescu in 2000 in Slobozia, in the centre of the city, in front of the county Police and headquarters of SRI (Serviciul Român de Informații [Romanian Intelligence Service]). The statue was the outcome of the "financial sacrifices", of the subscriptions of policemen, forced to contribute, at the initiative of general Tudor Amza, chief of country Police in those days – see *Romania liberă* from February 19, 2000). On the other hand, in Iași, as the local press stated, the 10th Corps asked that the street where the commandment of the unit was placed to be named the "Marshals' Alley" and to benefit from a redevelopment that supposed placing the bust of the marshals Constantin Prezan, Alexandru Averescu and Ion Antonescu.

Conclusions

The pantheon is a cultural and political reference and communities dedicate themselves to exemplary and representative figures from their historical existence and of quasi-eternal character by erecting statues, which are exposed in public places and stimulate the identity marks, as well as sensitivities and group solidarities. Statues represent substitutes; within the frame of political and cultural ceremonies, the "immortalized" characters honour those who are represented and transform them according to the laws of collective self-perception. That is why such statues give birth not only to political ardour ⁽¹⁾. Related to EU membership, the Romanian mayors project new

⁽¹⁾ Few local authorities are preoccupied with the disappearance of some statues and reinstalling the ones of rehabilitated personalities during post-communist years. The interested institutions are offered a sort of guide (Benera, Șerban 2011); the book presents several case studies about disappeared monuments or those removed from the public places.

monuments that are situated in parks and are meant to remind us of the value of well-known heroes. While the City Hall of Iași organized a contest for the bronze bust of the Ruler Alexandru Lăpușneanu in 2006, the representatives of the City Hall of Bucharest conceive the construction of a complex of statues that would represent the most renowned fifteen Romanian rulers. The pattern is taken from the "Piața Eroilor" ["Heroes' Square"] in Budapest, and the favourite place for the future monuments seems to be "Carol Park" (by the way, a single equestrian statue, of the dimensions of the one in "Piața Universității" ["University Square"] costs around one million Euros). It was estimated that in five years we are to be "enriched" by a "millennial square" with a touristic and identity target. It is no wonder that some analysts state that Romania revisits the modernity of the 19th century due to the exposed aspirations and habits.

In post-communism, citizens feel like they are represented by someone's statue, a statue that legitimates them, and they are solidary with the hero's destiny or, on the contrary they detest the monument because it stands for a past perceived as times of collective/personal suffering. We would say that they are almost "haunted" by statues, resembling the character Evgeny from Pushkin's poem, entitled *The Bronze Horseman*, a humble person who had engaged in a duel of glances one night with the statue of Peter I:

"(...) the one/ Who, bronzen countenance
us planted/ Into the dusk aloft, sat still/
The one by whose portentous will/ The
city by the sea was planted.../ How
awesome in the gloom he rides!/ What
thought upon his brow resides! (...) The
piteous madman fell to prowling/ About
the statue's granite berth/ And furtively
with savage scowling/ He eyes the lord of
half the earth (...) He hissed, spite
shaking him: "Up there,/ Great wonder-
worker you, beware!..."/ And then
abruptly wheeled to race/ Away full tilt.
The dread czar's face,/ With instantaneous
fury burning,/ It seemed to him, was
slowly turning... (...) And in the
moonlight's pallid glamour/ Rides high
upon his charging brute,/ One hand
stretched out, 'mid echoing clamor/ The
Bronze Horseman in pursuit(...) And ever
since, when in his erring/ He chanced
upon that square again,/ They saw a sick

confusion blurring/ His features. One hand swiftly then/ Flew to his breast, as if containing/ The anguished heart's affrighted straining;/ His worn-out cap he then would raise,/ Cast to the ground a troubled gaze/ And slink aside" (Gibian 1993, 8-21).

This confrontation with an "idol" of history was fatal to the main character. It was during the Romantic era. Nowadays, the statues "haunt" only the festive culture.

References

a. Books

- Benera, Șerban 2011** Benera, Anca, Alia Șerban (eds.), *București. Materie și istorie. Monumentul public și distopiile lui* [Bucharest. Material and History. The Public Monument and Its Dystopias], București, Institutul Cultural Român (2011).
- Gildea 1994** Gildea, Robert, *The Past in French History*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press (1994).
- Pippidi 2000** Pippidi, Andrei, *Despre statui și morminte. Pentru o teorie a istoriei simbolice* [On Statues and Monuments. For a Theory of Symbolical History], Iași, Polirom, (2000).

b. Chapter in books

- Gibian 1993** Gibian, George (ed.), "The Portable 19th-Century Russian Reader". In Pushkin Alexandr Sergeevich, *The Bronze Horseman* (1833), translated by Walter Arndt, New York, NY Penguin (1993), p. 8-21.
- Fowkes 2004** Fowkes, Reuben, "Soviet War Memorials in Eastern Europe". In Charlotte Benton (ed.) *Figuration/Abstraction: Public Art in Europe 1945-68*, Ashgate (2004), p. 11-32.
- Welch 2013** Welch, Gabriela, "Memoria celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial în Uniunea Sovietică: sacrificiu, victorie, cult" ["Memory of the Second World War in the Soviet

Union: Sacrifice, Victory, Cult"]. In Andi Mihalache, Adrian Cioflâncă, *Istoria recentă altfel: perspective culturale* [The Recent History Otherwise: Cultural Perspectives], Iași, Ed. Universității "Al. I. Cuza" (2013), p. 223-239.

c. Papers in periodical journals

- Nieto-Phillips, Datchi-Phillips 2003** Nieto-Phillips, John and Corinne Datchi-Phillips, *Mémoire et consanguinité: Les origines de l'identité spanish-american au Nouveau-Mexique*. In : *Les Cahiers ALHIM. Amérique Latine Histoire et Mémoire*, no. 7 (2003).
- Notaros et al. 2003** Notaros, Lajos, Szilágyi N. Sándor and Gabriel Andreescu, *Observator cultural* [Cultural Observer], no. 191 (2003).

d. Internet sources

- Hignett 2011** Hignett, Kelly, *Monumental Makeover in Bulgaria Illustrates the Contested Status of Soviet-Era War Memorials*, <https://thevieweast.wordpress.com/2011/07/04/monumental-makeover-in-bulgaria-illustrates-the-contested-status-of-soviet-era-war-memorials/> (Accessed September 28, 2015).
- Marinovich 2014** Marinovich, Damir, *Stop Saying Lenin Statues Are a Symbol of Russia. He Hated Russia and Tortured Her People*, http://russia-insider.com/en/politics_ukraine_o_pinion_culture_christianity_societ_y/2014/11/04/02-06-53pm/stop_saying_lenin (Accessed September, 28, 2015).
- Pasca, Buga 2015** Pasca, Dana and Marian Buga, *Statuia Libertății din Arad, vandalizată. Monumentul maghiar a fost vopsit parțial în culorile drapelului românesc* [The Statue of Liberty in Arad Vandalized. The Hungarian Monument was Partially Painted in Colours of the Romanian Flag], <http://www.gandul.info/stiri/statuia-a-libertatii-din-arad-vandalizata->

**Schwartz
2004**

[monumentul-maghiar-a-fost-vopsit-partial-in-culorile-drapelului-romanesc-13825212](http://www.revista22.ro/despre-eroi-si-monumente-914.html)
(Accessed September 28, 2015).
Schwartz, George, *Despre eroi și monumente* [*On Heroes and Monuments*],
<http://www.revista22.ro/despre-eroi-si-monumente-914.html>
(Accessed September 28, 2015).
Wheatstone, Richard, *Banksy of Bulgaria Gives War Statue a Maekpver in Support of Ukraine Uprising*,

<http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/banksy-bulgaria-gives-war-statue-3176990> (Accessed September 28, 2015).

The Historical Reconstruction in the Film *Restul E Tăcere* [*The Rest Is Silence*]

Mihaela GRANCEA, Ph.D.

Professor, "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu, Romania

E-mail: mihaela_grancea2004@yahoo.com

Abstract. The article reveals the inspiration for Nae Caranfil's film, entitled suggestively *The Rest is Silence* – the first Romanian feature film that depicts the Russo-Romanian-Turkish War 1877 and the context for Romania's Independence. The post-communist film captures the traits of the Romanian paradoxical society in the pre-war period, highlighting the importance of some historic figures who contributed to the development of the seventh art on the Romanian soil. Important events for the Romanian cinema are stated, as well as significant cinematographic aspects of international importance. On the other hand, the paper points out the specificity of the pre-war cinematography and its dual function: entertainment and pedagogy.

Keywords: historical reconstruction in cinema, post-communist cinema, Nae Caranfil, Belle Époque, Romania's Independence.

The Pre-war Cinema between Entertainment and Pedagogy

The film-maker Nae Caranfil offered information in several interviews about his project ⁽¹⁾ and his intention to reconstruct images from the era when cinema was a cultural democratic phenomenon ⁽²⁾:

⁽¹⁾ *Restul e tăcere* (the script writer and director: Nae Caranfil; actors: Marius Florea Vizante in the role of Grigore Ursache; Ovidiu Niculescu in the role of Leon Negrescu; Ioana Bulca in the role of Aristizza Romanescu; 2007) is a film about "making" the oldest Romanian feature film: *Independența României: Răsboiul Româno-Ruso-Turc 1877* [*Romania's Independence: The Romanian-Russian-Turkish War 1877*]; a historic film, made between 1911-1912; the premiere took place at the cinema "Eforiei" in Bucharest, on September, 1 1912).

⁽²⁾ The ideas of the script were Petre Liciu's, a famous actor who died before making the film under similar circumstances as those represented at the beginning of the film *Restul e tăcere*; the script was inspired by the literature of the Russo-Turkish war and by the poetic cycle written by Vasile Alecsandri – *Legenda nouă* [*The New Legend*] and *Ostașii noștri* [*Our Soldiers*]. The Romanian literary school, promoted by the literary and political magazine *Sămănătorul* [*The Sower*], is another inspiration for the film (see the dance as a special social place and as an expression of the joy of life. In Caranfil's film we see the existence of a certain social coldness manifested by the "city lords" who

"[...] in those times, theatre was a respectable art, the cinema was an entertainment, and those who oriented towards film were often regarded as people who tried a form of prostitution, especially those with a cultural background" (Barascu 2008). Nevertheless, enthusiastic and eccentric actors who loved cinema made a feature film with many actors (80.000) before David Wark Griffith and with huge production costs. The silent film became "art film" before the Great War, especially the French productions contaminated by the dramatic language specific to theatre. Historic reconstructions, classic subjects were the most successful with the public, including the Romanian audience. After the film *Independența României: Răsboiul Româno-Ruso-Turc 1877*, similar pioneering demarches took place in Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and Czech; nevertheless, melodrama was the most seducing film production of those times. The melodramatic touch was present in the Romanian film about the war between 1877-1878. Even the American film, although it had experience in this area, was focused on the amorous melodrama, and masterpieces were made during the war. *Birth of a*

travel by car for shootings and the peasants who harvest on the surrounding fields, near the "shooting stage", just several years later after the rising of 1907.

Nation (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916) by David Wark Griffith presented a history of perceiving the negative dimension of the Other, deconstructing the faith in the progress of humanity (Christensen 1987, 15).

The historical film, since its debut as a genre, was determined by the mechanisms of the market of the cultural consumers. Thus, most of the films of the pre-war era presented the prejudices, stereotypes and contributed to their distribution, stereotypes that in fact had no "correct relation" to the social and interhuman relations. This feature was presented by propaganda films of the inter-war period, constructing and reconstructing the ethno-cultural and political mythologies (the mentioned Romanian film is part of that typology, although it was made at the end of Belle Époque). Other cinematographic productions reimagine a historic episode, offering only spectacular magniloquent scenes, evasion (see the presentation of Cleopatra as an image of temptation and seduction, a misogynist reaction toward the feminist phenomenon). The film that revolutionized the genre, being an aesthetical and ethical breakthrough due to its message and techniques was a rare thing (Ferro 2002, 228).

The action film, more than other cultural expressions establishes an interdependent relationship between actors, subject and spectator. The cinema has elaborated the didactic forms of communication and offered a specific "reading" to the re-fictionalization of history. Complementarity, accessibility has been brought by the cinema to more or less elaborated mythologies. History from films would compete and/or complete the discourse of the textbooks. The historical film became for most spectators a upgraded and simplified story in order to be explicit and emotional. The film would create the illusion of communication and co-participation at history; through film, the spectator became a (false) witness of the historical event. In this context, surprisingly, the first film of nationalist propaganda is *Independența României*. There was a belief in that era that between history and cinematography there is no connection (Ferro 1974, 315). The film wasn't considered a historical agent, but it brought enthusiasm as an expression of the scientific progress (Ferro 1988, 14) and form of evasion.

In Romania, the cinema broke through as a phenomenon of cultural anthropology and there

was no complex of disparity (Potra 1984, 312). We mention that from 1896 in Bucharest there were projections of Lumière brothers, and a year later there were some Romanian film making activities, made by Paul Menu (the first present the parade on the 10th of May, occasion of celebrating 20 years from the proclamation of Romanian independence). After this moment, there was the tradition of news reels. From 1911 and until the initiative of making a feature film about Romania in the Russian-Turkish war was in 1877-1878, several cultural events took place – news reels, produced by Gh. Ionescu and C. Theodorescu, the appearance of some laboratories ("Traian" and "Carmen Sylva") and movie theaters ("National", "Venus", "Clasic", "Eforiei"), the appearance of some societies in order to attract investors and to produce Romanian films (see "Societatea cinematografică a actorilor Teatrului Național" ["The Cinematographic Society of Actors of the National Theatre"] that became "Societatea filmul de artă Leon Popescu" ["Society Art Film Leon Popescu"]), making the first Romanian film of fiction *Amor fatal* [*Fatal Love*] made by Grigore Brezeanu in 1911, with Bulandra husband and wife in the main roles) and recording the theatrical spectacle *Înșir-te mărgărite*, made by Victor Efimiu (Sava 1999, 39). As an effect of film demand and raise of profits after broadcasting them, there were branches of the foreign distribution film houses (Gaumont, Pathé, Éclair, Cines – Italy, Biograph – SUA, Nordisk – Denmark).

While the film became at its beginnings the *loisir* of the Romanian slums, "theatre of the people" (as a matter of fact, the cinemas were considered theatres of projection, and the halls of projections were similar to those of theatres), after 1910, the public diversified. As a consequence of apparition of deluxe halls of projection at exclusive prices, there was a certain social selection of the public – a sign that the social elite became interested in film. The cinema, a form of facile amusement at first, became the "witness and historian" of the era, means of manipulating the audience through the force of suggestion of the example and through the emotional involvement, through various perspectives of approach of the times' problems (Cassvan 1983, 11-12). The cultural elite claim Romanian representative productions in that context of affirming the identity pride. Thus, the association "Luceafarul" wanted a Romanian cinema that would present

films with “reconstructions” of national history, original productions that would fortify the national conscience and would made known the Romanian identity project. The interest for film and for Romanian reality took shape in the existence and popularity of the 80 “Romanian scenes” broadcast in 1912 (“a report” about the oil wells in Cămpina, sequences of royal family life, images with the flight of Aurel Vlaicu *etc.*) (Caranfil 1988, 17). The maestro Nottara, Grigore Brezianu, producer Leon Popescu, who invested in the film *Independența României* the sum of 400,000 lei, the press (*Adevarul*, *Rampa*, *Gazeta ilustrată*, *Viitorul*) militated for a cinema that would be a cultural speaker, a form of national pedagogy.

***Restul e tăcere* or about the Fall of a Paradoxical Society**

Restul e tăcere is far from being a skeptical or parodic film if we take into account the way in which the era and demarches are linked to the first Romanian feature film. Director Caranfil proposes an ironical reading of the pathetic matters, and also of the sufferings of an era of pioneering. Thus, his film saves itself from the protochronist trap. Several sequences from the film offers nuanced data about the paradoxes of the pre-war Romanian society. While the notable political actors and intellectuals of the Romanian society (Constantin Nottara, Petre Liciu, Iancu Brezeanu, Vasile Toneanu, Nicolae Soreanu, Aristide Demetriade, Grigore Brezeanu, Pascal Vidrașcu were the members and shareholders of the Cinematographic Society of Actors of the National Theatre, a society with a patriotic finality – making the “film of the war for independence”) discuss on the project filmic as an episode of celebrating the Romanian independence as a state, the veterans of the Independence War were begging on the streets of Bucharest.

Besides, Caranfil offers data and images on the construction, disfunctionality and dissipation of a partnership, a “referential” relation for the lack of fair-play from the Romanian business background. It is the case of Grigore Ursaru, a young man of 19 years old, an incorrigible dreamer (a character inspired by Grigore Brezeanu, a Romanian director, script writer and actor who died at 19 years old in poverty) and histrionic great landlord Leon Negrescu (inspired by the life and actions of Leon Popescu). While the young Brezeanu, the heart of the project, considered that the film making would

give sense to the Romanian cinematographic art and to his own life, Leon posed as a protector of the artists (he was the provider of aspiring artists and the director of the Lyrical Theatre in Bucharest) and was dominated not only by grandeur feelings, but also by the thirst for profit that would determine him to involve the political aspects in order to eliminate the competence or to remove the partners from the filmic business that became profitable (see the manner in which authorities, prefecture and police interfere, confiscate and destroy a film with a similar subject under the pretext that the production of Gaumont is a parody, an act of profanation towards the history of Romanians, because the actors hired to play in the film were from the Jewish theatre Jignita). Leon Negrescu is representative for that category of “big landlords”, entrepreneurs and “great en-gross merchants” who built grand funeral monuments in Bellu cemetery, resembling those in Parisian cemeteries.

The best illustrated paradox is the one between the traditional Romania and the pretense of modernisation presented in the official discourse (mostly simulating or miming, ignoring thus the native values – see the lack of response of the elite regarding the generosity and patriotism of inventors, writers and avant-garde artists of the era: Aurel Vlaicu, Traian Vuia, Ștefan Luchian, Urmuz *etc.*). Leon Negrescu imitates the Western elite from La Belle Époque, but Leon is just a Balkanic hedonist who oscillates between the status of a suspicious businessman and the victim of the obsession to become a hero of the Romanian culture.

In Caranfil’s film, the sequence when Grig brings Leon to the cinema “Eforiei” is eloquent so that Leon would see what is a film and its impact on spectators. The potential investor is introduced to the possibilities of a new business. Leon has never been to a film before, in an overcrowded place, a projection hall; that is why he becomes claustrophobic and hilarious; he wants to leave all over sudden. In the avant-premiere of the film *Hamlet*, screened at that moment, there is also screened a short burlesque film and everyone is in a state of a contagious laughter. Leon is contaminated by that laughter, and when the film *Hamlet* starts and he sees Sarah Bernhardt in the main role, he is enraptured. Thus, he discovers a new “continent” of the human manifestation and soon a mission and a new source of profit. Leon’s decline, the fire at the Lyrical Theatre, Emilia’s

unfortunate death (Grig's romantic love) during a representation in that fire, the German occupation of Bucharest, the epilogue that reports Leon's state at an institution, Grig's loneliness and premature death signify the end of those perceptions and generous self-perceptions.

Beyond the tragic destinies of the characters, the film from 1912 remained a reference in the history of culture. In those times, it had an "educational" and compensatory function. At the premiere on the 1st of September, 1912, in the cinema "Eforiei" it was a collective delirium, the "stadium effect" produced at the battle scenes. As a witness of that projection, Jean Mihail described it: "[...] behind the screen a wind jammer sang the attack, while the drummer with a huge drum of the military fanfare, was madly beating, imitating the sounds of the cannon; there were 20 soldiers there, brought in to shout at the attack scenes, but some people were shouting with them" (Gheorghiu Cernat 1984, 265). In his film, Caranfil synthesized the emotional involvement of the spectator. He doesn't reconstruct the premiere. The musical fond is ensured by patriotic songs, the spectators oscillate depending on the scene of the filmic narration ⁽³⁾, between the loud encouragements concerning the military maneuvers on the screen (as if they were real) and the moments of overwhelming sadness generated by the loss of human lives in the episode Valley of Grievance – all of these suggest the passionate exterior manifestations of the audience, as well as the manifestation of an ardent patriotism; among the spectators there were also veterans of the war. In Transylvania and Banat, the film *Independența României* had generated Romanian effusions (in 1913 the production was bought and broadcast by the "Apollo" house film in Budapest).

⁽³⁾ The film starts with the image of a Romanian village on holiday, at a traditional dance when the news about general mobilization is brought. Nine men from Vaslui, together with sergeant Penes go to war, while the women remain in pain. The war scenes are dominant (the Army participated at the shootings). There are scenes with soldiers who wait in the camp at Poiana, moments that suppose folkloric representations, sequences from passing the Danube river, successive images of battles from Plevna and Grivita, the disaster from the Valley of Grievance, the suffering of the wounded soldiers and reward of the heroes. The film ends with documentary images, sequences filmed at the military parade on the 10th of May 1912.

The first scene from the film *Restul e tăcere* is stunning, as the spectator witnesses the funerals, burlesque orchestrated: priests who officiate are rigid as saints from a Byzantine painting, the madman of the neighborhood sits on a cross, cursing, while the traditional mourners "do their job"; the luxury of the funerals seems fabricated, the participants are apathetic spectators; only the journalist is scandalously alive. At the still opened grave, among the grave diggers, Leon Negrescu stops, trying to bring homage to the dead actor, interpreting Hamlet's famous monologue. The moment highlights the parody of the funeral. The film captures the complicities between the local investor and authorities, manifestations of the pre-war Romanian anti-Semitism. The French film on the subject of Independence was forbidden, confiscated and destroyed due to nationalist reasons; the authorities incriminated the attempts of the Jewish actors to play representative heroes for the host-country (no one seems to know that a thousand of Jewish volunteers fought in Plevna, while Mauriciu Brociner took the command of the Romanian soldiers after Valter Mărăcineanu's death and conquered Grivița (Kuller 2008)).

Restul e tăcere is one of the few post-communist films that approach subjects from complex historical times. This was a pretext for the director to remind with irony and compassion of the lonely and sacrificial pioneers of the Romanian culture and to mention the generosity of the Romanian dreamers of the "Belle Époque".

References

a. Books

- Caranfil 1988** Caranfil, Tudor, *În căutarea filmului pierdut* [Searching for the Lost Film], București Meridiane (1988).
- Cassvan 1983** Cassvan, Lazar, *A fost odată un cinema* [Once Upon a Time There Was a Cinema], București, Eminescu (1983).
- Christensen 1987** Christensen, Terry, *Real Politics American Political Movies from Birth of a Nation to Platoon*, New York, Basic Blackwell (1987).
- Ferro 1988** Ferro, Marc, *Cinema and History*, translated by Naomi Greene, Detroit, Wayne University Press (1988).

- Ferro 2002** Ferro, Marc, *O lecție de istorie cu Fernand Braudel* [A History Lesson with Fernand Braudel], București, Corint (2002).
- Gheorghiu Cernat 1983** Gheorghiu Cernat, Manuela, *Filmul și armele* [Film and Guns], București, Meridiane (1983).
- Kuller 2008** Kuller, Hary, *Evreii din România: breviar biobibliografic* [Jews from Romania: Biobiographical Breviary], București, Hasefer (2008).
- Potra 1984** Potra, Florian, *Aurul filmului* [The Gold of the Film], București, Meridiane (1984).

b. Chapter in books

- Ferro 1974** Ferro Marc, "Le film, une contre-analyse de la société?" In Jacques Le Goff, Pierre Nora (eds.), *Faire de l'histoire. Nouveaux objets*, Paris, Gallimard (1974).

c. Internet sources

- Barascu 2008** Barascu, Magda, *Interview with Nae Caranfil*, HotNews.ro, Sunday, April 20, 2008, <http://hotnews.ro/stiri-cultura-2844512-nae-caranfil-restul-tăcere-genul-f...html>

Knowledge about the Peoples of North Africa. Contemporary Debates

Fatima HARRAK

Institute of African Studies University Mohammed v – Rabat

E-mail: felharraq@yahoo.com

Abstract. North Africa is a place with a very long history and with a geography that has placed it at the heart of one of the crossroad of continents and human civilizations. Many peoples and nations have crossed and fertilized it. This makes answering the question “who are the people of the region?” anything but self-evident. This paper attempts to deal with this interrogation by examining the knowledge produced about this population during three major historical stations: the Greek-Latin, the Arab-Islamic and the French colonial.

Keywords: Libyans, Berbers, Arabs, natives, Jews, racialization.

North Africa in Africa

Cultural heritage is an oft-invoked idea that spans not only years, but also disciplines. At the Rabat Institute of African Studies – where I served as director from 2003 to 2008, and am now a research scholar – we have embraced the geographical and intellectual multiplicity of the idea in our mission, which is “the study of all aspects of African civilization and the common Moroccan-African cultural heritage (*patrimoine*), as well as the investigation of African languages and dialects”. When we invoke “cultural heritage”, we mean it to describe a host of written, oral, lived, invented, and imagined legacies, as well as evidence preserved, memories transmitted, and signs and symbols created. The cultural legacy of a local population is never produced in a void; it is the direct result of millennia-long activities and exchanges with different “others”. Diversity is thus what characterizes the cultural legacy of Morocco, which is the focus of the Institute, and the focus of much of my scholarship. When thinking about a country like Morocco from the perspective of trans-Saharan studies, the first and basic cultural strata/layer of this land is African, whether we look at it as being Paleolithic, Nubian, or Nilotic. The next two important contributions to this legacy come from the East, with Islam setting itself up as the dominant culture since the eighth century, armed with a religion and

a language (Arabic), both of which were the medium of a universal and codified knowledge.

With Islam, North Africa became so impregnated with this “oriental” civilization that we have the tendency to forget – or to close our eyes – to all the other components and dimensions of its culture. Colonial knowledge served to consolidate this amnesia.

Yet, this region has never been so positively involved with the rest of Africa as during the Islamic era. On the whole, the relations of Morocco with its neighbors to the south have been peaceful, with trans-Saharan relations consolidated over the ages by blood and family, by communities of faith, and by innumerable and mutual cultural borrowings, from the school of jurisprudence to calligraphy, from cuisine to architecture, from music to dance, and from trance to the Sufi way. Within this cultural perspective, trans-Saharan studies are perceived as part of African-African studies and not a part of “Arab-African” studies.

So, who were, or are, the mediums in the construction of this common Moroccan-African heritage?

The Peoples of North Africa

North Africa is a place with a very long history and with a geography that has placed it at the heart of the first hub of human civilizations (Egyptian, Ethiopian, Phoenician, Carthaginian...). Many

peoples and nations have crossed and fertilized it, which makes answering the question “who are the people of this region?” anything but self-evident.

Up until the 19th century, one can identify three major historical stations during which knowledge was produced about North Africa and its population: the Greco-Latin, the Arabo-Islamic, and the French colonial.

Knowledge about the first station reached us through colonial historiography. Indeed, the proto-history and archeology of North Africa, from the early Egyptians to the establishment of the Phoenicians, have been and remain until today, the uncontested monopoly of colonial and Western historiography. Interrogations in these fields, consequently, are still linked to colonial and hegemonic ideologies: the Sahara climate and its impact on Africa’s North-South relations, and the foreign origin of the populations of North Africa (either from the East, the South or the North).

Nevertheless, the sum of knowledge attained confirm the following: first, the existence of developed relations across the Sahara, especially when the area was more damp (as we can see through rock art and ancient roads); second, the classification of languages spoken in northern Africa as Chamito-Semitic, a branch of the Afro-Asiatic languages; and third, the diverse origins of the local population as a result of the openness of the region to various waves of migration from all directions – from the South through the Sahara, from the South-East through Ethiopia and Egypt, from the North-East (the Fertile Crescent) through Egypt, and from the North-West (*i.e.*, Europe) through the Straights.

Greco-Latin Representations

The first written representations of these populations come to us from ancient Greek and Roman authors – Herodotus (d. 425 BC), Diodorus Siculus (alive between 60 and 30 BC), Strabo (d. 24), Pliny the Elder (d. 79), Claudius Ptolemy (d. 178), and Procopius of Caesarea (d. 565). All these authors belonged to the Greco-Roman ruling elite, the “Us”, for whom the local population of North Africa became the “Other”.

The Greco-Latin authors had very little direct knowledge of the populations of North Africa, a region that represented a panorama of peoples whom they classified geographically,

politically, racially, genealogically, and even gastronomically. This categorization pointed to five major groupings:

1. The Egyptians, or the subjects of the Egyptian empire;
2. The Aethiopians, or the “burned skins” who dwell in “Nigritae,” a territory on the southern fringes of North Africa;
3. The Lybians, also called “the children of the soil”, who are the non-Ethiopian inhabitants of North Africa, and among whom one can find the “turtle eaters,” the “fish eaters,” and the “locust eaters”;
4. The Mauris, also tagged as Barbaris because they were not “children of the soil” like the Libyans. The Mauris were thought to be Canaanites (Semites) who migrated from Palestine and settled in the furthest western corner of North Africa;
5. And finally, there was the mass of other peoples inhabiting the area, identified by reference to their real or fictional tribal affiliations: the Laguatan (nomads of Cyrenaica), the Garamentes (cattle herders bearing ritual scars of the Fezzan region), the Gaetulians (warlords of the southern slopes of the Atlas and Aures mountains all the way to “Ethiopia” or “Nigritea”), the Atlantes (inhabitants of the Atlas in the “land of the setting sun”, the *maghrib*), the Psyll and their neighbors, the Nasamones (inhabitants of a barren land), and the dwellers of the Saharan fringes: the Leukaethiopis (the white-black men), the Melanogaetulians (the black-white *Gaetulians*) and the Lybiaegyptians (the Libyan- Egyptians).

Arabo-Muslim Representations

The conquest and introduction of Islam to North Africa occurred between the seventh and ninth centuries. The first Arabo-Muslim sources which describe North Africa were written only in the tenth century – three centuries after the conquest. Not unlike the Greco-Latin authors, few of the Arabo-Muslim geographers were from North Africa: al-Ya’qūbī (d. 897) lived in Armenia and India, Ibn Hawqal (alive between 943 and 969) was from Turkey, Al-Bakri (d. 1094) was from Muslim Spain (al-Andalus), Al-Idrisi (d. 1165)

was a Moroccan who lived in Sicily, Ibn Battuta (d. 1369), was a Moroccan who traveled around the Muslim world, and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) spent his life moving between and settling North Africa, Al-Andalus, Egypt, and Western Asia.

For the Arabo-Muslim authors, the categorization of the North Africans obeyed a linguistic classification which gave us three groupings: the Arab, the Ajam, and the Barbar (Berber being the Europeanization of this Arabic term). The Arabs, those who speak Arabic either as a mother tongue or an adopted tongue, arrived in North Africa with the Arabo-Muslim missionaries and conquerors in the 7th and 8th centuries. The Ajam were all those whose mother tongues were not Arabic (*i.e.*, Persians, Ahbash/Abyssinians, Sudanese, Turks, and Armenians, among others). These could be Muslim or non-Muslim. The local population that the Muslims found in North Africa belonged to the Ajam category until it was given a name, the Barbar, and its dialects identified as the “Barbar language”. So, who were the Barbar?

Ramzi Rouighi has worked extensively on this subject. His hypothesis is that the concept “Barbar” was coined in al-Andalus under Umayyad rule in the context of the rebellion of the non-Arabs of al-Andalus – the “Moros” of the Iberian chroniclers – against the pro-Umayyad Arab party, which culminated in what came to be known as the “Barbar rebellion”.

This did not mean that the term “Barbar” was unknown to the Arabs. To the contrary: in 9th century Arabia, “Barbar” referred to a locality in South-Western Arabia (cited in pre-Islamic Arab poetry and found on the Ptolemaic and al-Idrissi maps). The people who lived in this locality were known as the “people of Barbar”. Barbar were also found living on the African side of the Red Sea, more precisely on the Red Sea coast of modern Somalia. Like their neighbors – the Ahbash (Ethiopians), the Qibt (Copts), and the Sudan (the Blacks) – the Barbar were known for using elephants in warfare. The famous Arabo-Muslim black litterateur, Al- Jahiz (d. 869), whose rich bibliography comprises a book on the qualities of the Blacks (*Fada'i l al-Sudan*), classifies the Barbar as *Sudan*, together with the Zinj, Ahbash, Qibt, Nuba, Zaghawa, Marw, and Sind.

However, the use of the term “Barbar” in North African and Andalusian sources had another connotation, according to Rouighi. It was first utilized in al-Andalus in the 9th century in reference to the “Barbar of al-Andalus” and the “Barbar rebellion”. The Barbar of al-Andalus were the non-Arab North African Muslims who formed the bulk of the Muslim armies that crossed the straights to spread Islam in Europe. During the 9th century, they formed a sort of political party which opposed Umayyad discriminatory and pro-Arab policies in al-Andalus. Indeed, as Rouighi documents, one of the oldest Iberian texts on the event of 711 (the Muslim conquest of Spain), the *Chronicle of 754*, identifies two groups among the conquerors: “the moors of Spain”, and the “Sarazens (those who came from the East) of Spain”. And he adds: “the Moors of Spain were a threat to the Sarazens of Spain because they could strike an alliance with their brethren in Africa and defeat the Sarazens”.

These “Moros” (from Mauris, the inhabitants of the Roman province of “Mauritania”) – refer to the people that the Arab sources later called the Barbar; they were opposed to the “Arabs”, *i.e.* the Muslims who came from the East with the Umayyad conquerors and Emirs. Starting in the 12th century, the term “Moor” (“Moro” in Spanish) was adopted by the Iberian sources to describe all the Muslims of Spain, and eventually all of the Muslims in the world. These “Moros” were described as being “black as pitch, the handsomest among them was black as a cooking pot” Medieval Western literature, all the way to Shakespeare, perpetuated this appellation and these stereotypes of the North African and the Muslim. In fact, to this day the Muslims of the Philippines and Sri Lanka are still referred to as “Moros”.

In the Maghrib, the term Barbar appeared in history books starting the 10th century to refer to the various non-Arab Muslim tribes of the western Dar al-Islam, whose members, after embracing the new faith, fought for its spread across the Straits and in Bilad al-Sudan (sub-Saharan Africa). The new branding was quickly picked up, reproduced, and justified by scholars across the Muslim world. This local Muslim population of North Africa, which welcomed Islam served the Umayyad Arab conquerors and consolidated the western Muslim

empire, was progressively adopted into the larger Muslim family; a myth of origin was even devised that linked it to the Arabs and to the land of the Prophets. Everybody took part in this operation of myth building, even the rational Ibn Khaldun: “the Berbers, he confirmed, are the children of Canaan, the son of Ham, son of Noah...” (from his *Muqaddimah*).

What did the Arabo-Muslim sources add to our knowledge of the population of North Africa? We can deduce three overall themes: first, that apart from the Arabs and the ‘Ajam, the mass of the local population of North Africa constituted one people; second, that the Barbar who formed the founding stock of the North African population were not “indigenous” to North Africa – they were not “children of the soil”, to use the Roman concept; and three, the Barbar were issued from an old wave of migrants from the Eastern Mediterranean or from Arabia into North Africa.

Thus, with the Arabo-Muslim sources, a process of “barbarization” (so to speak) of North Africa commenced; it would be sealed by French colonial scholarship.

Colonial Representations

Like all knowledge produced with the intent of understanding and controlling an area and a people, colonial knowledge mapped and named North Africa, Africa in general, and its population. In North Africa, it re-invented the categories of “Barbar” and “Arab”, and introduced a new ingredient into African history: racism.

In French colonial writing, the populations of North Africa were not presented as tribes, nations, or peoples; they were a “mixture of races”. The European race theorist, Le Comte de Gobineau, was the reference par excellence. His work, which continued to have an impact on European thought up until the mid-20th century, divided humanity into a hierarchy of races: at the bottom of the chain stood the “hideous” and “monkey-like” West Africans, and the top the “graceful” and “beautiful” European whites. Between the superior and the inferior races, the beautiful and the ugly, there laid a third race, the Semite, which was a mixture and a *metisage* of both. And because it was a mixture, the Semitic race was considered degenerate and a threat to both race and civilization.

In 1843, Louis-Adrien Berbrugger, a student of le Comte de Gobineau, produced a monumental work, *Algérie: historique, pittoresque et monumentale*, where he gives a detailed and racialized description of what he called the “Algerian races”, this “diverse mixture of Jews, Turks, Moors, Coloughli, Berbers and Arabs, all belonging to the Semitic race”. He adds to these Semites the “Negroes” and what he considers to be the remains of a “white European race” – the Vandals.

So, after setting apart the “Negroes” and the “Whites”, Berbrugger goes into a meticulous depiction of the physical and moral character of the Semitic elements of the Algerian population, starting with those who had what he called “a white tint”: the Jews, very active and easily recognizable in their “air of deceit and false humility”; the Turks, a mixture of Albanians, Maltese, and various renegades from Europe, “excessively honest”; the Moors, lazy, nonchalant, and accepting domination; the Coloughlis, nonchalant like the Turks and lymphatic like the Moors; and the Berbers, a heterogeneous population of diverse origins (Libyans, Armenians, Persians, *etc.*) whom he called the most bellicose, cruel, and untamed barbarians of North Africa. With the Arabs we enter into another hue: “Their skin color is brown, sometimes olive, but rarely black like the one of the Negro. However, even when they have this characteristic (blackness), it is the only resemblance they have with the Negro race...” The Arabs were seen as the descendants of the conquerors of Spain and North Africa, thus civilized and not primitive, both cultivators and nomads, divided into tribes yet constituting one nation.

So, up to the middle of the 19th century the population of North Africa was depicted as being racially diverse. This racial diversity, which Berbrugger helped typologize, was soon erased in the literature of the colonial agents of the French “Arab Bureau” and replaced by the dichotomy of Berber versus Arab. The dichotomy served thereafter as the main discursive device of the civilizing mission of France in North Africa. It has survived up to today and is reproduced by North Africans in its forms of postcolonial culture.

So what was the rationale for this substitution of duality for diversity? First, after 1870, the French occupying power no longer considered Jews as “natives” of North Africa; these were readily assimilated into the “civilized” world. The “Semitic” category was thus no longer useful. Second, the colonial discourse had changed and become centered around the theme of nationalism. More than anything, the French colonial power was presented as the indispensable arbiter of modernity and nationhood. A tertiary relationship – Arabs-Berbers-French – was established between the populations in North Africa. In this relationship, Arabs were the enemy – of France, of the Berbers, and of the Jews – and the Berbers turned out to be remote, albeit primitive, parents of Europeans. But in this equation, both Arabs and Berbers were racially and socially inferior because they lacked the concept of nationhood. Tribalism, which characterized societies in North Africa, was the hallmark of primitiveness and backwardness, while nationhood the mark of modernity, civility, and ultimately rational progress. The use of the opposition Arab versus Berber thus served to demonstrate the impossibility of nationhood in North Africa (the Maghreb) and the necessity of colonial tutorship.

Conclusion

Since “independence”, colonial culture has been consumed and reproduced by a postcolonial and

national public as “modernity”. What made this possible was the fact that the formerly colonized national elite inherited colonial institutions; that the national elite inherited the colonial state and remained in a state of economic dependency; that the national elite also remained in a state of intellectual dependency, with their values defined in the colonial Metropole; and that this dependency was most manifest in the role of the language of the colonizer (*francophonie* in the case of the Maghreb).

The writing of national history has not escaped this paradigm: the major historical narrative of North Africa, Laroui’s *The History of the Maghreb*, was written in French – a cultural paradox! The national historian in the Third World can offer a national narrative and a colonial critique, but he cannot produce a de-colonized history, for, in order to do so, he or she must be epistemologically independent. As Pierre Bourdieu ultimately puts it:

“When the dominated apply to what dominates them schemes that are the product of domination, or, to put it another way, when their thoughts and perceptions are structured in accordance with the very structures of the relation of domination that is imposed on them, their acts of cognition are, inevitably, acts of recognition, submission”.

References

a. Books

- Berbrugger 1843-5** Berbrugger, Adrien, *Algérie: historique, pittoresque et monumentale*, Paris, Delahaye (1843-5).
- Bourdieu 1991** Bourdieu, Pierre, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1991).
- Brett, Fentress 1996** Brett, Michael, Elizabeth Fentress, *The Berbers*, Oxford and Cambridge, Blackwell (1996).
- Gobineau 1967** Gobineau, Arthur, *Inequality of Human Races*, New York, H. Fertig (1967).
- Ibn ‘Abd** Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam, *The History of*

- al-Hakam 1922 (2002)** *the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa, and Spain*, Charles Torrey (ed.), New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, Reprinted Piscataway, Gorgias Press (1922 (2002)).
- Ibn Khaldūn 1967** Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah, an Introduction to History*, Franz Rosenthal (trans.), 3 vols., New York, Pantheon Books (1967).
- Al-Jahiz 1964** Al-Jahiz, *Rasa’il al-Jahiz [The Letters of al-J i]*, ‘Abd al-SalamMu ammad (ed.), Cairo, Maktabat al-Khanj (1964).
- Laroui 1977** Laroui, Abdallah, *The History of the Maghreb*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press (1977).

Wolf 1990 Wolf, Kenneth Baxter, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press (1990).

Al-Ya‘qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb 1969 Al-Ya‘qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb, *Tārīkh*, 2 vols., M. Th. Hout. sma ed., Leiden, Brill (1969).

b. Papers in periodical journals

Benaboud, M’hammad, and Ahmad Tahiri 1990 Benaboud, M’hammad, and Ahmad Tahiri, *Berberising al-Andalus*. In: *al-Qantara* 11, no. 2 (1990).

Hannoum 2001 Hannoum, Abdelmajid, *Colonialism and Knowledge in Algeria: The Archives of the ArabBureau*. In: *History and Anthropology* 12 (2001), p. 343–79.

Rouighi 2011 Rouighi, Ramzi, *The Berbers of the Arabs*. In: *Studia Islamica*, new series, 1 (2011).

Rouighi 2011 Rouighi, Ramzi, *The Andalus origins of the Berbers?* In: *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* (2011).

Smith 2003 Smith, Richard L., *What happened to the Ancient Libyans*. In: *Journal of World History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2003).

Shatzmiller 1983 Shatzmiller, Maya, *Le Mythe d’origine Berbère: Aspects historiographiques et sociaux*. In: *Revue de l’Occident Musulman et de la Mediterranee*, no. 35 (1983).

B. STUDIES. MISCELLANEA

The Relativity of *Space – Time* in Eminescu's Work. An Antropogonical View*

Mimi-Carina COJOCARU, Ph.D.

Research assistant, "G. Călinescu" Institute, Bucharest

E-mail: cmimicarmina@yahoo.com

Abstract. Our paper aims to show that Mihai Eminescu's work is built on an antropogonical background, that it includes, in other words, all the fundamental components of life, focusing on the essence of human being from birth to death, permanently reported to the cosmical and social dimension. Considering this fact, our research highlights the way in which the relativity of space and time is a part of this whole perspective, the antropogonical vision. The accent is on the manner in which time, space and causality are perceived by the human being reported to the ability of enhancing the two constitutive and contradictory elements: material and spirit. This preoccupation of the writer is reflected in poetry, prose and manuscripts and has as a goal the revelation of the being as a *part* of a *whole*.

Keywords: Eminescu, space, time causality, (human) being.

“Trăind în cercul vostru strâmt
Norocul vă petrece,
Ci eu în lumea mea mă simt
Nemuritor și rece”.

(Mihai Eminescu – *Luceafărul*) [*The evening star*].

If we analyse the stanza above in relation with the three concepts – time, space and causality as the dimensions of our conscious ego – we will notice the following: the first two lines are exclusively grouped according to their human meaning – perhaps, in order to be better understood by the receiver, that is “living” in his time, synonym with treading this earth, in the space that is reduced to “the tight circle” revealed by dimensioning the real, the material and in the causality, determined by its motion “vă petrece norocul” [“you spend your fate”]; all these, concepts of the “part” unfolded at the level of the human mental, having as self-content: “Numai omu-i trecător /Pe pământ rătăcitor” [“Only human passes away/Humbling on earth”].

In the next lines, the three dimensions – time, space and causality – are perceived through the consciousness of being, through the ontical dimension of a so-called Archaeus. The space of the circle gets infinity, becoming “lume” [“world”], with the meaning that it could

get for a hyperionical hero, the temporal approach moves towards from its actual “trăind” [“living”] of the “mici de zile, mari de patimi” [“small as days, large as passions”], on “mă simt” [“I feel myself”], which is in a permanent connection of the ego inner-sight and thinking the ego, *Luceafărul* [*The Evening Star*] getting out – by a better comprehension of the girl and humans, in general – from the sensory dimension, by essentially mentioning “mă simt” [“I feel myself”]. Hence, the comprehension of the fact that not being sensorially determined, *Luceafărul* cannot feel, but feels himself, so love is not lived, but overlived in the inner being. In other words, perceived as an extrasensory experience, beyond the material, love could become a seed by itself, having been passed through all the beings up to the Archaeus, as an unseen thread of connection, as a bridge from being to being up to Archaeus. We could say that love is immortality. This is, in fact, the opposition of the two groups of lines in the last stanza, the focusing on humans as regarded from two temporal perspectives: one of living, of treading this earth and another one of feeling the ego inside the ego, when under the empire of such a feeling, everything enlarges, gets infinity, “the tight circle” becoming “my world”. Concerning the result of the report space-time, it becomes null.

As having been given the “living” inside “the circle”, as a determinant of being, there are inborn and causality. But, this perspective could not be applied in the case of *Luceafărul*. Immortal and objective, it becomes infinity to infinity, limitless energy created by the

* This paper is supported by the Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources Development (SOP HRD), financed from the European Social Fund and by the Romanian Government under the contract number SOP HRD/159/1.5/S/136077.

“incomprehensible”, by the Unlimit. What is the suggested conclusion? Even submitted to The First One, to Father, through divine will and decision, this type of “part” could get the main trait of the “whole” – the immortality.

This opinion could be exemplified through Eminescu’s conception in a reading of:

“Unde-I mișcarea când spațiul e nemărginit?... Pământul a făcut o bucată... Bine... Deasupra-i și dedesubtu-i a rămas tot atâta spațiu, căci e nemărginit... va să zică ce a parcurs el când n-a parcurs nimic, căci pretutindenea stă în același loc, în același centron, în nemărginire – și dacă ar sta pe loc și dacă s-ar mișca, tot atâta ar fi... Care-i criteriul mișcării lui? Iar simțirile noastre, iar acest senzoriu vizionar, încât mișcarea lui nu-i de cugetat, fără ca să punem totodată ființa noastră. Pământul umblă cum umblăm noi în vis. Departe ajungem și totuși pe loc suntem. Iar în urmă și înainte nici nu s-a mărit, nici nu a scăzut distanța, căci e nemărginită”. [“Where is the motion when space is infinite?... The earth has created only a piece... All right... Upwards and under it the same space remained, as it is infinite... that is what it covered when it hasn’t covered anything, as everywhere it remains in the same place, in the same centron, in the unlimited – and if it stayed still and if it moved, the same would be... Which is the criterium of its motion? And our feelings, and this seer sense again, so that its motion could not be thought without involving our being. The earth humbles as we humble dreaming. We get far away, but we are still in the same place. Forwards or backwards, distance is neither bigger nor shorter, as it is infinite”]. Archaeus [Archaeus]

Further, the analysis of the time relativity is added to that of space relativity, time being

“... când e lung, când e scurt, fiind cu toate acestea același, cel puțin remontoriul o spune... (...) În vis el (omul, n.n.) poate avea într-o singură noapte viața întreagă a unui om. Și de ce a unui om? De ce nu a tuturor celor care se învârtesc împrejurul lui? Și în câtă vreme? În șapte ori în opt ore. (...) S-ascultăm poveștile, căci ele cel puțin ne fac să trăim și-n viața altor oameni, să ne amestecăm visurile și gândirile noastre cu ale lor. În ele trăiește

Archaeus... Poate că povestea e partea cea mai frumoasă a vieții omenești” [“...now it’s long, now it’s short, even if it is the same... (...) Dreaming, one could have in only one night a whole life of a human. And why of a human? Why not of those around him? And for how long? In seven or eight hours. (...) Let’s listen to the fairy-tales, as they make us live the lives of other humans, as well, at least, let’s mix our dreams and thoughts with theirs. Archaeus lives in them... Maybe fairy-tale is the most beautiful part of the human’s life”].

Hence, we get, from the antropogonical perspective, the following result: if space and motion are relative, if time cannot be reduced by our own consciousness at the same unit of measure universally accepted, then the human cannot be set between two limits. He should be set in motion from one unlimitlessness to another one, as a train would take him from the land of unborn to the infinite of death and unexpectedly stop in a “halt” called life. The causality is logic and, more than this, conditioned, but normal:

“Cine este și ce este acel el sau eu care-n toate schimbările din lume ar dori să rămâie tot el? Acesta este poate tot misterul, toată enigma vieții. Nimic n-ar dori să aibă din câte are. Un alt corp, altă minte, altă fizionomie, alți ochi, să fie altul... numai să fie el. (...) El este regele, dacă nu face numai această pretenție să fie tot el (adică: nu voiește memoria identității)...” [“who is and what is that he or I that would like to be the same through all the changes in the world? This is, perhaps, all the mystery, all the conundrum of life. Nothing would like to have what it has. Another body, another mind, another face, other eyes, to be another one, but him. (...) He is the king, if he doesn’t pretend to be him as well (that is he doesn’t want the memory of his identity)...”].

Thus, Archaeus is immortal. (...) And it is immortal what is “always here... just now”. But in order to get such a result, in order to comprehend the essence of the truth beyond the sensory, dissociation or, at least, a differentiation of the mental from the sensory, from the temporal dimension is needed:

“Numai dacă vremea ar sta locului, am putea vedea lămurit ce-i etern... Numai într-un punct în care s-ar naște un moratoriu între moarte și viață, căci

lumea nu-i decât o vecinică plătire către viață, o vecinică încasare din partea morții. Și această împrejurare este mama timpului. Fără de aceasta, suma celor ce există într-adevăr, s-ar putea privi peste tot, am ști ce este netemporal” [“Only if time stayed still, we could clearly see what’s immortal... Only in one point a mortal would be born between death and life, because life is but an infinite payment towards life, an infinite encashment from death. This is the mother of time. Without it, the sum of those who really are, could be seen everywhere, we would know what is timeless”].

After this dissociation, when the reasoning has got out of the temporal and spatial context, human could finally comprehend his full, complex, true meaning.

We have mentioned above that in order to fully comprehend the immortal in human the abolishment of the temporal dimension in the mental and the reactivation of the entire spiritual unit is necessary, getting in this way to the revelation of the inner ego and of the human mystery. In other words, returning to the point of all the beginnings is needed: “Căci unde-ajunge nu-i hotar./ Nici ochi spre a cunoaște./ Și vremea-ncearcă în zadar/ Din goluri a se naște” – where time has been set before having been born – in the Untime. Where there is no space, there is no causality, and human is free from his temporal obsession, able to comprehend his ego. Eminescu does not speak about the relativity of time in a universal plan, but he states doubts determined by the basic principle of its measuring, as in the manuscript 2257:

“Numărul este dat obiectiv, spuneți dumneavoastră. Nu se rotește pământul de 367 de ori în jurul axei lui într-un an? Cum adică într-un an? Ce înseamnă un an? Când începe un an și când se sfârșește? Nu este o mișcare veșnică în jurul soarelui și, ca mișcare veșnică și unitară, – indivizibilă? Cine a marcat cu pietre de hotar această mișcare și cine a măsurat-o? Cine a numărat primul an? Omul. Mișcarea este obiectivă. Măsura, însă, subiectivă. Apoi pendulările care se succedă. Această succesiune de pendulări omul a numit-o timp” [“You state that the number is an objective given. Doesn’t the earth spin 367 times around its axis in one year? What does it mean in one year? What does one year mean? When does a year begin and

when does it end? Isn’t it an infinite motion around the sun and, being infinite and unitarian, isn’t it indivisible? Who marked with border stones this motion and who measured it? Who counted the first year? Human did. Motion is objective. But measure is subjective. Then, the successive oscillations. This succession of oscillations was named time by human”].

The relativity of space and time, in oscillation according to the subjective perception of each human, as Eminescu shows, is the theme of *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*], by mentioning the various assumptions:

“Cine știe dacă nu trăim într-o lume microscopică și numai făptura ochilor noștri ne face să o vedem în mărimea în care o vedem? Cine știe dacă nu vede fiecare din oameni toate celea într-un alt fel, și nu aude fiecare sunet într-un alt fel? (...) Asemenea, în eternitatea fără margini, nu este orice bucată de timp, oricât de mare sau oricât de mică, numai o clipă suspendată. (...) ...În faptă lumea-i visul sufletului nostru. Trecut și viitor e-n sufletul meu, ca pădurea într-un sâmbure de ghindă, și infinitul asemenea, ca reflectarea cerului înstelat într-un strop de rouă”. [“Who knows whether we are not living in a tiny world and only the being of our eyes makes us see it in the dimensions we see it? Who knows if each of humans does not see it in a different way and does not hear each sound in a different way? (...) In addition to this, in the limitless eternity, isn’t any peace of time, short or big, only a suspended moment. (...) In fact, world is the dream of our soul. Past and present are only in my soul, as the forest in a seed of an acorn, and the infinite as well, as a reflection of the sky full of stars in a drop of dew”].

If there are so many oscillations between what time is thought to be, as a unit of measuring the human degradation, affecting the “partition” in its “cover”, so in its maximum vulnerability, or pulsation without “pulse” of the “whole” beyond the stars, where the poet’s sight has got, assumptioning starry births, planetary motions, human flounders, then, for sure, Eminescu would imagine, in a romantic spirit, and would use all the paths to get into the foremost point where “vremea-ncearcă în zadar / Din goluri a se naște” [“in vain time tries /To be born of

hollow”], to humble freely from one century to another, up to the point of all beginnings.

There is a permanent preoccupation of Eminescu – founding and, especially, using the bridges by which, by being halved, human could leave his form to reveal himself and live exclusively in the ontical dimension. “Dan văzu clar despărțirea ființei lui într-o parte eternă și una trecătoare” [“Dan clearly saw the separation of his being in an eternal part and a transient one”]. For this, a separation from the earthy connections, a separation of the clay-made being from the immortal human, the shadow, the Archaeus, are needed, which is possible in *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*], by the contained magic in Zoroastru’s book, got by the character from his magister, Ruben, and the transition, dreaming, to the immortality.

“Acum simt eu călugărul că sufletul călătorește din veac în veac, același suflet, numai că moartea-l face să uite că a mai trăit. Bine zici, meștere Ruben, că egiptenii aveau pe deplin dreptate cu metempsicoza lor. Bine zici cum că **în sufletul nostru este timpul și spațiul cel nemărginit** și nu ne lipsește decât varga cea magică de a ne transpune în oricare punct al lor am voi. Câți oameni sunt într-un singur om? Tot atâția câte stele sunt cuprinse într-o picătură de rouă sub cerul limpede al nopții”. [“Now I, the monk, can feel that the soul travels from century to century, the same soul, but death makes it forget that it has lived before. Well said, Ruben, as Egyptians were right about their metempsychosis. Well said as you state that **in our soul** there are **time and infinite space** and nothing misses but the magic rod in order to get to any point we would like to. How many humans in one? As many as stars comprised in a drop of clear dew beneath the clear sky at night”].

We consider important to show that in Eminescu’s work all these transtemporal bridges are, beyond their romantic origin, outcomes of the imaginary, called « fantasy », able not only to « open inner alcoves » but also to reveal new sensory representations, as Damaso Alonso states, in *Studiul despre poezia spaniolă* [*The Study about Spanish Poetry*], but especially, by connecting it with the conceptual and logical, for an intellectual challenge of the reader, if we consider images as those in *Luceafărul* [*The Evening Star*]: “Porni Luceafărul. Creșteau/ În cer a lui aripe,/ Și căi de mii de ani treceau/ În

tot atâtea clipe”. Or as in *Povestea magului călător în stele* [*The Story of a Wizard Who Goes in Stars*]:

“Pe magul cel puternic ei îl salută-n cale,/ El trece dus de steaua ce zboară ca un gând/ Și când veni sânt, mare, pe-a caosului vale/ Dă drumul stelei, s-aruncă-n hăul fără fund.// Deasupra vedea stele și dedesubtu-i stele,/ El zboară fără preget ca tunetul rănit;/ În sus, în dreapta,-n stânga lanurile de stele/ Dispar. – El cade-un astru în caos asvârlit”.

In these overlapped worlds, dream is taken as life itself. At the end of *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*] the uncertainties appear determined by the logic of the unfolding temporal, spatial and individual transitions. “Cine este omul adevărat al acestor întâmplări, Dan ori Dionis? Fost-au vis sau nu, asta-i întrebarea”. [“Who is the true human of these stories, Dan or Dionis? Were they dreaming or not, this is the question]. What makes the dream to be understood as metempsychosis by which the hero gets the ability of grasping his anterior ego, perceiving his anterior appearances? Dream and metempsychosis, beyond their romantic belongings, are ways of antropogonical investigation by which human could get up to the point the conscious human does not allow, of flying up the unpassing hollow, in the physical, material time, from the anthropological to the ontical, from *Sein* to *Das Sein*. When the raving hieroglyphs are revealed, the existential doubt appears:

“Nu cumva îndărătul culiselor vieței e un regizor a cărui existență nu o putem explica? Nu cumva suntem asemenea acelor figuranți care, voind a reprezenta o armată mare, trec pe scenă, înconjură fundalul și reapar iarăși? Nu este oare omenirea istoriei asemenea unei astfel de armate ce dispare într-o companie veche spre a reapărea în una nouă, armată mare pentru individul constituit în spectator, dar același număr mărginit pentru regizor. Nu sunt aceiași actori, deși piesele sunt altele?” [“Isn’t there, behind the backstage of life, a stage manager whose existence we could not explain? Aren’t we alike the dummies who, wanting to represent a large army, cross the stage, surround the background and cross the stage again? Isn’t it that mankind of history is alike such an army that disappears in an old company to appear again in a new one,

large army for the human consisted in the spectator, but the same limited number for the stage manager? Aren't there the same actors, even if the plays are different?"].

The gnomical tendency is obvious in *Glossă* [*Glossa*], where the comprehension of the temporal relativity attracted the consciousness of the causal relativity, determining the thinker to consider the objectivity.

"Viitorul și trecutul/ Sunt a filei două fețe,/ Vede-n capăt începutul/ Cine știe să le-nvețe;/ Tot ce-a fost ori o să fie/ În prezent le-avem pe toate,/ Dar de-a lor zădărnice/ Te întreabă și socoate.// Căci acelorași mijloace/ Se supun câte există,/ Și de mii de ani încoace/ Lumea-i veselă și tristă;/ Alte măști, aceeași piesă;/ Alte guri, aceeași gamă,/ Amăgit atât de-adeșe/ Nu spera și nu ai teamă".

Dream has often bivalent functions, as in *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*]. The hero is first transposed in times of Alexandru cel Bun, in order to understand that "the infinite time is a being of our immortal soul" ["vremea nemărginită este făptură a nemuritorului nostru suflet"] and that "the human has a place in time" ["omul cuprinde un loc în vreme"], and "God is time itself" ["Dumnezeu e vremea însăși"]. Then, following the knowledge of his magister Ruben, the hero leaves his shadow with its immortal being instead and, according to the formulas of his magic book for getting "even a piece of God's almightiness" ["chiar o bucată din atotputernicia lui Dumnezeu"], he gets to the moon, with Maria, the daughter of the spathaurus Tudor Mesteacăn. There he could transfigure everything according to his own will, and on earth he became a pearl at the neck of his lover, human would live further their vain.

"Timpul lor? O oră din viața ta va fi un veac pentru ei. Clipele vor fi decenii și-n aceste clipe se vor face războaie, se vor încorona regi, se vor stinge și se vor naște popoare (...)" ["Their time? An hour of your life will be a century for them. Seconds will be decades and in these seconds they will make wars, there will be crowned kings, nations will die and nations will be born (...)"].

However, it seems that Dionis loses control over the self-consciousness, of being, having a "place in time" ["un loc în vreme"], with only one piece of the "almightiness of God" ["o bucată din atotputernicia lui Dumnezeu"], and, reconsidering himself according to the new knowledge, especially to the unlimited freedom

of creating, he will pose in the divine hypostasis. Overspasing time and space, the being keeps the temporal roots, the garment of the passing being, from which the human sins cannot be unstitched, with the worst of all – vain glory. He throws backwards the "black and insignificant ball" ["bulgărele negru și neînsemnat"], ruled by hate and malice. "Raving and fantastic short story by the source of the literary substance, *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*] is a philosophical short story as well. If the philosophical support hadn't been, we would have had a story of a young man who dreams himself living in the 15th century and travelling to the moon; if we had had only reflections about the relation between the metaphysical condition of human and his real existence, about the possibility of overpassing, by the power of spirit, the limits of time and space corresponding to the human life, we would have had a philosophical essay" ["Nuvelă onirică și fantastică prin sursa substanței literare, *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*] este totodată o nuvelă filozofică. Dacă susținerea filozofică ar fi lipsit, am fi avut de-a face cu povestea unui tânăr care se visează trăind în secolul al XV-lea și călătorind în lună; dacă n-am fi avut decât reflecții despre relația dintre condiția metafizică a omului și existența lui reală, despre posibilitatea de a depăși, prin puterea spiritului, limitele de timp și spațiu ale vieții umane, am fi avut un eseu filozofic" (Gană 2002, 307).

If the dream in *Geniu pustiu* [*The Desert Genius*] is a way of temporary coming out of death that will carry the hero in a typical biblical Eden, in *Avatarii faraonului Tla* [*Avatars of Tla Pharaoh*] the dream cannot be separated from the reality, generating the myth of metempsychosis. The soul of the pharaoh passes through three successive reincarnations, for recovering at the raving level of some unfulfilled hypostasis in the real plan.

The same way of dreaming will be followed by the fair daughter of the emperor in order to meet the sweet man of her nights in *The Evening Star*. "Ea îl privea cu un surâs,/ El tremura-n oglindă,/ Căci o urma adânc în vis/ De suflet să se prindă". This dream is also a way of knowledge, but erotic. But, differently from *Sărmanul Dionis* [*Poor Dionis*], for instance, where in dream there are hypostasis, times are experienced, in this way-out of real, the young girl keeps her individuality, the consciousness of her own passing condition. Here, dream unites two opposed dimensions, it is a path on which two consciousness, from two different worlds, walk, functioning according to antithetical

principles. Two paradoxes: one of life without life and the other of death without death, comprehended in their smallest fibres and through two inabilities, according to our logic above: one that cannot live and the other one that cannot die. “– Dar cum ai vrea să mă cobor?/ Au nu-nțelegi tu oare,/ Cum că eu sunt nemuritor,/ Și tu ești muritoare?”

Hence, the drama that cannot be removed by dreaming, in spite of the hyperironical audacity.

Getting out of the sphere of the necessity, human made one step forward when he became interrogative, when he began to look inside him. Without having access to any mysteries of his own or divine essence, human understood that he would have to get out of the contingency by his own inner resources, all his conscious, unconscious and superconscious substratums. But the only one who succeeded is that one where God put “unlimits of thinking” [“a pus nemargini de gândire”] (*Povestea magului călător în stele*) [*The Story of A Wizard Who Goes in Stars*], the genius.

His deep being, his role on earth is explained by Eminescu himself in a note on the margin of *Luceafărul* [*The Evening Star*]:

“Înțelesul alegoric ce i-am dat este că geniul nu cunoaște moarte și numele lui scapă de noaptea uitării; pe de altă parte, aici pe pământ, nu e capabil de a fi fericit și nici de a fericii pe cineva. El n-are moarte, dar n-are nici noroc” [“The given allegorical meaning is that the genius does not know death and his name escapes from the night of forgetting; on the other hand, here, on earth, he is not able of being happy or to make someone else happy. He does not know either the death or the fortune”].

Undoubtedly, the poem is more than this, but by mentioning the allegorical clue, the interpretations related to the overlapping of the images Cătălina (the heroine of the poem)-Veronica (poet’s lover) or *Luceafărul*-Eminescu could be avoided. Thus, we can recompose, very close to the truth, Eminescu’s vision according to which God “posed unlimits of thinking” [“a pus nemargini de gândire”]. Taken out from the temporal hurry, able to pose himself in a trans-spatial and trans-temporal plan, the genius gets different “masks” [“măști”], as George Gană says, under which he appears to the world, in order to make easier the way of becoming and to open the inner eyes (Gană 2002).

We will not explain here the ontological meaning of the collocations “he does not know

the death” and “his name escapes from the night of forgetting”, as we are interested in the report genius-time, space, motion, respectively causality, in the mentioning “here, on earth”. The absence of death is given by the absence of motion as evolution inside himself and for himself that could determine a kind of exterior transformation. Motion belongs to the passing who, under the influence of the autonomous genius, would have the chance to restructure his causality. Without any doubt, in the explanation in *Luceafărul* [*The Evening Star*], the references to the spatial or temporal sphere are not interesting. More important is the ability of that rare type of humans who has access to a peculiar mood of living exclusively looking in his inner self, “here” as “yonder”. There is a changing of the horizon, a modification of the perspective from outside towards inside the being, a posing face-to-face of the own spirit. That’s why in *Povestea magului călător în stele* [*The Story of A Wizard Who Goes in Stars*], the book of immortality, where the human destinies are written, the time of living is put in the light of the star in the sky; it does not comprise any information about the way of genius, because this is not written in the stars, being without beginning and without end, as a given: “De-ai fi ca alți oameni atunci se poate/ Ca soarta ta-n bine din rău aș schimba,/ Dar semnul tău nu stă în cartea mea toată./ A sorților stele de mine-s purtate/ Da’ tu în tot cerul nu ai nicio stea”. In a version of *Luceafărul*, the refusal sounds as it follows: “Tu din eternul meu întreg/ Te-ai smuls o stea senină/ Cum vrei puterea mea s-o neg,/ Lumină din lumină”.

All these aspects change the perspective of the genius from living to being, thus, in the belief in enduring, proved by Eminescu, as well.

As a consequence, “here, on earth”, means, with all its aspects, a temporary descending of the genius from the immortal height to the good for everyone, transforming in a martyr of the humankind, who will not hesitate to crucify when needed, regardless of his power or his consciousness. There is a posing of this being in christical hyposthesis, with all his aspects, without substituting him, but following him.

Another element to be discussed in Eminescu explanation about the genius concerns the meaning of “fortune” [“noroc”], set in interdependence with that of death and even with that of happiness, which we have discussed above. All of them forming the indivisible unit, antithetical to life, respectively to being, and, why not, to the misfortune. He does not know

either the death or the fortune” [“Nu are moarte, dar n-are nici noroc”] is a clear mention for enhancing the separation from human. Living for the pure idea, genius is not and will never be available to hazard, not only as a principle, but by the construction itself, which makes it undesirable to occasion.

On the other hand, fortune is tightly related to destiny, to the lighted star for everyone in the sky, but not for the genius as well. We separate here two major meanings and totally opposed to the term. Firstly, we speak about a glib destiny, changeable, to which the weak common human conforms. Secondly, for who is being has no relevance, because nothing results out of this circumstance, but only from those coming out from the immaterial inner comprised, for a while, in the material. As he does not live for himself, but for the others, the genius stays beyond the anthropological dimension. According to Schopenhauer, the mission of genius consists in placing in immortality. In the act of contemplating the eternal ideas, he gets free from everything telluric. Human with the vocation of a genius scarifies his own happiness for the objective goal, fact that determines his superiority upon the common human. While the will is prevalent in the case of common human, knowledge is the role of the genius (Schopenhauer 1974, 73).

We consider important to mention that, in order to get the revelation of the human, Eminescu studied the Clausius's theory of the energetic metamorphosis, when he was 30, and he wrote in the manuscript 2270, f. 140: “Out of the correlation of these motions, progressive, rotator and of moving the constitutive parts inside the molecule, different degrees and different directions of force are born, whose crossing is life” [“Din corelațiunea acestor mișcări, progresivă, rotatorie și de mișcare a părților constitutive dinlăuntrul moleculului, se nasc diverse grade și diverse direcții de forță, a căror încrucișare e viața”]. He had already been attracted by the “revolutionaries” Mayer and Clausius and especially by their theories, wherein the concepts life and death got different meanings, able to change completely the former ones. Seven foils further, there is a note that proves an incredible intuition, preceding even Einstein, looking at “the curve in the infinity of the universe” [“**curba în infinit a universului**”] (my emphasis) and neglecting the opinion of G. Călinescu, in the monographic study, according to which Eminescu's intention would have been “the creation of a poetic universe in a semi-circle, with the horizon limited by the birth and

death of the world connected by the arch of history “crearea unui univers poetic în semicerc, cu orizonturile limitate de nașterea și moartea lumii legate între ele de *arcul istoriei*”]. Such a suggestion appears in *Phylosophia copilei* [*The Philosophy of A Little Girl*] (1876), where the universe is revealed to the poet as being submitted to a permanent death and resurrection: “Falnică-i pare legea Creării,/ Lumi ce de focuri în lumi înnot,/ Candelii aprinse lui Zebaot,/ Ce ard topirei și re-nvirei...” A version of *Luceafărul* [*The Evening Star*] also concerns a helix-like becoming: “Pentru că ei sunt trecători/ Sunt toate trecătoare –/ Au nu sunt toate-nvelitori/ Ființei ce nu moare?// Tot ce a fost, tot ce va fi/ De-a pururi față este/ Iar basmul stins al stingerii/ Părere-i și poveste”. As, at the end of the scene: “Să piară timpul înneecat/ În văi de întuneric/ El s-ar renaște luminat/ Ca să se-nvârtă sferic”.

So many different domains have been submitted to Eminescu's thought, so many manuscripts prove the permanent, ardent thirst for knowledge, and his work is by itself an expression of his pursuits, “redes”, which Eminescu will get to from the antropogonical perspective. I. Slavici also confessed: “He wasn't used to read the common meaning of the word, just to make time pass, but he used to study in order to see the light. (...) His idea of predilection was that everything with life is insolațiune [heatstroke], which lead to the belief that without differential mathematics we are not able to comprehend the true being of things (Slavici 1967, 118-119). ”Cât pentru lectură, el nu cetea în înțelesul obicinuit al cuvântului, pentru ca să-i treacă timpul ci studia pentru a se dumiri (my emphasis). (...) Ideea lui de predilecțiune era că tot ce are viață e insolațiune, ceea ce l-a dus în cele din urmă la convingerea că fără de matematică diferențială nu suntem în stare să pătrundem adevărata fire a lucrurilor”.

As a consequence, the goal was to be able to understand the “true being of things” [“adevărata fire a lucrurilor”]. What are the things that Slavici was referring to? Undoubtedly, to those interrogatively comprised in his entire work:

“What is the human?”, “What is the humankind?”, “What is the truth?”, “Time, as from your source the history of thoughts flows/ Could you answer the question that is in our being [?]”, “Who are you? To make me able to know your image on human...”, “Who measures the human depth?”, “Or who is the god whom we give in our hearts to”, “To

be? Insanity, sad and hollow, in the same time”, “Or is there any meaning in the world?”, “Who forecast the law of any kind angel/As in this life to come on earth” [“Ce este omul?”, “Ce-i omenirea?”, “Ce-i adevărul?”, “Timp, căci din izvoru-ți curge a istoriei gândire / Poți răspunde la-ntrebarea ce pătrunde-a noastră fire[?]”, “Cine ești? Să pot cunoaște și icoana ta... pe om.”, “Cine-mi măsur-adâncimea dintr-un om?”, “Au cine-i zeul cărui plecăm a noastre inimi?”, “A fi? Nebunie și tristă și goală”, “Au e sens în lume?”, “Cine prescrie legea la orice înger blând / Ca-n viața-i să coboare odată pe pământ?”].

And there are many other lines that lead to the deep comprehension of human and of the human inner mystery, revealed, we say, in the very second of understanding that life has in its limit the limitlessness, that if ended in nowhere, life would be meaningless, that at the end, death is the moment of reactivation the spirit at its full power, after having been limited, of returning to the limitlessness. Hence, perhaps, the permanent need of the superior consciousnesses to get out of boundaries, from the unconsciousness connected to the absolute dimension and, hence, the ability to “learn to die” [“învăța a muri”]. For Eminescu life and death are principles, ways of everlasting. More than this, even when he admits the logical fact that “Time is death and space is fight” [“Timpul e moarte și spațiul e luptă”], and human is submitted to pain and injustice, he has the intuition of the fact that his breaking free is possible through death, when he feels broken and tormented by an unfair destiny, even when he is conscious that even the

“material is dust”, human cannot be taken out of the “curve into infinite of the universe” even by God, as stated in the poem *Mureșanu* [Muresanu].

And nevertheless *Luceafărul* could be integrated into the infinite curve, who being out of the chains of the material, stays of divine origin. Transfigured, at the beginning, in a young voivode, in order to meet the young girl, in the third part of the poem he will go, flying as “an endless thunder”, to the master of the infinite to get rid of the immortality, that is to get out of the limitlessness and to be posed, for a kiss, on the existential helix, submitted to pain and vain, which has pushed Mureșanu to a defying-challenging attitude. The images succeeded with the speed of “the thought carried out by nostalgia” [“gândului purtat de dor”] take us, in fact, exactly up to the terminus point, where the Unfathomable lays, where “Nu e nimic și totuși e/ O sete care-l soarbe,/ E un adânc asemenea/ Uitării celei oarbe”, that is the place where the energies freed from the material float in a “chaotic” state, without giving the common meaning to the term, of uncontrollable disorder, but, the opposite, according to perfectly set rules, even if unknown, proper to a lab, where life and the “eternal peace” germinate. Hence, long rows of humans will “descend down” [“coborî în jos”], attracted in life by “an infinite nostalgia” [“un dor nemărginit”]. The condition of *Luceafărul* [The Evening Star] makes impossible his absorption in the cycle of births and deaths, as the system, according to which energies function, chaotically float, cannot absorb the abyssal in their compass.

References

- Călinescu 1934-1936** Călinescu, George, *Opera lui Eminescu* [Eminescu's Work], I-V, București, Ed. Fundației pentru Literatură și Artă “Regele Carol II” (1934-1936).
- Cojocaru 2012** Cojocaru, Carmina-Mimi, *Antropogonia eminesciană* [Eminescian Antropogony], Iași, Junimea (2012).
- Drimba 2001** Drimba, Ovidiu, *Istoria literaturii universale* [History of the Universal Literature], I-II, București, Saeculum I.O., Vestala (2001).

Eminescu 1939-1989

- Eminescu, Mihai, *Opere* [Works]. Perpessicius edition; Petru Creția, D. Vatamaniuc (coord.), vol. I, București, Ed. Fundației pentru Literatură și Artă Regele Carol (1939); vol. II, București, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă Regele Carol (1939); vol. III, București, Fundația Regală Regele Mihai I (1944); vol. IV-VI, București, Ed. Academiei (1952-1963); vol. VII-XVI, București, Ed. Academiei (1977-1989).
- Gană 2002** Gană, George, *Melancolia lui Eminescu* [Eminescu's

- Munteanu 1973** *Menancholy*], București, Fundația Culturală Române (2002).
- Munteanu 1973** Munteanu, George, *Hyperion. Viața lui Eminescu* [*Hyperions. Eminescu's Life*], București, Minerva (1973).
- Munteanu 1994** Munteanu, George, *Istoria literaturii române, Epoca marilor clasici* [*History of the Romanian Literature. The Era of the Great Classics*], Galați, Porto-Franco (1994).
- Munteanu 1998** Munteanu, George, *Eminescu și antinomiile posterității* [*Eminescu and the Antinomies of Posterity*], București, Albatros (1998).
- Schopenhauer 1974** Schopenhauer, A., *Studii de estetică* [*Studies of Aesthetics*], București, Ed. Științifică (1974).
- Slavici 1967** Slavici, Ioan, *Amintiri* [*Memoirs*], București, Ed. pentru Literatură (1967).

Mircea Eliade and Art as a Spiritual Experience: A Complementary View to the Aesthetical Hermeneutics and Interpretation of Art as a Historical Phenomenon*

Gabriel BADEA

Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Bucharest,
Center of Excellence in the Study of Image
E-mail: gabi_1333@yahoo.com

Abstract. The contents of this study will be structured by the following points: first, I will briefly outline Mircea Eliade's main ideas on art and creation, regarded as types of the religious experience; I will relate these ideas to the main discourses on art in modern context (aesthetics and art history, the system of modern art). Eliade showed a great interest in the metaphysical interpretation of art and its meanings in the context of more traditional societies (China and India), into a parallel approach to other scholars like Rudolf Otto and Ananda Coomaraswamy. In the same time he focused on the links between anamnesis and artistic creation, and also on the modern hypostasis of art-religion syncretism. In the final section, I will analyze the reception of Eliade's "aesthetic" ideas and on their relevance and topicality in contemporary debates.

Keywords: art, religion, aesthetics, art history, metaphysics, Sacred/Profane.

Introduction

Opening the study of Eliade's ideas on art, I establish from the outset that they do not fall neither into the historicized, nor the aestheticized paradigm, the two major directions of philosophical reflection on art in modernity. Eliade was not interested in making an aestheticized "history" of art, in following a sequence, a lineage of artists, current, styles, forms *etc.* – or in privileging the aesthetic dimension of art works. Instead, his ideas have a metaphysical ground based on the *philosophia perennis* from the medieval period, but with conceptual and methodological contributions from the rapidly emerging disciplines of the early twentieth century (phenomenology, anthropology, sociology), all of them assimilated and synthesized by the history of religions approach (Spineto 1997, 61-71). Eliade's ideas can be deployed in support of the central hypothesis: art can be understood as a form of trans-personal experience, through which the viewer can escape from the conditionings of his age and can gain access to

the original plan of creation, which repeats the creative work of gods or mythical heroes, capturing that initial magic load that would have been the foundation for a ritualistic formula (in which poetry, music, were not yet differentiated, but mutually empowering). In this regard, we recall the eliadian similar steps such as those due to Rudolf Otto and Gerardus van der Leeuw. In one of his first books, *Soliloquies* (*Solilocvii* 1932), he states that man can experience the joy of creation, which repeats the original creation of God: "while the creational feeling that man is experiencing in any religious emotion reveals his dependence on God as His creature – in the artistic emotion the overriding feeling is different: the joy that a man created, imitated the work of God, that he was saved by monstrous fate, broke those walls of helplessness, of limitation" (Eliade 2008c, 54). The statement above dates back to 1932, when Eliade had not yet theorized the human type represented by "homo religiosus" with all the characteristic mental representations. At the same time, when comparing the experience of art to the religious one, he did not regard the modern man as being completely areligious, at least at the conscious level.

Art as a Type of Religious Experience

It should be noted from the outset that if we ignore the understanding of art as an aesthetic phenomenon (implicit in the principles, methods

* This work was cofinanced from the European Social Fund through Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-2013, project number POSDRU/159/1.5/S/140863, Competitive Researchers in Europe in the Field of Humanities and Socio-Economic Sciences. A Multi-regional Research Network.

and concepts of classical aesthetics), we will find in almost every scientific paper written by Eliade references to the art phenomenon, regarded in conjunction with religion. From this perspective, art is understood as a work of creative and spiritual phenomenon, with a metaphysical foundation. The original and profound level is still preserved in the more traditional cultures (China and India), as he stated in the study *Notes on Indian Art*, “before being a work of art, the Indian piece is a work of creation and [...] we must discover its metaphysical validity” (Eliade 2008b, 281). A major feature of Eliade’s hermeneutics is the “genetic” perspective on the work of art, on its metaphysical origins, as a way to connect with the transcendent: “All the works of art of Antiquity and the Middle Ages were «traces» (*vestigii*) of the transcendent in history; «traces» which had lead the human spirit on the steps of metaphysical knowledge” (Eliade 2008a, 110).

In this regard, an eloquent study is the one from his youth-period, *Barabudur, the symbolic temple* (1937), occasioned by the appearance of the work of Paul Mus, in 1935. The symbolism of the most impressive Buddhist temple leads to the highlighting of some fundamental features of the artwork in traditional cultures: “The doctrine is «the verbal body» of Buddha; templus or *stupa* is his architectural «body»” (Eliade 2008b, 53); “The Temple was the *image* of this world; his concrete model was the bubble of air or water, «the cosmic egg»” (*Ibidem*, 59). Thus it becomes transparent the temple’s mediating function (as a work of art and a symbol) which was vivid for successive generations of believers: “The work of art leads to contemplation of divinity or even the incorporation in it” (Eliade 2008c, 53).

Regarding the function of the sacred art, Eliade states that “it translated religious experience and a metaphysical conception of the world and of human existence into a concrete, representational form.[...] Every religious expression in art represents [...] an encounter between man and the divine” (Eliade 1985, 55). Next, he identifies two types of encounter, and subsequently of representation:

- 1) the sacred significance of a part of the cosmos (the sky, the earth *etc.*) or of a natural object (a tree or stone *etc.*);
- 2) manifestations which reveal a divine “form” or “figure” and which are in the strictest sense epiphanies and theophanies (*Ibidem*, 57).

On another level, the hermeneutics of symbol, such as designed and professed by

Eliade, was an amplifying and constructive one, knowing his reprobation of the modern materialism, nihilism and resentment. In this regard, as other scholars had already demonstrated ⁽¹⁾, Eliade’s view of the symbol is very indebted to the one professed by authors such as René Guénon and Ananda Coomaraswamy, though he does not support the idea of a primordial tradition spread into the hypostasis of different civilizations, into more or less deformed or reduced forms.

His approach is a constructive one also because it seeks the amplification of experience, both in what concerns the creator and one that will contemplate the work of art, in one way or another. More explicitly, the artistic phenomenon will involve as many planes of consciousness: the ideal is given by the medieval artists, who ruled alongside his art, as well as Metaphysics and Cosmology. Sketching a virtual portrait of the “Writer of Tomorrow”, Eliade refers to the figure of the medieval artist: “The writer of tomorrow will have to regain the dignity and severity of his art. As the artist of Middle Age – who ruled the seven Arts, initiated just as well in Theology as in Music and Grammar – the new writer will have to get the techniques and secrets of all human knowledge. [...] Such as the cherished ideal of Dante, Calderon, Shakespeare, Goethe or Novalis – the new writer [...] will dream an Art that is also Metaphysics and a Cosmology” ⁽²⁾.

This statement recalls the main distinction between “artifex” in the medieval sense and artist in the modern acception. The sacred and ritual character of art in the medieval sense is remembered by René Guénon, just to emphasize the marginal and profane character of the modern art. While in the modern sense science is based on laws and principles, art was designed in the same way by the medieval age: Guénon reminds the builders’ motto from then – “ars sine scientia nihil est” ⁽³⁾ – adding, however, that it refers to “the traditional science, not the profane science, whose application can not give rise to anything but modern industry” (Guénon 2008, 69). In Eliade as well we can find both references to the idea of “traditional

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Spineto 2002, especially *Introduzione*, pp. 7-14 and *Note conclusive*, pp. 225-235; Spineto 2006.

⁽²⁾ *Scritorul de mâine....* In: *Viața literară*, year XI, no. 11, April 25 - May 1937, p.1, reprinted in Eliade 1990,198.

⁽³⁾ The expression belongs to the French architect Jean Mignot, one of the builders of the Cathedral of Milan.

knowledge” and the features that distinguish it from secular or modern science: “the Babylonian science remained a «traditional science» in the sense that scientific knowledge has maintained a «totalitarian» structure, i.e. involving cosmological, ethical and «existential» assumptions (such as medicine and alchemy in China)” (Eliade 2000, 63).

On the other hand, the enthusiasts of art’s phenomenon, philosophers, theologians, men of letters from the medieval period did not have too many terms of comparison (works, styles, artists *etc.*) to enable them to build an autonomous language of art. The concepts and principles were most often borrowed from theology and scholastic philosophy, which blocked the establishment of a largely autonomous discourse about the nature and function of art.

Also, it should be noted that Eliade is rather interested in a diachronic analysis of the ways in which people lived “art” like experience, i.e. the extent to which their conceptions of the sacred, about the world and life, were symbolized and mediated through art, the way in which in a man’s life the experience of art was intertwined with the one of the sacred or the various rites of passage (birth, initiation, marriage, death). He is interested in living forms of art, not the one buried in museums or under the conventions specific to each age, so he aspires that art should regain its original status of “magical art”, even at the risk of falling into anachronism.

Mircea Eliade is concerned with the act of creation that incorporates spiritual elements and testifies to a certain tension between Spirit and Nature. Consequently, he is interested in the relationship between art and spirituality of a culture or a civilization, a complex relation that has in the background the oppositions sacred/profane, form/matter, order/chaos, good/evil. His concerns are related to the role and significance of art in the traditional type of civilizations (China, India) and the transformations undergone by European art.

Summarizing what has been said by now, it could be claimed that he was in opposition with the art’s approach: (a) as a historical phenomenon that can be totalled and analyzed by the principles articulated through the philosophy of history; moreover, anti-historicism is an essential feature for his thinking and work; (b) as an aesthetic phenomenon (domain inaugurated by the work of Alexander Baumgarten, 1750); according to the German philosopher, the new field

corresponds to “a type of knowledge in which the mainly role is given to sensitivity and feeling, the beautiful being that form of perfection detectable through the senses” (*** 1972, 48). The aesthetic knowledge is to be distinguished from the logical one, the one who searches for the truth by rational methods. A key contribution is that of Immanuel Kant, in *Critique of Judgment* (1790).

Temporarily focusing our attention on the more general context in which Eliade’s ideas can be integrated, a question arises: what type of interpretation does he aim at replacing? The answer would be that through his ideas he lies entirely outside that traditional European perspective on art, based on the work of the two intellectuals Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) and Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717- 1768) and subsequently crystallized in an academic discipline called Art History. Eliade noted already since 1942 how much the field of artistic investigations had expanded, compared to the time when the German theorist made the first openings (Eliade 2006, 146).

On the other hand, it should be noticed that the actual philosophical reflection on art (Arthur Danto, Hans Belting, Luc Ferry, Yves Michaud, Thierry du Duve *etc.*) is based on the Kantian or Hegelian aesthetic systems. However, Eliade’s ideas are not consonant with this kind of interpretation, especially the kantian one, as he noted in his *Memories* that he declined Camil Petrescu’s proposal to write a phenomenology of art, so he would not squander his talent with exotic interpretations ⁽⁴⁾. As it is

⁽⁴⁾ Eliade 2003, 338, note 2: “After the appearance of the work *Babylonian Cosmology and Alchemy*, Camil Petrescu reproached me wasting my intelligence and culture with such problems without interest, instead, for example, to study Husserl and make a phenomenological analysis of art. And some nationalist intellectuals mourned my alienation, that I let myself be absorbed by exotic cultural phenomena, instead of studying the authentic Romanian creations. [But] I think my efforts to understand the archaic thinking and oriental structures contributed to deciphering the true values of Romanian folk spirituality than, for instance, Kant or the sociological interpretations learned after last books published in Germany, France or the US.” [“După apariția lucrării *Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană*, Camil Petrescu îmi reproșă că-mi risipesc inteligența și cultura cu asemenea probleme fără interes, în loc, bunăoară, să-l studiez pe Husserl și să fac o analiză fenomenologică a artei. Iar unii intelectuali naționaliști deplângeau alienarea mea, faptul că mă las absorbir de fenomene culturale exotice, în loc să studiez creațiile autentice românești. [Dar] cred că

well known, Eliade opted for a different discourse than the European philosophical tradition, including the ideas of art. However, regarding the philosophy of history as well, as he argued in *The Myth of the Eternal Return* there is a strange affinity between his ideas and the Hegelian system, a common concern for the Beginning and End (of history, art *etc.*), facts confirmed by Eliade's admiration of Hegel's thought. Under this aspect, it becomes relevant to invoke Eliade's ideas on art and to put them into agreement or disagreement with contemporary reflections on the subject. A further argument for the rapprochement between the two thinkers is that they both approached art through religion, even in a modern context, not only with reference to the primitive syncretism phase. Hegel wrote in several places on the "religion of art", but considering it an outdated phase in the evolution of Universal Spirit, without suspecting, however, that his posterity will aspire to achieve this ideal (I refer to artists and writers from the second half of the nineteenth century, who aimed at revitalizing the links between art and the spiritual, beyond the domination of religious dogmatism). However, on the phenomenon of art, Eliade remains the same convinced anti-Hegelian, as in interpreting the nature and meaning of history.

The Reception of Eliade's Ideas on Art

Unfortunately, they have not entered into the consciousness of the age in which the author's prestige reached its peak, either in the general one or in the narrow circle of specialists. The fact can be explained by at least two causes: either some of these ideas were published in essays and articles of the youth period, in Romanian, and thus inaccessible to the worldwide public. Some of them have been translated, but too late to fit in the context of the time. The second problematic aspect is that some of the essays appeared in the last volume published by Eliade during his life, *Briser le toit de la maison. La créativité et ses symboles*, when newly emerging theories of postmodernism had put in shade the traditional approaches to art. But evolution is not complete,

eforturile mele de a înțelege structurile gândirii arhaice și orientale contribuiau mai valabil la descifrarea valorilor spiritualității populare românești decât, bunăoară, exegeza lui Kant sau interpretările sociologice învățate după ultimele cărți apărute în Germania, Franța sau SUA”].

and probably in the future he will be rediscovered and his ideas will form the basis of new insights on art, when the baroque, postmodern artifice will exhaust his possibilities of expression and fall to mannerism.

Regarding the reception of the ideas on the aesthetic frame, as Andrei Pleșu stated nearly three decades ago (Pleșu 1986, 283-293), although Eliade enjoys the prestige of being one of the great historians of religions, whose erudition is impressive and admired even today, however, some areas (such as art history, for Pleșu) do not assimilate and do not highlight Eliade's ideas concerning their field of interest. Of the two dominant directions of the science of art (Kunstwissenschaft), the theory of pure visibility (Fiedler) and the theory of iconology (Warburg, Panofsky, Saxl, Gombrich), Pleșu thinks that Eliade's approach is closer to the latter (Pleșu 1986, 288-289). But I will not dwell on this aspect, since it would lead to a removal of specificity of Eliade's interpretation.

The approach is not simple, because the ideas are spread in a heterogeneous and impressive corpus of essays, articles, scientific and literary works. Due to its trans-disciplinary formation as historian and philosopher of culture ⁽⁵⁾, hermeneut, historian and comparatist of religions, Eliade had acquired the privilege of knowing the appearance and evolution of art's phenomenon as one of the key manifestations of the human spirit. His approach was simultaneously diachronic and synchronic, a feature of the hermeneutic method, and not an exclusively synchronic one, reductionistic and limited to the polemics aroused from the nebula of modern art. The philosophy of art of that time was overtaken by endless disputes about the nature of Beauty (spiritual or material), the relationship between art and beauty, of content and form, and the role that art should play in the life of the society (the principle of art's autonomy in opposition to that of art engaged in the social context). However, avoiding the speculative nature of the above disputes, Eliade considered modern art in a synchronic perspective, in relation to major cultural and social changes that have accompanied the modernity's development (the decline of absolutism and religious institutions, the rise of the bourgeoisie and democracy), always going to the primary causes (the ascension of

⁽⁵⁾ Especially, in the articles and essays published in Romania, before leaving the country, as cultural attaché of the Romanian Legation in London in 1940.

“individualism, positivism, asymbolism which derived from the century of historicism”) (Eliade 2008a, 40). Moreover, having a broader perspective than that required by a strict specialization, he knew the features that defined modern art in relation to art from other periods, prehistoric or historic (the diachronic perspective of hermeneutical approach). He has written in many occasions about the context in which art appeared in prehistoric societies, about art’s relation to religion and magic, in the frame of the process called “primitive syncretism”.

Conclusions

The purpose of this article was to operate a possible link between the fields of aesthetics and art history, on the one hand, and the thinking of Mircea Eliade, the historian of religions and versatile author, on the other hand. Initial motivation for this approach was my surprise to

finding that Eliade’s ideas did not have a significant resonance among renowned theorists in the fields of aesthetics and art history. Without inclining the balance in favor of a certain research direction, the study came to the conclusion that Eliade’s “aesthetics”, even if it relates to traditional cultures, an-historical and extra-European, can lead to a better understanding of modern art’s phenomenon, by placing it in a wider socio-cultural context, operating an opening to the archaic and primordial forms of spirituality. Other schools of interpretation consider this area to be permanently closed, which explains to some extent why Eliade’s ideas about art have not enjoyed the same consideration as those concerning the nature of religious experience and the cyclical nature of history.

References

a. Books

- *** 1972 *Dicționar de estetică generală* [Dictionary of General Aesthetics], București, Ed. Politică (1972).
- Eliade 1990a Eliade, Mircea, *Profetism românesc* [Romanian Prophetism], vol. I, II, București, Roza vânturilor (1990).
- Eliade 1990b Eliade, Mircea, *Symbolism, the Sacred and the Arts*, edited by Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, New York, Crossroad (1985).
- Eliade 2000 Eliade, Mircea, *Istoria ideilor și credințelor religioase* [A History of Religious Ideas], București, Univers Enciclopedic (2000).
- Eliade, 2003 Eliade, Mircea, *Memorii* [Autobiography], 1907-1960, București, Humanitas (2003).
- Eliade 2006 Eliade, Mircea, *Jurnalul portughez și alte scrieri* [The Portugal Journal and Other Writings], vol. I, București, Humanitas (2006).
- Eliade 2008a Eliade, Mircea, *Fragmentarium*, București, Humanitas (2008).
- Eliade 2008b Eliade, Mircea, *Insula lui Euthanasius* [The Island of Euthanasius], București, Humanitas (2008).
- Eliade 2008c Eliade, Mircea, *Solilocvii* [Soliloquies], București, Humanitas (2008).
- Guénon 2008 Guénon, René, *Domnia cantității și semnele vremurilor* [The Reign of Quantity and the Signs of the

Times], București, Humanitas (2008).

Marino 1980 Marino, Adrian, *Hermeneutica lui Mircea Eliade* [Mircea Eliade’s Hermeneutics], Cluj-Napoca, Dacia (1980).

Spineto 2002 Spineto, Natale, *I simboli nella storia dell’uomo* [The Symbols in the History of the Human] Milano, Jaca Book (2002).

Spineto 2006 Spineto, Natale, *Mircea Eliade. Istoric al religiilor* [Mircea Eliade. Historian of Religions], București, Curtea Veche (2006).

b. Chapter in books

- Lipsey 1987 Lipsey, Roger, “Modern Art”. In Mircea Eliade (coord.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 10, New York, Macmillan Publishing Company (1987), pp. 5-8.
- Pleșu 1986 Pleșu, Andrei, “Mircea Eliade și hermeneutica artei” [“Mircea Eliade and the Hermeneutics of Art”]. In *Ochiul și lucrurile* [The Eye and the Things], București, Meridiane (1986).
- Spineto 1997 Spineto, Natale, “Mircea Eliade și redescoperirea gândirii simbolice” [“Mircea Eliade and the Rediscovery of the Symbolic Thinking”]. In Cristian Bădiliță (ed.), *Eliadiana*, Iași, Polirom (1997).

John Cassavetes on Gloria-Myrtle-Mabel: A Trilogy of the Female Body

Eliane C. LIMA

Master San Francisco Art Institute

Master of Fine Arts, Film & Video

California Institute of Arts

Santa Clarita, CA – USA

E-mail: elianelima@alum.calarts.edu

Abstract. This paper looks at Gena Rowlands' characters in *Gloria*, *Opening Night*, and *A Woman under the Influence*: Gloria, Myrtle, and Mabel, which I am presenting as a trilogy of the female body. These characters are in-between the self and others, fighting their struggles and revealing their fragilities. The realism of their bodies in relationship with the others will be addressed to explore the concept of body-image as a reflection of affect and a representation of reality. The objective of this paper is to investigate the hysterical body of Gena Rowlands' characters: Gloria, Myrtle, and Mabel; and, to question what happens to her characters as they interact with others.

Keywords: audience and female studies, female characters, Gilles Deleuze and cinema, affection-image, John Cassavetes' narrative.

Cassavetes began his career as an independent filmmaker in the fifties and developed a cinematic oeuvre that highlighted the self in relationship to others through the use of texts that explore and show characters as social beings. Gena Rowlands also began her career in the fifties, but mainly worked in theater; later, she worked in television, where she met Cassavetes. They made ten films together, including *Gloria*, *Opening Night*, and *A Woman under the Influence*. In these three films, three characters in particular – Gloria, Myrtle, and Mabel – represent three different women that share one aspect in common, the affective body of Rowlands. For example, when her characters' expressions are brought into focus, the audience can witness intensities that make her body almost hysterical. The objective of this paper is to investigate the hysterical body of Gena Rowlands' characters: Gloria, Myrtle, and Mabel; and, to question what happens to her characters as they interact with others. The motivation behind analyzing these three characters is to understand how Gena Rowlands could navigate different modes of expression, "a mode that asks deep questions," intensifying women's struggles about aging, motherhood, and marriage (Kiselyak, DVD). For example, in *Opening Night*, the emotional crisis of an actress is revealed by her alcoholic hallucinations and conflict with age. In *A Woman under the Influence*, Mabel tries to be a

perfect mother and housewife, but others always misinterpret her actions. And in *Gloria*, after an accidental encounter, Gloria leaves her life behind, making a break with her past to protect a child. Myrtle, Mabel, and Gloria construct a trilogy of the female body, full of intensive expressions and tension with others.

Gloria, Gloria

The film *Gloria* describes the journey of a woman, Gloria, trying to protect a survivor-child from her gangster's friends. The opening of *Gloria* goes from the watercolor artworks of a New York cityscape – characters, graffiti, buildings, and bridges – to a night aerial shot of Manhattan, accompanied by Bill Conti's score. Then the camera as a subject, flies as time lapses from evening to morning, passing by the Hudson River, the Brooklyn Bridge, and Yonkers Stadium, before catching a bus in the Bronx. This establishing shot situates the story in New York City. The camera follows a Hispanic woman down the street and into her apartment where her family's conflict is discovered: her husband has betrayed his boss and her entire family will be killed. While the family is arguing about their situation, Cassavetes chooses to introduce Gloria into the middle of this turbulence. Gloria does not seem complex at first; she appears to be a self-centered, single woman. The ambiguity of her

character is exposed when we see her apartment with a lot of frames on the walls and her cat, while she is dealing with the little-boy survivor. Gloria refuses to leave her life behind, stating, "I got my money. I got my friends. I got my apartment. I got my cat". Ironically, she will accidentally leave the cat in the building hallway to protect the boy because she cannot handle both together. She left behind everything to begin her journey with the boy, which takes them between taxicabs and hotels of New York City. Gilles Deleuze states that Cassavetes provides a great example of the concept of *any-space-whatevers* in *Gloria*, which is constantly moving from one location to another (Deleuze 1986, 121). From hotels to taxi cabs, from taxi cabs to hotels, Gloria and the little boy move in a circular structure by going to nowhere, as one of the gangster states, "it is no place for you to go, Gloria".

The reality in *Gloria* switches between her past (as a gangster's girlfriend) and her future (as a mother). Here, two concepts intercept Gloria's journey, *any-space-whatevers* and *becoming*, to take her away from her futile past, which is loaded with fragile relationships as gangster's girlfriend. Therefore, the narrative is not presented in a straightforward way; it uncovers the process of her becoming a mother, her way through a new relationship. The sequence where Gloria confronts the gangsters in the street scripts the climax, marking the transition from past to future, which is also reinforced by a non-actualized present, a present in movement. Gloria follows the fluxes of the city's movements, constantly moving from one hotel to another. A great percentage of scenes in *Gloria* are inside of hotel's lobbies and rooms, taxicabs, and bars. These spaces represent the nature of the city, but they do not provide safety because they remain as places of vulnerability. They are in the liminal of private and public, and Gloria expresses her tension, as the viewers understand that she does not know what to do or where to go. This is particularly well depicted in the lines between Gloria and the boy when she says, "We cannot beat the system," and the boy asks, "How do you know that you cannot beat it?" For the first time, Gloria expresses her sympathy for the little survivor. In this dialog, Cassavetes is also raising questions about the film's outlook because his narrative is not really about a heroine character who saves a boy from death. Instead, it is an exposure of how Gloria leaves her own history

and, freeing herself from it, achieves a new way of life. It is a story about a woman who has been introduced to unconditional love, and new possibilities for her life.

Opening Night, Myrtle

Opening Night's motif is the lack of love felt by those who have aged. The film follows the aging crisis of a theater actress, Myrtle. It opens with a voice over by Myrtle stating: "You want to be loved. They have to be loved. The whole world, everybody wants to be loved". The first sequence shows Myrtle backstage, getting ready for a play. The camera is almost static with an open shot of the stage, only tilting up to frame Myrtle on the stairs. Then Cassavetes' character says: "for every wrinkle is a pain, for every pain does a year, and for every year does a person, does a death, a history, a kindness..." His lines introduce the play's subject, which is also connected with the film's narrative structure, and holds two spaces simultaneously – the theater and the film – in relationship with both audiences by using the subject matter of aging associated with love. Cassavetes exposes the superficiality of his text. But to understand what is happening with Myrtle, it is important to consider the relationship between character and actress associated with Myrtle's youth and her hallucinations about the girl's ghost. Myrtle's actions conflict with the state of being a professional actress who is dealing with two different audiences: of the play and the film. As Cassavetes states that "the most important character of this film is the audience" and the director deals carefully with his audience.

When Myrtle exits from the backstage entrance of the theater, a crowd of fans is waiting for her. A young, blond woman has an excessive reaction when she sees Myrtle, hugging her and repeating, "I love you, I love you..." Myrtle gets in the limo and, shortly thereafter, a car hits the young girl on that rainy night. The young girl killed in the collision signifies the death of Myrtle's youth, which puts her through the crisis of seeing her life and career slipping out of her hands. Myrtle is between three facets of crisis: the death of the young woman; the play's subject being about aging; and her personal crisis associated with her professional dissatisfaction. Myrtle states in the beginning of the film that, when she was seventeen, she could do anything because her "emotions were so close to the surface". She repeats this exact line later. At first,

she gives the impression that what happens after a certain age is that the body transformation is no longer relevant, but the lack of connection with others will represent the aging crisis. Cassavetes relates the young girl with Myrtle to penetrate a more complex subject matter, showing that the young girl is also part of the audience.

Myrtle sees the young girl's ghost for the first time in her dressing room; she touches the ghost and shows a double reaction. First, she expresses happiness and then her eyes are wide open in pain. The linkage between her present and her past is represented by her hallucinations – Myrtle's youth is the ghost, an intricate matter about Myrtle's crisis.

The perspective of the film also switches several times, but at this moment remains the same as the play. When they do collide, there is no more separation between the actress and her character, even though she refuses to impersonate the play's character, Virginia. Several supporting characters' lines also expose their crisis with aging. The stage director's wife says: "I am dying; I know that I am dying because I am getting tired". Then the stage director says: "my life is getting boring...it is no humor anymore, and all the glamour is dead". In the dialogue between Myrtle and the playwright about the missed lines of the play, Myrtle states: "I seem to have lost the reality". And the playwright replies: "It is too late for her," stating that love does not belong to an old woman. Later Myrtle says that "this play does not express hope," which both audiences know, but the audiences also know that Myrtle's conflict is not merely about aging. Myrtle's conflict is about her resistance to her own crisis. When she says that "women never forget that it is just a play," she is stating the relationship with the play's audience, but also making the film's audience a bit confused about her identity: is Myrtle playing Virginia or is Myrtle playing herself? Or is she switching both, back and forth? I propose that Cassavetes had the intention to raise these questions.

In the documentary *A Constant Forge, the Life and Art of John Cassavetes*, Annette Insdorf states: "characters are not frozen in an identity, they are always in flux" (Kiselyak, DVD). Ray Carney also discusses the fluctuations of Cassavetes's characters in comparison to a static character of mainstream and/or symbolic narrative. For Carney, the identity in Cassavetes' work is malleable, open to new possibilities, and open to others (Carney 1994, 21-23). At first,

Myrtle refuses to connect with others because she seems confused with her own identity, and her actions illustrate her detachment from people. Myrtle's progressive hysteria makes her almost physically incapacitated, but her strength shows that she is not a finished character. Myrtle wants new possibilities in life, and she is capable of introducing the audience to a different kind of happy ending. In the last scene, which is also the last scene of the play, the audience sees "that man and woman can have fun again," which is the new possibility presented by Cassavetes (Kiselyak, DVD).

Myrtle is always questioning what to do with Virginia. She says: "aging is depressing...I am trying to play this part when age does not make any difference". The playwright keeps asking Myrtle's age until Myrtle yells: "does she win or does she lose? I begin to feel guilty just for asking it". Myrtle exposes her confusion through her hysteria regarding aging and by fighting against a dead end, the dead end of Virginia and the dead end of herself. The play, *The Second Woman*, connects the second woman with the dead girl, who represents the audience and Myrtle's youth, but also the menopausal playwright, as Myrtle states in one line, "all the playwrights write a play about themselves". But, if the audience avoids all the symbolic interpretations about the second woman, then Myrtle appears with this beautiful hysterical body that moves, looks, drinks, and expresses her confusion and her uncertainty about life in a profound way. The second woman is one of many other states and moods that not only Myrtle has, but everyone at any given time can also go through. Cassavetes shows that Myrtle's crisis is in direct association with the audience, presenting her crisis linked with real problems in life.

In the dialogue between Myrtle and the playwright, Myrtle resists the playwright's age, articulating: "I am not in your age..." She gets drunk on the opening night, playing Virginia in a catalytic way. She is tumbling around on the floor and against walls and getting carried by others. The alcohol gives to her the opportunity to take the best of Virginia's character and herself. The audience sees the double between Virginia and Myrtle in her improvisation, and it seems so real and so authentic that the film's audience understands that the link between real life and theatricality is in play.

A Woman under the Influence, Mabel

As I pointed out, the reality in Cassavetes' films is about the interactions with characters and how their expressions appear in the world. When Mabel is dancing like a swan in the backyard, and also when she is asking Billy Tidrow for an aria, the reality of her character is revealed because the audience is invited to see her on the surface instead of trying to navigate around presumed justifications of a character's inner state. John Cassavetes uses the open space of improvisation and interaction between people – where the language of gestures is intense and where words become a flux of language to serve the body – to get its result. Cassavetes' cinema is the cinema of the body as the ultimate expression (Jousse 1992, 79-82). Mabel's body is full of intensities and she is constantly looking for interaction. When she is alone, we see how it is painful for her: she drinks alone waiting for Nick, and in the following scene, walks inside an empty bar, and leaves for a bar with more patrons.

Although Mabel is always looking for interaction with others, the communication between them is almost impossible, and hysteria is also a constant in her house, through her husband's and her mother-in-law's reactions. It is evident that her husband loves her, but also that he does not fully understand her. It is very interesting to see that there is a certain compliancy between Mabel and the audience; we see her struggle trying to be a perfect mother and wife. Mabel's struggles are with communication and the desire to be around her loved ones. For example, in the scene in which she waits for the bus, we can see how delightfully she expresses her love for her children. She is so excited to see the bus that she runs around just to be with them. When Nick tells the "invited daddy", "look what you made me do," we see that Nick navigates between both positions, not knowing what to do with such an intense woman.

An example of this quandary is the title, *A Woman Under the Influence*. It is a metaphor for Mabel's behavior in the sense that the word *influence* can represent the influence of others on her or even her hesitancy to be influenced by others. Mabel asks to be influenced by others and she is only happy when she is around people, but then people misunderstand her actions, and the conflict begins by the contradiction between her and others, exposing her lack of love.

Carney makes an interesting comparison between Cassavetes' work and mainstream narrative, stating that the big difference is how Cassavetes produces *the meanings* of his texts. The decisive aspect of a conventional narrative is the relationship made between the characters and the implication of that narrative (Carney 1994, 14). For example, if we compare the breakfast scene of *A Woman under the Influence* with the dialogue between Cher and Nicholas Cage in *Moonstruck*, we will see a profound difference in structure. Everything in *Moonstruck* is punctuated to give the impression of truth and reality. The text relies on the camera work, mood of light, scenario, and so on, to sustain the purpose that surrounds each character, and its characters are limited to stereotypes to define their identity. John Cassavetes does the opposite. For Cassavetes, the actor's work is what is the most important, but it is not based on stereotypes. Instead, his characters work with a deep understanding of how they can penetrate a state that brings to the surface their intensities. Cassavetes does not let any shorthand get in the way of his characters' expressions, as he stated several times. And his character's expressions are free from all the limitations that the conventional and symbolic kind of work imposes. As Carney states, "in Cassavetes' work, the movements, gestures, postures, facial expressions, and voice tones of the actor are the fundamental source of meaning" (Carney 1994, 14). This is his realism.

In Cassavetes' cinema, the realism is focused on the performance and on the characters' expressions as a result of "undone the story, plot, or action, but also space, in order to get attitudes as to categories which put time into the body, as well thought into life" (Deleuze 1986, 192). For example, when the audience sees Myrtle drunk on stage, or when they see Mabel dancing as a swan, and Gloria killing her past by shooting a gangster, the audience experiences a truthful reality about these characters because they have neither a static life span nor are they motivated by presuppositions. More or less, John Cassavetes' characters are motivated by people and the interactions that they may have with others, working through human problems, such as lack of love, aging, and people's differences.

As Carney points out, when we see a finished product of a character – self-centered and stable, and owner of his world – we may identify ourselves with a superficial idea of being (Carney

1994, 24). It may occur because we are also fragile and vulnerable beings, and we may have some kind of desire to make a relationship with a self-centered character. But what Cassavetes does is making us aware that a different kind of experience is possible. We can sympathize with characters that are vulnerable because the director tries to tell to his audience that there is not much difference between acting and life. We have to admit the critic's statement about Cassavetes is true: "His entire oeuvre is an effort to honor the lost and forgotten impulses in life, the tiny pulsing of emotional confusion or discovery that most of films simply omit" (Carney 1994, 33).

For Cassavetes' characters, the gap between the self and themselves can be explored as fluxes of human behavior. And the fragilities of Gena Rowlands' characters are associated with *lack of love*, which is the director's main

conception. These characters' fragilities become a manifestation of an intensive body. An intensive body that breaks down, but that is also looking for connections as a way to find new pathways in life. If we try to categorize these three texts using the contexts of a mainstream narrative, we may say that we have a dramatic household situation in *A Woman under the Influence*, a kind of mob genre in *Gloria*, and a psychological drama in *Opening Night*. But then John Cassavetes, by dealing with profound issues of human behavior, transforms these fragile bodies. The brilliance of Cassavetes' work is that he uses the representation of reality to penetrate a more complex territory, "a territory where bodies become affective and where these intensive bodies become an element of thought" (Ulpiano 2014). This is Cassavetes' body-image.

References

a. Books

- Bazin** Bazin, Andre, *What is Cinema?*, vol. 1, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, University of California Press (2005).
- Carney** Carney, Ray, *The Films of John Cassavetes: Pragmatism, Modernism, and the Movies*. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press (1994).
- Deleuze** Deleuze, Gilles, *Cinema 1 The Movement-Image*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press (1986).
- Deleuze** Deleuze, Gilles, *Cinema 2 The Time-Image*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press (1989).
- Jousse** Jousse, Thierry, *John Cassavetes*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora Nova Fronteira (1992).

b. Papers in periodical journals

- King** King, Homa, *Free Indirect Affect in*

- 2004** Cassavetes' *Opening Night and Faces*. In: *Camera Obscura*, 56, 19, no. 2 (2004), 104-139.

c. Internet sources

- Ulpiano** Ulpiano, Claudio, Centro de Estudos Claudio Ulpiano. <<http://www.claudioulpiano.org.br/>>, accessed on August 17, 2014.
- Cassavetes** Cassavetes, John, *John Cassavetes 'Television sucks!'*, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ePptcNqXRJA>>, accessed on December 6, 2011.

d. Filmography

- A Constant Forge: The Life and Art of John Cassavetes* (2000) Charles Kiselyak. Narrated by Lenny Citrano. US: The Criterion Collection
- A Woman under the Influence* (1974) John Cassavetes
- Gloria* (1980) John Cassavetes.
- Moonstruck* (1987) Norman Jewison
- Opening Night* (1977) John Cassavetes.

C. REVIEWS, INTERVIEWS, SCIENTIFIC EVENTS

Cultural Interferences in Sibiu between 18th and 20th Centuries*

Gabriela GRUBER

“Lucian Blaga” University, Sibiu

E-mail: gabivgruber@yahoo.com

The volume “Cultural Interferences in Sibiu, between 18th and 20th Centuries” is a collection of articles co-ordinated by Mihaela Grancea and Ioan Popa. The thirteen articles which are included in the volume approach the historical realities taking place in the area of Sibiu, Transylvania, Romania, or across Europe. The articles focus on cultural interferences identified in visual arts, media, historiography, or in some cultural and economic institutions, such as schools, libraries, museums, trade societies, or even banks. Interethnic relationships in Sibiu or in Transylvania, mutual influences, moments of co-operation among various ethnic groups, or conflicts, ethno-cultural clichés, and stereotypes are all reported by the authors of the articles included in this volume. The analysis of Identity – Otherness relationships leads to explanations related to “the need for solidarity” or for “political, moral, or confessional coagulation”. As Mihaela Grancea states, this type of analysis “makes the preservation of identity easier and breaks traditional cultural segregation”. Several articles in the volume use the method of discourse analysis, by shading and deepening the explanations. The historical areas which are investigated, the historical sources, and the research methods are highly diverse, suggesting to the reader the manifold aspects of the cultural interferences occurring in Transylvania or in Sibiu. Reasons related with our presentation, economics and systematisation, have led us to grouping the articles in a different order than that in which they are presented in the volume.

The first article in the volume, signed by professor Giordano Altarozzi, is entitled “Elements of the Netherlands’ Revolt in the Peter’s Breugel the Elder painting, «Killing the Infants»”. This is an exercise of interpretation based on the methodology of the History of Arts.

On analyzing the violent historical backdrop of the mid-16th century in the Netherlands, Professor Altarozzi identifies in Pieter’s Breugel the Elder’s painting “sequences of the atrocities made by Spanish soldiers to put down the Rebellion and to restore Catholicism in Flanders”. The analysis of the details in the painting extant in the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu is significant “to understand the everyday life of ordinary people in Flanders”, as the author assesses. It allows connections and original interpretations, such as the significance of the flag carried out by soldiers (with reference to the king of Jerusalem, but also to Philip II of Spain).

Other three articles focus on the significance of the funeral monuments in Sibiu, built between the 18th and 20th centuries or on media discourse about death, dating from the early 20th century, also reaching the issues of interethnic or Identity – Otherness relationships. In her article “The Church in the Pit and the Greeks in Sibiu”, Valeria Soroștineanu demonstrates, by making use of archival documents, that “The Church in the Pit” was founded by the Greek community in Sibiu during the eighteenth century (1789). This community enjoyed a special importance, because it made easier, as the author demonstrates, “the official development of the Romanian community in the town of Sibiu, including the presence of the A-Romanians [whose culture] was taken over and developed by the Romanian population”. The author also reveals the economic and cultural importance of the Greek community for the Romanians who arrived in Sibiu during the eighteenth century. The analysis of the inscription of the church and on the funeral monuments from the churchyard also includes the presentation of the elites of the Greek community. Although she analyses similar historical sources, the tombstones of the municipal cemetery of Sibiu, Mihaela Grancea leads the reader into a completely different interpretative direction. In her article, entitled “City of the Dead and Specific Cultural

* A review of Mihaela Grancea, Ioan Popa (coord.), *Interferențe culturale în Sibiul secolelor XVIII-XX*, Sibiu, Ed. “Astra Museum”, 2014.

Interactions of Modern Funeral Art”, Mihaela Grancea appeals to the methodology of the History of Arts, inserting elements of hermeneutics, the history of mentalities, and interethnic relationships. The case study dedicated to the municipal cemetery of Sibiu proposes a typology of the funeral monuments. It also analyses the symbolic significance of the structural elements of the funeral monuments and of their ornaments. By way of subtle connections, the author identifies cultural interferences among highly diverse areas. Thus, by explaining the significance of the rose as a remembrance flower, the author considers that it is “a phenomenon of transfer/ transformation and simplification of the symbols used in funeral culture, which became almost a super-confessional culture in Transylvania and in Baraolt”. Finally, the author extrapolates the relations which she has identified at the level of the entire society, concluding that the funeral ceremonial and the cemetery “are the expression of fundamental societal relationships, of social cohesion, of the trans-historical relation with the ancestors, who are perceived as a community. It concretises the relation with the Sacred, which protects the space where the bodies «rest» awaiting the Resurrection”. Although she apparently addresses a similar issue, of different hypostases of death, in her article “Political Tools of Death: «Bolshevik Death» and «Hungarian Death», as attributes of the Other”, Laura Coltofean changes the registry of the historical sources which she is analysing, focusing her research on the study of local journals between 1918-1923. *The Romanian Renaissance* (Renașterea Română), *The People's Word* (Cuvântul Poporului), *The People's Journal* (Gazeta Poporului), or *The Light of the Villages* (Lumina Satelor) are some examples of the periodicals analysed by Laura Coltofean, in order to find information about her subject. In fact, the author explores the relationship between Identity and Otherness, identifying anti-Hungarian and anti-Bolshevik information which induce the idea that Bolsheviks and Hungarians represent imminent threats, such as famine, dehumanisation of the individual, or death. The author interprets the information which she has identified as an expression of the Otherness for the Romanians who wanted to achieve the unification between Transylvania and Romania. The conclusion is that, in the journals investigated, death is used as a political tool of propaganda in order to denigrate

the image of the Otherness and to unite the Romanians against a common threat, thus strengthening the newly created Greater Romania.

The theme of cultural Romanism, as it is discussed in media or in “Astra” cultural Association is presented in two articles, signed by Bogdan Ioanițiu Boșoteanu and by Dragoș Curelea. “Socio-Cultural Interferences Reflected in Transylvania and in the Old Kingdom (1900-1914)” is the article signed by Bogdan Ioanițiu Boșoteanu, while Dragoș Curelea is the author of “Contribution to the Relationship of the «Association» with «Albina» Credit Bank from Sibiu, in the late 19th and the First Decades of the 20th Centuries”. Different journals, such as *Literary Talks* (Convorbiri Literare), *The New Romanian Journal* (Noua Revistă Română), *The Sower* (Sămănătorul), *The Evening Star* (Luceafărul), have been investigated by Bogdan Ioanițiu Boșoteanu, who identified nationalism, rejection of imitation, and call for creative originality as cultural trends which indicate a changing mentality of Romanian journalists in the early 20th century. The nationalism preached by these magazines, states the author, “was not a populist one, not even a political one, but an attempt to (re)discover the identity in a different ethno-cultural ocean”. Dragoș Curelea places his research in the field of financial support given by the Romanian national elites to the “Astra” Cultural Association from Sibiu. The historical sources which he investigated allowed the author to identify the types and number of credit institutions in Transylvania, highlighting the growing economic potential of the Romanian elites in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Sponsorships, donations, funds for awards or simply accounts were the most important tools and actions by which “Albina” Bank supported the cultural activity of “Astra” Association.

Another group of articles included in the volume which we are analyzing are related to the features of historical discourse in Transylvania during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Georgeta Luca asserts in her article, “National Ideal and Historiography Concerns in Transylvania at the Border of the 19th and 20th Centuries”, that Romanian historical discourse in Transylvania involves the political and national issues, supporting the work of national education. Important Romanian historians of the period, such as A. D. Xenopol, D. Onciul, I. Bogdan, or N. Iorga are creators of school of history, laying the

foundation of great collections of historical sources. Georgeta Luca also estimates that important Transylvanian historians, such as Simion Barițiu, A. Bunea, Al. Lapedatu, Ioan Silviu Dragomir, or Ioan Lupăș empower the national spirit, promoting a historiography which legitimates the national liberation movement. A similar theme is addressed by Victor Sibianu in his article "Romanian, Hungarian and Saxons` Historians Attitude towards Romanism during the Second Half of the 19th and the 20th Centuries". The author notes that, during the domination of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire in Transylvania, local Hungarian and Saxon historians adopted a positive attitude towards the theme of Romanism. After 1871, a debate began between Hungarian historians, who supported Roesler`s theory about Romanian immigration, and Romanian historians, led by N. Densușianu, who supported the theory about the Dacian-Roman continuity and Romanian autochthony. Yet, the positive attitude towards the issue of Romanism was preserved by some Hungarian historians, such as Lajos Revay (Covasna County), or Cserni Bela (Alba County). The method of discourse analysis is also used by Corneliu Pintilescu, in his study "Literature and Political Guilt in The Process of German Writers (Stalin City/Brașov 1959)". The author describes two cases that led to the arrest of some German minority groups in Brașov, identified as The Black Church Lot and the German Writers` Case. The research questions of the study are concerned with the stages of building political guilt or with legal-institutional and ideological constraints that limit the production of accusative discourse. The informative action, the investigation stage, and the legal integration of political guilt are the three stages identified by Corneliu Pintilescu in the process of building political guilt. Finally, the German Writers` case is placed in the wave of communist repression against Saxon elites during the years 1958-1962. The author considers that the crackdown was necessary from the communist perspective, as a method of pressing the society during periods of profound social and economic changes (as collectivization was), a process that drew the opposition of people. Repression, asserts the author, was also a preventive method, to avoid the repetition of 1956 uprising as it was in Budapest.

The study "Romanian-Saxon Interferences in the Cultural Life in Sibiu, Interwar Period", signed by Vasile Ciobanu,

highlights several cultural interferences occurring in Sibiu after 1918, when, as a result of the Great Union, they became possible and necessary. The author states that he will focus on the German component of cultural life in Sibiu, which has been less studied and which was fighting "to preserve its dominant position and the German cultural character of the city", leading to a confrontation which could be perceived daily. Monuments for Romanian and German personalities, placed as visibly as possible in the city, expanding the use of the Romanian language in addition to the German one, the appearance of signs with bilingual names of the streets strengthen the author`s claim. Interferences and co-operation were also significant in the musical and theatre life in Sibiu. The analysis undertaken by Vasile Ciobanu at the level of educational institutions in Sibiu highlights the conclusion that they were not open to interferences, but on the contrary, they were safe from "contamination", promoting either Romanian or German national identity. The most edifying episode of Romanian-German cultural interference in Sibiu could be considered the activity of the Sibiu section of the South-East Research Institute of Bucharest, between 1922-1936. According to its regulations, the Institute section in Sibiu was expected to realize "an analysis of the cultural interferences in Transylvanian culture". The interferences manifested between Romanian and German cultural societies and associations or those identified at the media level are other examples analyzed in the study. Finally, the author concludes that "interferences occurred in Sibiu in the interwar years over national, political or economical contradictory barriers [...] Exchanges of ideas and cultural goods, meetings between representatives of the two cultures were positive for both parties. The most frequented domains were music, art, exhibitions, which did not raise the issue of the unknown language, as theatre, literature or press did [...] Despite of this good understanding there was a real competition in the field of culture as the Germans wanted to keep the German cultural character of the city". Vasile Ciobanu estimates that the two components of cultural life in Sibiu reached a balance during the interwar period, but it was exceeded after 1940 by the arrival of an important group of Romanian refugees from North Transylvania and it was exceeded again after the end of the war, when Germany surrendered.

A distinct group of articles included in the volume "Cultural Interferences in Sibiu, between 18th and 20th Centuries" examines the incoming transmissions from the perspective of cultural institutions such as library, school, or museum. Iacob Mârza signs the article "The School-Libraries in Transylvania during the Enlightenment Century. Proposal for a Comparative Research". The author places his research during the Habsburg domination in Transylvania, investigating the catalogues of the libraries from the Royal Gymnasiums in Sibiu and in Zlatna. By comparing the lists of the books written in these catalogues, the author identifies several education trends in these gymnasiums. Iacob Mârza considers that the education promoted in the Transylvanian space in those years was prevalingly humanistic, but there were indications of a trend towards a more practical and realistic training. Ioan Popa developed a similar theme, related to education development in Sibiu, when he wrote the article "Some Considerations on the Central-Periphery Relationship Regarding the School Landscape in Sibiu, Accompanied by a Typology of School Networks". The author places his research in the already known background of the four stages in the education development in Sibiu, the Saxon, The Austrian, the Hungarian, and the Romanian periods. In a special section of his study, Ioan Popa finds several factors which influenced the evolution of the school networks in Sibiu, such as the relationships between the local government and its proximity, the relationships between the local forces, and those between the central government and its proximity. On these bases, the author proposes three overlapping types of school networks, specific to the ethnic communities that exercised political power in Sibiu at different moments of its history. Thus, the three types of school networks were the radial network specific to the Saxons` environment, the concentric network related with the Romanians` environment, and the peripheral-circular one, related with the Roman-Catholic environment.

The study signed by Lucian Robu, "The Traditional Technical Museum and its Coordination of Scientific Activity between 1963-1983. Case Studies" uses the method of discourse analysis, capitalizing on official documents of a complex type, the communist press, but also cultural publications of that period. The author identifies the positive assessments of scientific work and of cultural importance of The

Traditional Technical Museum in Sibiu and of its founder, Cornel Irimie. These assessments illustrate the type of appreciative discourse about the ingenuity and practical spirit of the peasantry, practiced by the communist authorities. Lucian Robu shows that despite the fierce control conducted by the Communist Party to avoid deviation from its ideological directions, Cornel Irimie and his collaborators managed to integrate important elements of scientific discourse in their publications or less agreed dimensions of sociological and anthropological research.

In conclusion, the articles and studies included in the volume express highly diverse cultural interferences that occurred in Sibiu between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, making it difficult to group the themes or to find similarities and dominant directions. From a methodological perspective, however, it is clear that the authors favour certain research methods, such as discourse analysis or anthropological symbol interpretation. The volume manages to construct a diverse image of the city of Sibiu, which mirrors the complexity of cultural interferences within the city. Diversity and dynamism prove once again, therefore, to be the specific trends of the current historical research in Sibiu.

(Re)Visiting Romanian Childhood*

Ludmila D. COJOCARU

Associate Professor, Institute of Social History "ProMemoria"

Moldova State University (Chişinău)

E-mail: lcojocari@promemoria.md

This volume is a recent contribution in the field of the *history of childhood*, reconfirming its continuously growing interest among specialists from different research areas and scientific traditions. The collection of studies results from "the first national conference devoted to the Romanian childhood" organised at Bucharest in 2012 by Nicoleta Roman, which considers the theme "an ignored subject in the frame of the social history in Romania" (p. 5). In this context, the book aims to promote in-depth and comprehensive insights into the Romanian childhood "in all its manifestations" (p. 6), "towards a historiography statement and acknowledgement, to emerge questions, to launch research directions, and to create debates" (p. 5).

The collection of papers spans its analyses over "the children's world and childhood" during the 17th - 20th centuries, seeking therefore to enlarge the historical perspective and opening valuable insights into other arenas of social transformations. The authors reflect on issues ranging from continuities to changes of the Romanian childhood and keep in focus the "unforgettable" childhood, both in terms of happiness, joy, and nostalgia, as well as the traumatic memories regarding infantile mortality, childhood sufferings, school punishment, and/or social marginalisation. According to the editor's introductory study, the main aim of this scholarly publication was to put at work both "the real and the imaginary childhoods", as "there are many childhoods related to the social classes, and also to the working perspectives" (p. 10).

The studies reveal different theoretical approaches and valorise diverse empirical types of evidences, like visual materials, pictures, memoirs narratives and autobiographical

literature, as well as demographic sources and archive documents. The coordinator also tries to keep in focus the regional peculiarities of the Romanian historical areas representing Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldova, without remaining tributary to the chronological principle of organising the volume structure, as "the childhood ages use to recompose themselves" (p. 11) under the influences of the cultural or historical context. Thus, the collection of studies is built into four chapters and follows thematic topics brought into discussion by its authors. All the above mentioned chapters include three to four studies, investigating different facets of the Romanian childhood within the period of the 17th - 20th centuries.

The first chapter entitled *Imagine, loc și amintire* (Image, place and souvenir) lingers on issues like: the heritage of infantile studio pictures and its role in studying the social status and photographic art during the 19th century in Romania (Adrian-Silvan Ionescu); descriptions of habits, attitudes, and souvenirs attested within the pupils' milieu at Blaj Seminary in Transylvania as related by "an ordinary person [...] still not of interest to the 'great history'" (p. 45), but which can help us to recover a small fragment of what represented the childhood of that period (Luminița Dumănescu). The contemporary rural childhood is the focal point of Elena Bărbulescu's research, emphasising the cultural diversity of childhood, the concepts and limits of childhood age, questioning the complex relationship between new challenges and traditional education in contemporary Romania. The constructive (retroactive) dimension of childhood and its symbolic universes, analysed through a documentation of large amount of autobiographical sources, constitutes the main research issue of Andi Mihalache's investigation, which looks for the "narrativisation of objects that remind our childhood, instead of its remembering".

The second chapter *Familie și lege* (Family and law) consists of four articles, thorough documented on sources referring to the

* A review of Nicoleta Roman (coord.), *Copilăria românească între familie și societate (secolele XVII-XX)*, București, Nemira Publishing House (2015), 417 p.

17th - 19th centuries and devoted to the complex role of childhood within the Romanian social and cultural history. Children, legal regulations and documentary testimonies in Moldova during the 17th - 18th centuries constitute Elena Bedreag's research, based on archive juridical documents; Lia Brad-Chisacof's study is devoted to the Romanian childhood during the long 18th century, exploring mainly the narratives of school textbooks; Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu's scientific discourse points on the children and childhood of the modern period, as an essential theme for understanding the related epoch through the investigation of testaments, memoirs and judicial archives; Bogdan Mateescu's study refers to the illegitimacy in Parochial of Putna, aiming to investigate its complex impact of mother-children relationship, demographical issues and the social integration of the analysed subjects within the 19th century.

Another inspiring chapter entitled *În grija statului* (Into the state's care) reveals the traumatised issues of the Romanian childhood during the 19th - 20th centuries: medical issues related to children's body, health protection and strong morality as an important condition for educating a good inhabitant and, therefore a good citizen in Wallachia (Nicoleta Roman); infantile mortality in Romania at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century, in the context of a large problem of degeneration of the nation, as a problem of social body (Constantin Bărbulescu); contested childhood during the Ceaușescu period, through the exploration of the abandoned children in the 1980s (Luciana Jinga).

Andrei Pippidi's research on the teacher's role in achieving the noblest spiritual qualities by the Romanian pupils, at the age between childhood and adolescence; Ramona Caramelea's exploration of the meaning and impact of pupils' punishment in the Romanian schools from the beginning of the previous century; Cătălina Mihalache's investigation on kindergartens transformations from the period of "the gardens for child" to "kindergartens for Falcons of Motherland" questions whether the ideology managed to defeat the childhood and children's world – constitute the canvas of the fourth chapter entitled *A învăța, a educa, a forma* (To teach, to educate, to build).

This volume should be read in the context of the new achievements of the Romanian scholars in the field of *the history of childhood* (p. 26). After a quick and far from all compliant surveillance of this collection of

studies, I would notice the absence of a highlight on the peculiarities of the *Romanian childhood*, in comparison with other European cultural and historical areas. Also, a more systematic comparison, focused mainly on the study of children as agents, and a synthetic defining of some new concepts used by some authors would have contributed considerably to the discussion in some papers. This could have avoided the main subject of children and childhood to remain peripheral to the presented investigations. Despite these remarks, the chosen approach of the editor and contributors works well in achieving the goals defined in the introduction. I would kindly recommend this work for specialists interested in the field, as well as for those interested in (re)visiting and curious to (re)discover the Romanian childhood and its social and cultural valences issued in this part of the world.

***Cultures of Damaged Societies: From Post-Conflict Resolution to Inter-Cultural Dialogue* – Annual Conference of the International History for Cultural History (ISCH), Monash South Africa Campus, 24th-27th of November 2014**

Ecaterina LUNG

Lecturer, University of Bucharest

E-mail: ecaterina.lung@gmail.com

The Annual Conference of the International History for Cultural History (ISCH) took place at the Monash University's South Africa Campus between 24th -27th of November 2014, organized by a team coordinated by Laurence Shee. The theme of the 2014 conference was "Cultures of Damaged Societies: From Post-Conflict Resolution to Inter-Cultural Dialogue", which was very much in line with the recent history of the South-African society. Reuniting scholars from Africa, Europe, Asia and Australia, the conference showed that cultural history, besides its usual orientation towards intellectual and artistic subjects, could also be a tool for analysing themes related to politics, international relations or military issues.

This multi-faceted identity of cultural history was well stressed from the beginning of the conference, by the keynote lecture given by Alessandro Arcangeli, under the title "Doing cultural history as practice". Theoretical and methodological issues were underlined through the panel "New approaches and trends in cultural history", animated by Hannu Salmi, who spoke about "A post-humanist challenge to cultural history" and by Marek Tamm, whose talk was about "A semiotic challenge to cultural history". Another methodological panel was proposed under the topic "Methodological aspects on performing cultural history" by Fredrik Nilsson, Lars-Eric Jönsson, Birgitta Svensson and Charlotte Hagstrom.

Most of the papers presented during the conference were dealing, as normal, with subjects pertinent to societies affected by conflicts and trying to find solutions through inter-cultural dialogue.

Conflict has to be linked with peace, so a topic was dedicated to "Communicating peace (12th-17th Centuries)", in a panel organized by

Jörg Rogge and animated by Mathias Däumer, Davina Brückner and Kristina Müller-Bongard. During wars people cannot help but dream of a post-conflict society, which was what Tiina Kinnunen presented in her paper "Wartime visions of the future". Tuomas Tepora offered a related but different perspective in his talk "Experiencing the post-conflict in wartime: The memory of the civil war of 1918 during the Second World War in Finland".

A demonstration that a culturalist perspective could be useful in dealing with military history was offered in the panel "Cultural approaches to military history - case studies from the Asia-Pacific in the Twentieth Century". Chris Dixon spoke about "A sense of kinship? African Americans in the Wartime South Seas, 1942-1945", Sean Brawley talked about "Noggies and Charlie: Australian servicemen's battlefield perceptions of Koreans and Chinese during the Korean War" and Mathew Radcliffe presented a paper under the title "No. 4 RAAF Hospital: The last hospital of the Raj?"

There were papers dealing with different regions of the African continent and their specific problems, like those about "Constitution drafting in Zimbabwe", about which Samukele Hadebe, Cornelias Ncube and Gordon Moyo prepared a joint presentation which underlined the specific electoral authoritarianism in Zimbabwe. Aretha Asakitikpi talked about "Mass media reportage of the Niger Delta Crisis: a conflict of interest" and Gboyega Tokumbo presented a paper about "The role of religious institutions in the post-conflict reconstruction in Jos, Nigeria".

A great number of participants spoke about the South-African society and its problems, still extremely complicated, even

more than 20 years after the end of the Apartheid.

But there were the other conflicts too which marked the last two centuries of the history of South-Africa, and which are now subject of commemoration practices, as Leonie Marais-Botes showed in her talk about “Commemoration of conflict in South-Africa”. Also about commemoration was the paper given by Jackie Grobler, “The scope and nature of commemorative places of the Anglo-Boer War in south Africa”. Cultural patrimony could be used not only to enhance collective memory but also in conflicts over land, as shown by Anton van Vollenhoven in his paper on “The influence of misconceptions related to the history of South Africa on land claims: The Baphalane Ba Ramokoka land claim as a case study”. Annemarie van Zyl used art history to show how controversial could be the military conflict and the intercultural exchanges, in her talk about “Intercultural dialogue before, during and after the Anglo Boer war: the architectural context”. Also about art history, ethnography and cultural memory was the paper given by Annemarie Carelsen, “A twenty year review of post-apartheid South African museums”.

The difficult process of instauration of a solid democracy in South Africa was underlined

by Victoria Graham who spoke about “The quality of democracy in South Africa’s multicultural society: reconciling procedure with practice”. For the participants to the conference, an occasion to better understand the implication of the struggle against the Apartheid was the visit to Liliesleaf, one of the most important *lieux de mémoire* associated with Nelson Mandela and with the other South-Africans, black and white, who fought for liberty and were imprisoned for about three decades. The keynote lecture given there by Nic Wolpe, “Why is the Past indispensable to our understanding of the present?” pointed to the danger of forgetting what happened only 25 or 30 years ago, in a society which still has open wounds. Also useful for understanding some cultural aspects of the struggle against the Apartheid was the film “Soft Vengeance: Albie Sachs and the New South Africa”.

Romania was represented at the Monash conference by Ecaterina Lung who spoke about “Recovering traditional spiritual identities in post-communist Romania: The Museum of the Romanian Peasant” and who also presented the project of the 2015 ISCH Conference to be held to the University of Bucharest.

Days, People, Events. Interview with Zoe PETRE*

by Mihaela GRANCEA, Ph.D. **

Professor, "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu

E-mail: mihaela_grancea2004@yahoo.com

MG: Which is your first memory? Mine is from my first years, probably when I was 2 years old. A

* The interview reveals the way in which the memory of an illustrious researcher of the Romanian recent culture – Zoe Petre – preserved images from the past of the community, as well as fragments of an ego-history, sometimes in a Proustian manner, but critically and rationally, determined by differenced personal and historic conjunctures.

Zoe Petre (born August 23, 1940, Bucharest) is a remarkable historian, professor emeritus of the University of Bucharest, publicist, representative personality for the civil society and Romanian politician. In 1996-2000, Prof. Dr. Zoe Petre held the position of presidential advisor for problems of internal and external politics of the President Emil Constantinescu. She is the daughter of Emil Condurachi (1912-1987) – professor of ancient history and archaeology at the Bucharest University, member of the Romanian Academy – and Florica C. Moisil (1909-1977) – researcher at the Library of Academy. Zoe Petre's mother was the descendant of a famous family of scientists – Constantin Moisil, her father, was the founder of the scientific numismatics in Romania, while Grigore C. Moisil, her brother, was one of the greatest Romanian mathematicians and the founder of the Romanian informatics.

Zoe Petre graduated the Classical Lyceum, then the Faculty of History in Bucharest, the section of Ancient History and Archaeology. She worked at the university, teaching seminars and courses of history of the ancient world, Greek and Latin epigraphy, and cultural history. In 1978, Zoe Petre obtained her scientific title of Doctor in history, with the thesis *Formarea ideologiei democratice în Grecia antică* [*The Shaping of Democratic Ideology in Ancient Greece*]; her scientific coordinator was Prof. Dr. Acad. Dionisie M. Pippidi. Zoe Petre demonstrated her erudition and pedagogical qualities as an associated professor at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris), Centre "Louis Gernet" d'études comparées sur les sociétés anciennes; at the University "Jules Verne" in Amiens; visiting professor of the Universities of Harvard, MA, and Cambridge UK; visiting researcher of the Columbia University, New York. She was twice elected Dean of the Faculty of History (1990-1992; 1992-1996), as well as director (1994-1996) and

grey cat gave birth in my grandmother's wardrobe. It was a negative event. The wardrobe was a space of wonderful scents. There, in the lower rack, were the dates that I enjoyed very much.

ZP: My olfactory memory resembles with what you say, when I think of the "Armenian" – the coffee and flavouring shop at the corner of Traian and Pache Boulevard, the one that became Gral Tolbuhin. After Ceaușescu's 9th Congress, the street was renamed Republicii, and so it stayed until ten years ago, when after some comical gropes, it became again Pache Protopopescu.

My first memory has the only merit to be early: I see before my eyes, from my very low level, adequate to that moment, a small carpet at the door of grandparents' dining room, with mother's brother, Ionel Moisil, on the other side as if of a flowing water that seemed very big and very dangerous. Ionel offers his hands and says "Courrrhage", and I still hear his *grasseyé* specific to all Moisil brothers (with a special strong "r" from Grigri's pronunciation). My mother didn't have that particularity of speech.

honorary director (1996-2002) of Ecole Doctorale Régionale en Sciences Sociales de Bucarest.

Zoe Petre published many books and scientific studies, and among them several are well-known: *Commentaire aux Sept contre Thébès d'Eschyle* (en collaboration avec Liana Lupas) (Les Belles Lettres, Paris and Ed. Academiei Române, București, 1981); *Civilizația greacă și originile democrației* [*Greek Civilization and Origins of Democracy*] (București, 1993); *Cetatea greacă, între real și imaginar* [*The Greek City, between Reality and Imaginary*] (București, 2000), *Practica Nemuririi. O lectură critică a izvoarelor grecești referitoare la geți* [*The Practice of Immortality. A Critical Reading of Greek Sources concerning the Getae*] (Iași, 2004); *La Roumanie après 1989* (en collaboration avec Catherine Durandin, Paris 2008; Engl. Translation New York, 2010).

** Mihaela Grancea expresses thanks to her younger colleagues – Olga Grădinaru and Bogdan Movileanu – for the support they offered.

However, this isn't such an old memory as it may seem; I think it dates back to my second learning process to walk properly on two legs, when I was around one year and three-four months. My mother told me that I started walking quite early when I fell ill of all sorts of combined illnesses and I stayed in bed so much time that I forgot to walk and I had to re-learn again.

MG: *Memory... like a vapour. I have another comical memory. It is not that old and it forms, along with others, a sort of collage. There's no chronology. I fell behind the fridge (my aunt was working in shop keeping so that we had a TV set and a fridge from 1963). I climbed on that new fridge Fram, with its special roundish form and I don't know how I slipped behind it, but it was all good for me there, and I asked for no help. My mother and father kept looking for me. I still have claustrophobia crises! Otherwise, I was "reading", although I was just imitating my father. Because I drove him crazy to read me stories, he taught me how to read at five years old. It was a disadvantage when I went to school. I can still remember the first books I read. I can still remember their smell. Can you remember your first book that you saw and touched? What about the first book you read?*

ZP: We are talking about my own books, not my parents', as at theirs' pictures I had been looking all my childhood. They had a collection of excellent art albums – I read them when I was in high school, as they were in Italian and French – but I don't think you are asking me about those books. I have the visual and tactile memory of some books with thick leaves, in cardboard; the beginning of a little poem comes to my mind –: "Urechilă e măgarul/Care știe abecedarul" ["Big ears is the donkey/Who knows its ABCs"]. I don't know if this is the very first book, but it is one of those that were read to me. Two books from this early class are special for me – one with beautiful pictures, a bit too nice, I'd say, a sort of "pre-Disney" German style. The book was entitled *Maya the Bee*, the story of a small bee among flowers. I don't know if I loved the book or the fact that my father used to read it to me in the mornings, after he took his medicine for liver and had to lie down on his right side. The other book was in Romanian and it was read to me firstly; I read it, too, later: *Familia Roademult* [*Crunchalot Family*]. It was the story of a family of mice, and the smallest of them was Kitz, protected by his grandmother, the old Crunchalotty. An aunt of

mine called me Kitz or Kitzy because of this book and she kept calling me that way even when I was getting married.

The first book I had for personal reading – I can see my mother bringing me its two volumes – was a selection of fairy tales written by Slavici. Later I received *Cartea cu jucării* [*The Book with Toys*], which I enjoyed very much until I met Mitzura (¹), and then an avalanche of books that I still enjoy reading in my old age: *The Wind in the Willows* by Kenneth Grahame, illustrated by Lena Constante, and two *Mary Poppins* volumes, translated by Ana Canarache, Alexandru Graur's sister and wife of a numismatist and amateur archeologist, Vasile Canarache. I received all these books while we were still living on Zefirului Street, which means that I was no more than 5 years old; soon after we moved to my grandparents' house, where I still live, and then in that very autumn I went to school and entered another stage of reading.

MG: *Some legends say that you know German because you had a German or Saxon nanny or something like that. That you were precocious so your parents would have thought...*

ZP: I do not speak German, and I didn't have a nanny; my mother wouldn't approve. She said that she wouldn't give her children away so that strangers would raise them – strangers meaning not related to us as a family, not foreign, as my mother was everything but xenophobic. But she had her theories and I think she was quite right. She used to say that if a child is entrusted to a governess, the child is forced to choose between the *fraulein's* and his or hers maternal authority and affection, and, given the fact that the child would spend most of the time with the *fraulein*, there was a risk of being guileful.

And, in fact, why give away the great joy to take care of your child? In our family, at least at grandparents on mother's side, my grandmother was working as a school teacher and headmaster, but she preferred to have a woman to help her in housekeeping, so that she would spend all the free time she had with her children.

In our family things were similar: my mother was working as a clerk at the State

(¹) *The Book with Toys* was written by the great Romanian poet Tudor Arghezi for his own children, Mitzura and Barutziu: when old, Mitzura Arghezi became close to the extremist party called *România Mare*.

Archives, so that half of a day I would spend with her, and the other with aunt Zoe – my grandmother's sister, who retired when I was born, helped by Cati, our housekeeper, a Saxon from near Sibiu, whom I adored.

I didn't go to the kindergarten because of the war, but I spent a lot of my energy (or, in other words, belabouring) so that my parents would obtain an individual exemption from the Ministry and I could go to school at 6 years.

MG: *I owe my error to Mr. Sofronie who told me once that you know German well because you had a nanny.*

ZP: Mihai is a dear colleague, but he has too much consideration for me, and thus he attributes qualities that I don't possess. It is true that I have had a passion for languages. I learned quite early French, and even Russian in times when few learned it, because it was the language of our oppressors, but I was mature enough in the last years of high school to know that there was a huge distance between Pushkin and the Soviet officers' wives who were walking on Calea Victoriei with their luxurious caps made of silver fox fur. As for German, I wasn't lucky, because I had too many teachers to learn it properly.

However, before answering I would in turn ask a question: why Romanians, who are generally talented to learn foreign languages, consider them impossible to learn for simple people? They said about my father that he certainly was a Jew, because he knew too many foreign languages, and this is his colleagues who said that – learnt people. As for the tag "I didn't have a governess", I heard it too many times to take it seriously. As I just told you, I **did not** have a nanny myself. Even colleagues of mine kept saying it – ambitious and competitive persons, whose parents had important positions, and they could have taken private lessons of French easier than me. Many of them studied at the "Soviet" school – the high school in Floreasca, where Russian was taught when they were pupils, but they didn't learn it in-depth either.

MG: *When did you start your first friendships, when did you start to "socialize", as they call it now. What places do you remember from childhood?*

ZP: Well, socialization... I had an ardent desire to play with children, whenever, whatever. I had several friends, children of my parents' friends, but, as we didn't live close enough, we

met only when they visited, which seemed too little.

In the refuge, in Apold, it was better, as our host had many children close to my age and we played daily, sometimes to my mother's exasperation, who couldn't find me outside. That is why I pleaded my case with going to school earlier – I wanted to have more kids around me to play with. The unpleasant part was that precisely because I was so eager for relations, it just didn't happen. Probably because I was smaller or ran slower, or because of my pronunciation, I was always left aside and I was suffering unspeakably. When we moved to my grandparents' house, I found for the first time loyal friends in the neighbourhood, especially a girl who was incredibly friendly and sociable. We are still friends today, even if life separated us in many ways: she is Ioana Măgură Bernard, who worked many years at Radio Free Europe [Europa Liberă] in Munich. She lives in California now. Beyond the fact that she had a lively intelligence, a remarkable culture and innate grace, Ioana has kept an ability to empathise and to show a discrete and tender affection that made me cherish her for almost seven decades.

As for the places of childhood, I still see them today: the garden from our church in the neighbourhood, Popa Soare, with many roses and wisteria; the grass in abundance in summer, when we used to go for two months in Predeal, where uncle Luță and aunt Vichi had a villa, at the outskirts of a glade, right near the forest. When we arrived there in July, the grass wasn't ready to mow, and aunt Zoe taught me to raise my hands when she would call for me so that she would see me.

MG: *How was your first day at school? How did you feel in primary school, in gymnasium and how your passion concerning history and research was born? What were your favourite readings during the pre-university period? What teachers produced a strong impression and what was the status of the pupil in Stalinism?*

ZP: The first two classes I attended at the school of nuns, Notre Dame de Sion; my parents tried to enrol me at the French school near the French Embassy, on Christian Tell Street, but the road was impossible to walk for a 6 year old. There was no direct public means of public transport from our place to Piața Romană, the trams were rare and awfully crowded, so that, despite their lay and liberal principles, they had to

opt for Notre Dame, which was close to our home. The idea was for me to learn good, native French, and then to transfer me to a state high school. My parents studied at such top public high schools: my mother at “Regina Maria”, in Bucharest, and my father at the famous Liceul Internat [The Boarding College] in Iași. Therefore, they were convinced that a state high school was better than any private school.

I can barely remember my very first day at school, but I remember easily my first months. The school was close to home, but there were several dangerous roads to cross so that during my first year I had to be accompanied; I loved these little trips with my mother. The mornings were interesting due to a cute moment that I remember dearly: I disliked the warm milk and so, my mother would wait for the wandering seller of pretzels at the window, so that I wouldn’t go to school with an empty stomach. I can still smell those pretzels. What I enjoyed the most if it was early, was that my mother used to stare at a distance and say: “no pretzel in sight”. Every time I used to burst with laughter. I am actually not far from it right now.

It was so beautiful at school: firstly, so many girls, some of them friendly. I could play with them not only during the breaks, but also during some special days at our house or at theirs. With four or five of them I kept a friendly relation throughout the years, and we are still friends today. Then, Mrs. Stoian, our teacher, a beautiful and intelligent woman kept delightfully praising me, except for one gloomy day when I pretended stubbornly that 6+8 make 12, and despite her several warnings to think again, I persevered in my mistake so that I got a “4” mark. I got the same mark only in the 7th grade at “drawing” and “manual labour”...

Thirdly, the school had a subtle way of rewards and awards, and I found out about myself that I actually enjoyed getting awards. As I hated not being on the “list of honour”, I became a quite diligent pupil.

This world disappeared one day, in autumn 1948, when all the private and confessional schools were closed. I ended up at Școala Iancului that had endless qualities, starting with the teachers, but one single flaw: it was a boys’ school, and only the two of us – Măriuca Tudor, the daughter of Professor Dumitru Tudor, colleague and friend of my parents’ from their university years, and myself – were girls. This was

an advantage for the dance classes of my 3rd grade, where there were two “real” pairs (not with a boy in disguise). I was assigned as a Soviet dancer, while Măriuca was a Romanian one, and her partner was Alexandru Repan, our good friend, who became later a well-known actor. I remember the dark festivity hall of a high school nearby, where, slightly panicked, I held in my arms a toymachine gun, interpreting the role of Rita Ustinovich, the heroine commissar from the novel *How The Steel Was Tempered*. As you may see, from the protective world of a Catholic school, I landed suddenly in the revolutionary universe of the decrepit Stalinism.

MG: *Do you remember the Russians entering Bucharest? How did you perceive them back then, with the eyes of a child?*

ZP: I was in Predeal at that moment. We did not come back to Bucharest in time to actually see something special. I vaguely remember the trip by car and especially when in Bucharest we stopped first at the Tekphone Palace, the big telephone central where George Moisil worked, the youngest brother of my mother’s. Ionel and Grigri remained in Predeal, but we didn’t see Gică – a physicist, specialist in corrosion – since his visit to Apold. You have to imagine how difficult it was to travel by train at war so that you may understand what a fraternal devotion it took to engage in such a trip just to see your sister (and niece). Moisil brothers had a really strong connection, and the three of them protected my mother, their only sister. My mother was very fond of them, too, as she insisted to pay a visit to George at the Phone Palace; I remember the lift from that building, the highest from Bucharest back in those days, and I can recall Giculică at a very long table with a lot of people.

My first memory with Soviet soldiers dates back to 1945, in a train when we came back from a holiday in Predeal. Such a scene may seem easily taken from a pro-Soviet film, because the three of them, I believe they were officers, admired me when I danced and sang, and they even showed me pictures with their own children. I remember perfectly well how I bragged about my artistic success to my grandparents.

The entire story geminated somewhere, because I remember that I learned Tănase’s verse: “Până ieri cu *der, die, das*// și acum cu *davai ceas*”, and I know that I wasn’t at school when I learned it. But the most vivid “political” memory from those years is the one with Zăroni anecdotes.

I had a crush on the many jokes about the poor Minister of Agriculture from Groza government and my uncles told me every bit of pun about him. I may still remember today ten or so jokes of that category – it was the beginning of a discretely subversive self-education.

MG: *What were your favourite books during your adolescence? What was the discovery of theatre, cinema, and opera like? What about the free time in that period and the first love?*

ZP: No matter how severely I may judge myself retrospectively, I can't pretend that I had an adolescence worthy to be mentioned; I could as well say that I had none. I was what they call a "good girl", with no major sentimental issues. I even felt inferior, because my friends had a secret passion – secret for the boy, but I was well informed about it – and my good friend from the high school period, Puiu, *i.e.* Alexandru Suceveanu, was calling me "mother" while confessing a new passion thrice a week. I didn't seem available myself for this kind of games. The truth is, as odd as it may seem, that I fell in love once and forever with the one man who became my husband.

Books, music – this is where I could speak forever. I was, as you have guessed, a precocious reader. When I was 8 years old, while returning with my father, by train, from Iași, we travelled in the same compartment with Professor Mendel Haimovici, a distinguished mathematician and good friend with Grigri. We met again some ten years later and he told me a funny story that I had forgotten about my laborious and quite too logical explanations of Othello's horrible mistake...

In 1951, I spent a month of vacation in Câmpulung Muscel, in an Academy's villa. It used to belong to the great linguist Alexandru Rosetti, who donated it to the Academy, and I stayed in his son's – Ghex – room, where all his books suitable for my age remained, starting with a thick volume with funny physics experiments and with the complete collection of Alexandre Dumas' novels in a beautiful French edition. I read then not only the classic novels, as *The Three Musketeers* or *Count of Monte Cristo*, but the complete series from *Henry III court*, *Marie Antoinette* series, and probably the apocryphal sequel of *Count de Monte Cristo*...

During the following winter I was with my father at Băile Herculane with superb snow all over, and I recall my father carrying thick books

from the library: *War and Peace*, *Napoleon and Talleyrand* by Tarlé, which we were both reading. I can't distinguish some decisive readings in this avalanche; probably the ones that I can still remember are the most important; the most defining ones were those from the high school years. High school was then only three years long, but even so, it represented an essential stage in my life, not only due to those readings, but also due to the friendships that started in those years. During that period I discovered Racine's tragedies, I discovered poetry – from Baudelaire to Ion Barbu and the posthumous poems of Eminescu, Shakespeare and Arghezi. I discovered Latin and Greek, Homer and Catullus. It was then that I saw 13 times in a row Hamlet with Laurence Olivier and I started to learn English and Russian.

It was then when I listened for the first time Bach's Solo partitas and Sonatas for violin, played by Enescu. This one is a story that deserves several details. Enescu wasn't loved by the dictatorship, as he went abroad and did not come back. All over sudden, in 1955, immediately after his death, the authorities thought that it would be convenient to appropriate him. It was just then when the great shop "Muzica" opened on Calea Victoriei, where I used to walk every day on my way to school. One day, I saw in the shop window a red box with three disks, which I had never seen before, on which it was written Long Play 33 tours and George Enescu, BACH, Partites and sonates for violin solo. The box was around 200 lei, and my mother had a monthly salary of 350 lei. My father was a University Professor, so he had bigger wages, but the expenses with the house and family were high enough. I had my small savings, but they may have been about 30 lei maximum. I felt with a kind of desperation that it was imperative for me to have those disks, despite the fact that I found out that I couldn't listen to them at Ionel's pick-up, suitable only for 78 disks. The only solution was my grandfather. When my grandfather got his pay, he gave me generously all the money, and I went to "Muzica" for the disks. Only a year later, when my father went for a Congress in Moscow, I got my first 33 pick-up. I was prepared for an enchanting musical experience, but my shock when I heard for the first time the violin solo had no connection to my expectations. I can't say I liked it, it is not the proper word, but something more important happened: I started listening and I couldn't stop. It was a good thing that it was during a vacation,

because I had been listening to the disks, one by one, day by day, in a sort of trance from which I didn't escape entirely to this day.

I enjoyed going to the cinema. I have several memories that may be from early childhood – I remember Pinocchio's face after he smoked. It is hardly possible that I saw it during the war, as it was an American film produced in colour in 1940, but the image of the child's face pink, yellow, then green is stored somewhere in the first pages of my "personal album". My parents' friends, Bisco and Melitta, had a projector at home (it was black and white) and I remember Betty Boop and Popey. Films or even pictures with Popey must have been early in my life, because I ate spinach every day, and Popey's spinach is again part of my memories before the refuge. My father told me something I forgot: during my daily walk we went to the garden of the church Popa Soare and once I asked my father if the church is God's house and if God is powerful. He responded piously and affirmative. Then I asked "Why is God powerful?", and my father didn't know what to say, but I found the answer right away: "Because he eats spinach every day".

The second phase of films dates back to the summer of 1945 and it started with an American film screened at Gioconda garden, which was where the tower block near Dâmbovița is situated nowadays. I can't remember the title of the film, but it was a typical post-war one, merry and colourful, and it ended with a scene in paradise, where St. Peter listened to the radio, probably The Voice of America. Shortly after that, my father and I went to a film near Grădina Icoanei, with a poster, where it was written "Henry V". It was the moment I learnt what "V" meant from the title. I found out a lot of things about knights and how they were mounted on horses with huge winches. I still remember the scene of courtship between the king and the French princess, and when I say "remember" I don't transfer scenes seen later, although I saw the film several years ago, because in my memories the scenes are pale, not so colourful...

The third stage was in the third grade 1948/1949. My classmate and friend Uca Tudor used to go to the cinema in the neighbourhood, either with her mother or with Lica, a girl of 15 years old, who was raised by Uca's parents. I joined them in these expeditions. The first time I went only with Uca at a film, it was at "Miorița" cinema, and Chaplin's Dictator was screened. I

saw earlier The Goldrush, and I insisted on going to Dictator, but Lica didn't want to come so that at the exit after the cinema, both of us were expected by our mothers, who were not thrilled at all about our initiative.

I remember countless Soviet films that invaded all over sudden Romania's screens: Siberia's Ballad – a film with a young komsomolist who either returned from Siberia or went to Siberia; Alive Body (a film adaptation of Leo Tolstoy's work) – it is difficult to believe that this was the case of the Soviet-German avant-garde co-production of 1929; it was probably the film from 1952, because the variant from 1968 with Alexei Batalov I didn't watch. I remember him only from *The Cranes Are Flying*, and this time I remember complete scenes and not only those from a pub with the gorgeous Gipsy, as in the Tolstoy adaptation. During those years I remember watching Soviet films that had a didactic script, such as *Teacher from Shatray* and *The Fall of Berlin*. I can't remember why I didn't go to *Răsună valea*, but I can clearly remember the big pictures from the hall of Trianon, then Republicii cinema, announcing another Romanian film, *Iarbă rea*, with an academician who betrayed his country. I was upset by this announcement, as I had several academicians at home who didn't betray anyone.

The fourth stage in my relation with films was influenced by the Youth Festival of 1953. They usually mention the food shortages and the so-called "Festival's fast", because for the sake of the festival there were no cards for food and there was a false and very short-lived abundance in shops and canteens to spoil the young delegates from all over the world. We remained to pay everything. But the Western films had a major effect – *Fanfan la Tulipe*, charming with Gerard Philippe and Gina Lolobrigida; it was incredibly funny. Some Soviet films, like *Volga, Volga*, weren't bad either, as Dunayevsky inspired great films, but still, *Fanfan* was something else. And of course, *Hamlet* with Laurence Olivier was a different story, as I saw it, I told you so, 13 times in a row. The fourth stage may include the present, even though I prefer DVDs in my cosy armchair at home to cinemas.

MG: *Thank you. I saw "Singing in the Rain" when I was 3 years old and I remembered the scene with dancing in the rain. I even had the same experience several times. This is how the mirage was born. I was so taken by the radio*

theatre in my childhood, those plays for children, dramatised fairy tales, and their broadcast started with the formula "Good evening, children!" and it ended with "Good night, children!" The voices were so seductive. When I was in the countryside, at my mother's sister, she didn't have a TV-set, as they disliked it, but in the evenings, after dinner, I stayed with my ear glued to the radio to listen to those magical adapted fairy tales or "radio plays". Just one more thing – I decided to go to university in Bucharest because of the multitude of theatre troupes and cinemas in the capital!

I forgot to ask you about participating at group activities in your adolescence or youth – camping, trips and so on.

ZP: I wasn't so fond of going with the kids from the school during vacation. I was busy going with my father on site and with my mother at the seaside. And it wasn't only a simple vacation, as my mother needed me to help her – my sister had a major deficiency at birth and she couldn't be left alone. On the other hand, I wasn't attracted by the collective activities, as my sports skills were questionable and I only managed to sing in the choir of the school some pioneers' hymns. I remember a camping song that I loved, which had a nice tune – the hymn sung to the fried potato, my favourite meal: "O, golden potato, golden, golden, golden/ Ideal of pioneers/eers/eers..."

MG: *What were the circumstances when the interest and passion for studying history appeared?*

ZP: Regarding history, I think it was an association between school and experience on the site with my father. As I said, before going to school, I wanted to become ORL – ear-nose-larynx doctor. Because of my chronic tonsillitis this was a medical specialist that I needed to attend frequently, and I was very proud and even applauded when I managed to say with no mistake such a long and difficult word. After tonsillectomy, my interest for medicine ceased. Not even the fact that my friend from the 5th grade, Smaranda, decided to become a doctor managed to reignite my enthusiasm for the subject; she wanted to discover the vaccine against cancer and to win the Nobel Prize (which unfortunately she didn't). Meanwhile, I had some interesting experiences at school: the Romanian lesson on the film script – we had the homework to write a script for *El Zorab* and I failed it completely, but, instead of being discouraged, it

made me think about the fact that I would love to write scripts. In the 5th grade I remember that our history teacher was replaced by – Mrs. Neamtu – a wonderful teacher, who usually taught Geography. I remember vividly her lesson about the Peloponnesian war, where I almost cried, as I couldn't believe that Athens surrendered.

Summers at Histria were more and more passionate; as I qualified as an expert in levelling with the palette knife the clay floors of the archaic dwellings from X – that was the name for the sector of dwellings from the Western world – and I learned how to differentiate the Ionian bowls from the Attic ones and the archaic pottery from classic or Hellenistic. One morning, which I remember in all its details, with the specific light, all these merged into one focal point, and then not only I envisioned the fact that I would become an archaeologist, but had my entire life clearly planned in a detailed project. Few days later I left for Bucharest to be transferred from my school to the Classic Lyceum, for I knew even then that you can't become a classical archaeologist if you don't learn Latin and Greek.

It is true that during my university years I slipped from the classic archaeology to the cultural history of Antiquity, but it wasn't a radical break, and archaeology remained for me a language that I know and use whenever it is necessary. Texts, on the other hand, captivated me, starting with seminars from the scientific circle and then the Master thesis, where I worked passionately about the Sophist theories of the 5th century, as I developed a secret snobbery that kept me far from Rome. I healed in time, but, except for one and not that happy occasion, everything I published remained in the Greek world before Christ.

MG: *This is interesting, indeed! I wasn't involved in group activities either. I resented camping and spending time together with classmates and I was lucky that I benefited from my own room from the age of 13. That was my universe. The morning of certainty, the morning of project – this is a revelation that many people don't have. During my first years in school all girls knew that they wanted to become doctors or teachers. I wanted to become a warrior when I was 7 years old. And history was attractive for me, because I considered it a fantasy about the fight between good and evil. The first book that fascinated me was about Inca, and I read it when I was in the 4th grade. It was only when I was 13*

when I wanted to become a writer. I don't know how close I am concerning that dream of mine. It wasn't a project; I was always determined by a strange vocation, an individualistic one. Only the desire to learn the intimate mechanisms of human actions and the obsession for beauty gave me impetus. However, I can't remember a special day of a revelation regarding my life project. That is why I am asking you to appeal to your emotional memory and to talk about that day. I don't know anyone to remember such a thing. I would like to know more about that morning, which was touched by grace in your life. Please, offer me this dilation of that special day, as detailing means dilation. Or was it, as you suggested, only the result of accumulation? Please, tell more on that air of youth in Histria? The smell of the sea, the joy of discovery of the first artefact...

ZP: I will gladly answer, but in reversed order. You have a point there, a great part of my memories from Histria are both visual and olfactory. The lake Sinoe doesn't really smell like the sea, it has a special smell, a bit of silt (sorry on the almost involuntary rhyme). Then, in the middle of the day there was the dry and dusty smell of the hot earth, but it gradually diminished as you approached the lake with its salty smell of moor, with its red and fleshy herbs that emphasize the vivid blue of the lake and the golden tones of the blocks of stone from the walls of the ancient city.

At night, all these aromas are tempered and combined, sometimes beaten by the humid waft of the sea, which is not that far away as you have thought at noon. When it was almost dawn all these perfumes become suddenly intense and breezy. Nights and auroras of trip into and out of the ancient site, in the jolted cart that we had to use to reach the railway station bring in my nostrils all the herbs of Histria in waves at least as intense as the Proustian herbal tea.

The Histrian landscape is unique and not only in Dobruja. Gabriella Bordenache assured me that Histria is unique in the Ancient World, and we used to consider her almost a monument, because she visited Troy, where we couldn't hope to go, but also Athens and Mycenae, and Syracuse and Taranto, not to mention the fact that she was born and raised in Rome. The unique combination of colours – the golden tones of the grass of the steppe barely appointed by the lilac of some evergreen flowers, but also of the stones lightened by the summer sun, the marine blue of the lake

and the silvery colour of the sand around it, the purplish red of the fleshy herb of the moor, the green at the horizon, where the ploughed fields were visible – and everything in an ancestral world, untouched by the material signs of modernity. At night crickets and mowers were at their ease, while the stars were brighter than in any other place, with no other light that would make them pale, and the glance may lose at the horizon with no other obstacles except for the friendly mass of the ancient walls.

My first archaeological experience dates back to 1949, before spending any summer in Histria. During that year my father was the director of the archaeological site in Callatis, Mangalia. We stayed there two months with my mother and sister, and I accompanied my father at digging whenever the weather was cloudy. One morning, I was at the digging conducted by Professor Dumitru Tudor, whose daughter was my classmate and a very good friend. Father went there to assist the unveiling of the main tumulus from the Roman era and took me with him. It was a rich tomb, whose inventory may be seen today at the museum in Mangalia. I was especially impressed by those 4 or 5 glass vases – lacrimaria, where the participants at the funerals gathered their tears and put them into the tomb: tiny, fragile and iridescent, I fell in love with them and I carried them in my arms all the way from the lake to Mangalia. In Histria, the next year I discovered the Greek painted ceramics and I couldn't stay far from it. I remember that at the museum in Naples, where the halls with antique vases seems to be endless, I felt my finger tips smarted and I couldn't understand why until I observed that unconsciously I rubbed my fingers as if I could touch the polished and incredibly black surface of some imaginary chips.

In Histria I was “adopted” with great generosity by Suzana Dimitriu who researched the archaic dwellings from the Western wold. As I said, I was allowed to clean with the palette knife the floors and profiles, and I found small painted and beautiful chips. I learned quickly the styles and the periods from which they dated: Ionian, Rhodian, Fikellura, Kleinmeisterschale, Attic with black figures, and Attic with red figures. An entire universe of perfect forms.

MG: *Why didn't you become a prose writer? The writer within me is envious! Please, tell more on the involvement of your family in your path as a historian.*

ZP: My luck was multiple, although I had many troubles, too. I was lucky to have lived since I was a child in the same home with my mother's parents – Elena and Constantin Moisil. My mother and her three brothers – Grigore, Ioan and George – were so fond of their parents and the house on Stupinei Street, now Kirițescu – where I still live was a magnet for the entire family.

In '45, my grandmother had a stroke and she remained paralyzed. "The boys" came daily to visit – in the morning, at noon, whenever they had time. On that occasion I got my daily joke with Zăroni, and since those times I have had this huge passion for political anecdotes, which lightened my days frequently during the communist years. Due to my grandparents I enjoyed the rest of the family as well. My father was an adorable, devoted and caring brother-in-law, but it was due to my grandparents that my uncles visited us so often.

Grigri spoke with a distinct "r" *grasseyé* and when I was three years old, aunt Zoe convinced him to wear a Santa Claus costume, but his voice was unmistakable – the same "r" that I had until I was 9 years old. Then, like Demosthenes, I corrected it at the seaside, in Mangalia, but with no stones in my mouth. So I said: "Firrrrstly I believed it was Santa, and then he talked and I rrealized that it was Grrrrigrrrrrri!" The funny part of this story is that I wasn't disappointed – I found the whole adventure very amusing.

When my grandmother was still healthy, once a month, on Sundays, there was a "family dinner" and that tradition continued afterwards. Everybody would come – aunt Zoe, aunt Vicki and uncle Luță, my parents and mother's brothers with their wives, as well as any other relatives. When aunt Zoe was responsible with the meal, the direct relatives got sour cherry brandy with sour cherries, while the distant ones only the brandy. Grandmother Vanda was always invited, but she didn't come that often; but the Constante family was there, Grigri's in-laws, the Mănescu family (Ionel's in-laws of which Nic Mănescu was very nice, because he used to take me for a ride on his motorcycle).

When some relatives from Cluj or Blaj were in Bucharest, they would come to our Sunday meeting, too. It was back then when I met Constantin Daicoviciu, the great archaeologist from Cluj, but in fact he was proud of his roots from Banat, as he was born near Lugoj. He was

married to one of my mother's cousins, Lucia, born Bugnariu, and my grandfather kept asking Daicoviciu why he didn't come with his wife. Once Daicoviciu answered without the usual respect he showed to my grandfather that "If you take your wife with you, the costs are double, while the joy is halved". So I found out early in life that not all couples are equally happy.

At that time, Daicoviciu was a state secretary, I believe at the Ministry of Transport, when Gheorghiu Dej was the minister; he was later transferred to the Ministry of Education, as the deputy of Vasilichi. He wanted to please me, so I was invited for a ride in his car, but I suffered from car sickness and I had to return home on foot.

Grigri sang rather well some funny little songs in duet with Viorica, his wife, who had graduated conservatory. When he was named ambassador in Ankara, they composed a song about how Mr. Ambassador gave up drinking, ate one single almond and drank only mineral water from Carlsbad, but I forgot the lyrics. It wasn't a secret that Moisil enjoyed drinking, especially wine, and he rarely abstained. Reading a letter that he sent to his parents from Paris, reproduced in one of the volumes Viorica dedicated to Grigri and his family, I had a sort of vision, a striking intuition of the significance of this Dionysian inclination: I perceived the huge distance between his intellectual and imaginative force and the petty constraints of the daily life. I can't express better what hit me as an incurable dissatisfaction, but I still have the conviction that my intuition was correct. It's not that I would like to ennoble the memories, as a vice remains a vice, but I have the certainty that the resorts of this vice are often more complicated and profound than it may seem. Grigri related to children as if they were adults. I remember when I was 7 years old, he paid a visit and found me alone in the yard, with no friends. I told him that I was bored, and he looked at me compassionately and said: "Only dumb people are bored". I suddenly felt as my mind was enlightened: yes, he was right. Seven decades later I can say that I didn't have a single moment of boredom. If I couldn't read or listen to music, or talk to my friends, or if I was in a boring meeting or had to queue, I would find immediately an interesting subject to meditate or to remember, and the time would fly. Grigri was right – boredom itself is negative, it covers your mind and doesn't let you think creatively.

I can't remember him asking me, like adults use to do, about news from school, but he would train me in any scientific discussion and challenged me to comment books and ideas. He was a man of various curiosities, and he read a lot. There was no important book that he hadn't read – from Bible to Proust and back. He borrowed from me the most recent books on the ancient culture; he contributed to the main cultural journals in Romania, an excellent prose writer.

When I was a student, and then an assistant at the university, he was always interested in my research, in what new books I read or what subjects preoccupied me. He was fond of classical studies. That may have seemed strange for a mathematician, but Grigore Moisil had a searching spirit that helped him to dwell in any matter of the spirit. Because he wrote many studies on the post-Aristotle logic and about the Athenian stoic school, he was informed about the ancient philosophy and about many aspects of the ancient cultural history. He was also in his young days a good friend of my Professor Dionisie M. Pippidi, the well-known classicist, debating often ideas regarding the ancient culture. I remember with joy how he would browse my recent books and borrow them for a thorough reading. He was especially interested in works concerning the beginning of the Greek thought, and we were talking for hours about the origins of the ancient democracy. Once he told me (and he was only half joking) that I should teach a course on all those matters at "Ștefan Gheorghiu" so that all the activists of the Communist Party could learn about democracy...

All my mother's brothers were affectionate with me, but that means that they treated me as a responsible person, not as a silly child. After grandmother's death, Ionel moved in the family's house, as there were horrible times when you risked ending up with strangers in your home. We were protected, at least in theory, because both my grandfather and father were members of the Academy, which absolved them from requisitions, so that Ionel and his family were calmer with us. That was again a piece of luck for me, as Ionel – electro-technical engineer – had an exceptional pedagogical talent, probably inherited from both his parents. He explained math problems with a special clarity and the patience of an angel. He made me the greatest compliment later – that he admired two things: when I was young the fact that I never stopped

asking until I understood the problem properly and that as an adult I respected my own children from their first day of life.

I learned from my family to respect children of any age, because that was the way they treated me. When I was 13 years old I met Grigri on Calea Victoriei, right near Capșa. I was returning from school and he was coming back from the university. He invited me for an ice-cream. He asked: "What would you like? Parfait? Coupe Jacques?" I asked what was "Coupe Jacques" and he said: "No way! You don't know what is *Coupe Jacques*? Let's deal with this immediately". Firstly, he wrote the name of the desert on a piece of paper, so that I would know that it was "coupe" and not "cupjac", as most Romanian say. He was so didactic – I remember him teaching a course of mathematics for humanists at the end of the '60s, saying "as I wrote in *Contemporanul*" and he wrote immediately on the black board *Contemporanul*. Ionel was very talented, too. He chose his profession to be practical, declaring many times that he didn't want to end up as Grigri, a poorly paid professor, and that he would make a lot of money. And he certainly did for a while, as he became the director of the Philips radio factory in Bucharest, but then came the nationalization, and Ionel had to find a shelter in education. A friend of mine, a young physicist, who was his assistant told me once that he didn't believe that there was another person in the world with such a pedagogical talent and such an availability to enlighten even those students who were not that capable.

Gică, George Moisil was a funny man. He nicked aunt Zoe "Ghinghiza from Arabella, our younger sister" (Ghinghiza was a circus character in those years), because she made all types of childish larks. He became a Professor at the Polytechnic University, too, even though he didn't seek that in his youth; and what a great Professor he was! A friend who was at his courses during her first years is still talking today with an incredible enthusiasm about him and his course. Later I learned that students nicked him the "Lord", not only due to his always impeccable vestment, but also due to his unusual way to bring up in the discussion any chapter of modern physics the most surprising and sophisticated parallels, from – the dispute between Newton and Leibniz, but several verses from Faust by Goethe, – quoted, of course, in original. He told me that he

read with enthusiasm the first part of Faust during his university years, but never read the second part. He put the book in his luggage when he thought he would leave for the war, being convinced that it was the last book he would ever read and that he would die. Fortunately, he managed to escape the mobilization in the last moment, as he was called to work in telephony, but he didn't touch Faust II ever again.

We shared some philosophical discussions later when I became an adult interested from a distance in the world of electrons and quantum. Nevertheless, we had a constant cultural relationship: when I was 5 years old we played together in a play, which he composed for me. I can't remember the play, only the merry atmosphere of the vacation days. Music was responsible for most of our rapprochement – of my mother's brothers, he was the most cultured, he played the piano and knew a lot of things. We were talking about music and literature for hours. Gică was a poetry lover, like my mother, while Grigri and Ionel were rather attracted by prose or theatre: Ionel had a complete collection of Oscar Wilde's theatre, and when I knew English well enough I felt great pleasure reading them. On the other hand, Ionel's great passion was the film. He remembered in detail Shirley Temple's first movies, because he was infatuated with her during his adolescence and he sang all sorts of hits from films of those times, especially American films. I believe he was fascinated by America as the land of the technical progress so that the years of filo-Soviet proletcultism made him rather unhappy. Later, he sent us to Cinematheque to see the great creations of the '30s.

Grigri died early, in 1973, soon followed by my mother, in 1977. Gică passed away in September 1989. On the 22nd of December 1989, when Ionel saw that my boys were getting ready to go downtown, he appeared with a flag with the royal coat of arms in its centre. Neither my cousin, his own daughter, nor any other of us knew that he had that flag hidden somewhere, he gave it to Dan and Dinu who waved it on the streets of Bucharest, then in Piața Universității. Ionel died in the autumn of 1990. There were left so few of us to face post-communism...

MG: *What a world was lost! You were lucky indeed to have lived among affectionate, cultured, sensitive and interesting people.*

ZP: I am not at all convinced that this was only a chance of the past. I know people and

families that live in the same way to this day, in the same intellectual universe, maybe the same affective world. In the case of our family, time has played its role, and I refer to the fact that intellectual reflexes had matured, as well as affinities had decanted for generations. But in every generation there were *homines novi*, intellectuals of high class from modest background, starting with my father, Emil Condurachi.

What was really precious was the great joy to be familiar with so many intelligent and learned people. I may say that they endowed me a sophisticated balance that has helped me my entire life to sense nuances, shades and types of intelligence. On the other hand, it has brought an acute feeling of my responsibilities: not necessarily to be as intelligent as they were (that is according to DNA, providence or whatever), but not to embarrass them by being lazy, inappropriate or impertinent.

MG: *And returning to our subject, what are the archaeological sites that you had the chance to visit outside Romania?*

ZP: Let's bring some order: when I was young, I visited only a few archaeological sites outside Romania and I look today with a maternal joy and a bit of envy at my students who dig at Troy or Milet... Did you know that our university has now its own site in Thasos? I remember my colleague and dear friend Carmen Dumitrescu, the most beautiful archaeologist in our generation, who was lying apathetically under the Histrian sun until a supervisor addressed her as if Carmen didn't care, and she answered: "Well, if only I was at Mycene..." It was, of course, a defiance with not much sense, but I remember the sudden feeling of unreality that embraced me then – how could you even dream to dig at Mycene?

I visited some sites in the Southern Italy at the end of the '60s when I had the chance of some scholarships at the colloquiums Magna Graecia in Taranto, which Dinu Adameșteanu – an Italian renowned archaeologist of Romanian origin – took the trouble to obtain for us, 6 or 7 young historians. The diggings conducted by him at Metapont and Policoro were exemplary, a fact that I can't say about other sites, which seemed tributary to some obsolete techniques that we gave up in our country long time ago. I visited the site in Sibaris that looked like nothing else, because the area was flooded and the water had to be drained as the diggings advanced, a fact that didn't

permit any stratigraphic observations. In Megara Hyblaia, in the North of Sicily, I spent a memorable morning, classifying the ceramics of the Roman period, about which my French colleagues and Professors (great experts in other fields, many of them of international fame in Greek art and archaeology) didn't have a clue. In fact, I am afraid they didn't really care, but an amicable hand that could bring some order in that *monte testaccio* they evacuated to reach the first Greek archaic layer from the 8th century a. Chr. was useful. I thought at that moment and I still think sometimes if we didn't exaggerate at Histria with the respect for the Roman ruins to the detriment of the Greek strata. In Megara Hyblaia, Georges Vallet and his collaborators risked to dig out the oldest strata and brought thus an essential contribution to the understanding of the phenomenon that we still call the "great Greek colonization", although it has nothing to do with the colonization process from the modern history of Europe and the entire world.

MG: *What does the artefact mean for you? What kind of relation do you have with it?*

ZP: I have a reverence toward artefacts in general and a special reverence toward the oldest of them. I am excited every time by the great quantity of intelligence, discernment and artfulness these objects contain, as their properties are not given by nature, but result from a series of deliberate gestures, options, choices that suppose a plan and a strategy. I remember Professors Nestor's course of "History of the Primitive Commune", – as a matter of fact, it was the first course of historical anthropology ever taught in our universities, in times when such a direction was hardly delineated in the Western academic world; that was a brilliant course. I remember how Nestor challenged us to some short exchanges of ideas at the end of the lecture (it had no seminar) and I tried to say why in my opinion the preferential usage of stones like silex or obsidian for the production of tools represented also the concretization of some intellectual processes in which the specific qualities of each material were evaluated before starting the actual shaping.

Every artefact has a relationship with art and culture: *ars* is art in the largest meaning of the word; on the other hand, every work of art starts by being an artefact. Simonides of Ceos, as well as the sophists of the 5th century, my old fellows from my Master thesis, reclaimed the dignity of an artefact even for the art of the word. I was

interested in crafts and craftsmen, and one of my favourite studies is the one about Trophonios and the mythology of the architect in the Greek world, a study that I wrote with quite a passion. Beyond the limit of antiquity, if we think at the tapestry "Lady and the unicorn", but also the Gothic cathedrals, they are all artefacts... *Le Temps des Cathédrales* remains one of my favourite books, and even the TV-series adapted after Ken Follett's novel can't be ignored. One of the contemporary tendencies in the patrimony conservation that I truly love refers to the invisible patrimony, which includes traditional techniques of producing artefacts.

Nevertheless, I don't idealize every artefact. Kitsch hasn't been recently invented, and I could show you many pompous examples of ancient kitsch. On the other hand, kitsch has its own particular charm, it tells a story that deserves to be listened to.

MG: *What historic personality fascinated you? They say that we, historians, are objective, but actually, we like someone we could identify with. I admired Robespierre in my adolescence. Awful, right?*

ZP: I can't say I could identify with anyone, let alone with Robespierre, as I read as soon as in my high school years Anatole France's *Les Dieux ont soif*. I soon became aware there was something deeply wrong with the Jacobins and no less with their heirs Bolsheviks as well.

Generally speaking, I didn't let myself to be attracted by identifications. I saw myself pretty early in the position of a historian and although with no conscience of an imperative of objectivity, I realized the distances and differences. I believe this is what attracted me toward the history of the ancient imaginary, the different ways of thinking. I remember those couple of happy months when I discovered Frazer in the library of Classical Philology, and I couldn't bring back the book – it was the short version in one volume – and I kept asking Mr. Crețu, the librarian, to let me keep it one more week. I understood quickly that no one asked for that book so that I could keep it beyond the normal limits. The whimsies of kings fascinated me and still fascinate me now.

During my years in high school I chose to have a soft spot for Caesar. And I say "chose" because it was a gesture of deliberate opposition: our adored Latin teacher, Mr. Guțu, said once that he was partial to those who were defeated in history and he taught us a compact course of a

month or two on Cicero, including of course the mainframe of the crisis of the Republic. As a sign of a revolt, I decided that I side with the winners. When I discovered later Syme's *Roman revolution*, the germination bed had been installed for some time.

I was also interested in Pericles as a personality, not a hero, and I am still interested, even obsessed with the enigmatic Ephialtes. But above all, I am fascinated by Cleisthenes, with his subtle mixture of Pythagorean constructs and instincts of a political predator.

I tried to figure out how the mind of great authors worked from Aeschylus to Thucydides, from Plato to Tacitus and later, Dante or Shakespeare, not to mention my great friend Caragiale (the father, as with Mateiu I have another relation, no less affectionate).

MG: *It seems that we have, if I am allowed to use the expression, elective affinities. I read Plato early, too early. I think I need to re-read it now in a different rhythm and with different finalities. Caragiale! Who doesn't like Caragiale? As a matter of fact, why did you like his work? And what historians you preferred in your different periods of life?*

ZP: I believe Caragiale had a fabulous skill to use every available resource of the Romanian language. Eminescu was exceptional in the very ocean of poetic expressions he created, and he left behind a poetical language, and universe fundamentally different from the one he knew in adolescence. Caragiale extended that formidable creativity to the entire ensemble of the Romanian language, from the superior literary expression to the daily idiom. The humour with which he builds his characters is absolutely fascinating and inexhaustible. And there is something eternal in this, fundamentally Romanian – think about Caragiale's characters Conu' Leonida or Rică Venturiano – but also human, in the absurdity of their miscommunications...

As for historians, I won't talk about the ancient ones, as I don't want to seem more pedant than I am. I was impressed by Iorga, speaking about Romanian historians, but I also read unceasingly and with great stylistic pleasure works of my Professors – Pippidi, Berza, Condurachi, Frenkian. I was captivated by Edouard Will's books, a great French specialist who revolutionized the research of archaic era. During the same period, I kept hold of Ronald

Syme, Louis Gernet, Moses Finley or Dumézil. In 1966-1969 I discovered the school of classical studies in Paris, with Vernant, Detienne and my great friend Pierre Vidal-Naeyet; and Nicole Loraux from my own generation. Later I added to my list the books written by Oxford and Cambridge specialists, analyzing the ancient tragedy: Kitto and Dover, Edith Hall, Taplin and Simon Goldhill. Then some American scientists – Froma Zeitlin, W. Thalmann and studies referring to symposium and aristocratic culture of the 7th-6th centuries a. Chr. of the distinguished Oxonian Oswyn Murray. But I also studied anthropologists, as Sahlins and Geertz, Turner and Marc Augé, as well as French medievalists – Le Goff, Duby, Schmitt, Pastoureau, Boureau. I've read recently with great interest American books of cultural history – Natalie Davis, Greenblatt, Darnton. Nevertheless, I don't want to throw upon you the weight of a library, even if it is an ideal one. And I have to warn you that if you re-read now Plato, you will find that he is the most complicated, most deceiving and seducing magician of the word, and I am afraid that not only from Antiquity, so, beware.

MG: *Great! I love Caragiale, too! The assertion that great disappointed people, being sentimental, become cynical, was true in his case. And to be honest, I admit that I still have Jacobinic outbursts, but as a historian; although I wanted to become a writer, I know what that aberration of Reason meant (though let's not forget that they transformed it into a deified entity).*

Hence, we found out why you wanted to become a historian and you became a historian of a major importance, indeed. But as a Professor, how did you discover this attraction for mentoring? How do you relate with the students you taught?

And probably later you would answer me a question regarding your studies of recent history. You wrote several studies that are bibliographical references. As a rule, in the Romanian historiography, medievalists are attracted toward the recent history. How do you explain the fact that your works are so read and quoted although you haven't written volumes on the recent history?

ZP: Concerning my didactic vocation, I suppose it is part of my genetic inheritance. Not only my father was an admirable professor, passionate to communicate with the young people

and mastering greatly the verbal art of enlightening. And you can't forget the fact that the Moisil ancestors are attested documentary as teachers of history and classics from Maria Therezia's time till nowadays. When I became a teacher, I ascertained with great joy that students, especially those intelligent, gathered naturally around me and I encouraged them. But the decisive factor was at the end of the '60s when I came back from Italy, from the colloquiums Magna Graecia and then from France, with a new perspective on the ancient history. It was a perspective opened by methods of anthropology and cultural history, partly structuralism and essentially the application of research strategies of *Annales* in ancient history. It was these innovations that had a special impact on students. When you all so kindly celebrated me on the occasion of the publication of the volume *Armele Atenei* [*Athens' Weapons*] that you dedicated me a few years ago, every speaker pointed out that during my courses he/she discovered a **different** type of history.

And, of course, there's the fact that, from the beginning till now, it was quite easy to communicate with me, amicably and openly.

You ask me about how I relate to those that I taught. I don't know how to respond concisely to this question. Time influenced us and our relationships; everyone grew up in a different way. I realize not only that some of them were probably more promising and brilliant twenty years ago than they verified later, but also that I may have changed as well in all these years, probably not even for the better. A very beautiful book written by Romain Gary is entitled *La Promesse de l'aube* [*Promise at Dawn*]. Youth bears promises, giving them up gradually to obtain the profundity of maturity. I once said about myself that I became an adult when I understood that I was never going to learn medieval French.

Concerning my studies of recent history, I am going to be honest – I don't have the impression that my works have that echo you attached to them so generously. I was surprised several years ago to be eulogistically invited to the release of a book regarding the natalist politics of Ceaușescu's period, where I didn't go, because the author didn't even mention my study on this important matter.

I always considered that a historian remains a historian regardless of his area or period of research. I had the surprising chance of living

the transition from dictatorship to democracy, because, no matter how imperfect, we live in a democracy now. I considered that due to my professional education my observations on various contemporary events and processes may be not only interesting, but enlightening. I consider to this day that my analysis of the funeral representations of the communist era, using the methods of the cultural anthropology is relevant for some essential aspects of social and political history. I still consider that examining the status of women in the communist society is extremely relevant for this society as a whole and for the evolution of the repressive forms that this society performs. And the book on the post-communist Romanian history I wrote not only due to Catherine Durandin's urge, but also because I found a lot of events and evolutions of the last twenty-five years more significant than they seemed for others.

MG: *Returning to our questions, you didn't tell much on your life in the austerity decade. I was impressed when you once wrote about how you queued and ended up in buying a casserole of chicken liver and you cried. Please write something on that decade. I assume it was painful, as both your father and husband died in the same period... But I would rather like you to remember the daily details about the meals, the books, the films you saw... as I resorted to barter and tutored to pay for my food; I even sent packages to Făgăraș, to my family. The same was with storehouses of books. As for the films, I had illegal access to many TV programs from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria...*

ZP: I thought that by the "austerity decade" you referred to the Băseșcu decade. The last Ceaușescu's decade wasn't, from my perspective, an austere time, but one of a planned misery, combined with the exhaustion of the programmed economy as a whole. I remember invariably the sinister joke that was circulating in those days: a Japanese reporter takes an interview from Ceaușescu, who declares: "We saved the importations, we limited the heating, we imposed the program of rational nutrition, we saved up on electricity...", and the reporter asks: "Have you tried cyanide, Mr. President?"

It doesn't matter how furious I was on Băseșcu's regime, and I still am, it wouldn't be fair to confuse austerity with the maddening Ceaușist misery. One of the most penetrating observations on that era I owe to my exceptional

dressmaker from those years, who once told me: "I know that everything is for my happiness: I came home and I told my husband that I was happy, because I was able to buy some cheese. When would I have been happy for a chunk of cheese?"

I remember a scene in the trolleybus station at the University, when a very well dressed man came, with a lot of rolls of toilet paper, and around him 6-8 people itching to ask him where he found the treasure, but they didn't dare. The man got the idea and told us modestly that he was in Sibiu and he found it there. In those times, Sibiu, Scornicești were a sort of luxury reservations with all types of goods almost forgotten elsewhere.

I can't speak about the penury from the last Ceaușist decade, because it infuriates me that this became the great argument for the revolution – and not liberty, freedom of speech, or the right to travel, not the fact that the graduates were no more than serfs bound to the soil – nothing of it all, just the queues and the cold. And that is a huge misunderstanding of events: in Hungary or GDR the daily commodities were decent if not abundant, and the society confronted the regime anyhow.

However, I am going to tell you the story about the casserole of liver. In was September 18, 1989, the first day of wages after the summer vacation, which was a happy period ending unpleasantly: we got all the money at the beginning of summer and by the half of August we did our best to make it to the end of the holidays. A single mother with two rather big boys, I spent during their vacation inevitably more than I could have afforded, so that I waited for wages as a heavenly manna.

September 18, at noon, I was heading home thinking about finding something to eat. And I found a small shop near Piața Roșetti, where there were casseroles with fried liver and mashed potatoes. Moreover, there were on sale with no cards needed so I bought 6 casseroles, with the triumphal jubilation that accompanied any successful expedition for supply. I burst into tears in the trolleybus station, because I suddenly remembered our family dinners in my childhood, when my old aunts were saying: "We'll end up like in Russia, where they eat from caldrons!" and Grigri, father and other intelligent academics strongly protested, convinced that all those stories were nonsensical propaganda. I found out that my

aunts were right: not only I ate from caldrons, but I was also glad. How couldn't you cry? If I think well, I cried on the dashed illusions of a generation of intellectuals, and even more because I suspected that in essential areas intellectuals are lethally wrong and old aunts infer more clearly than intellectuals the bitter truths of real life.

MG: *I knew I would challenge you with that question, as I experienced similar moments of tragic triumph. I queued for ducks. Slatina was rather well supplied with food, and it was considered a privileged town, as there you could find rabbits, pigeons, and ducks for sale. On the other hand, people didn't have the discipline to queue. I had queued for three hours in the fall of 1986 in a queue of three metres, but I bought two ducks. I was like a fish on dry land, surrounded by so many people – that was claustrophobic! I queued for everything I could to send packages for my parents in Făgăraș, where everything was on cards. I was sent to Slatina, as the regime was mocking those with cultural information so that I forgot Spanish, ancient Greek... It was lucky that I made some acquaintances at the book parcel post, and I had access to literature, fiction that I gave to some "administrators" of food storage who were the "gods of the public nutrition". Many people stole electricity or made their own electrical generators. In 1988 I fell into depression and I only went to the high school where I was a teacher of history; the rest of the time I simply stayed at home and thought of subversive projects. Although I lived close to the centre of the town, I despised going there, as there was a mosaic with the Ceaușescu couple freeing the doves of peace. However, please tell us about your evasion "spaces"...*

ZP: It wasn't easy to escape that reality, that's true. I had over 17 hours of teaching per week, and half of them were not propitious to evasion, as they were lessons on the history of homeland and party. It is true that I lingered upon the previous centuries and spent little time on the period after 1923. The dean – Gh. Ioniță, then Iulian Cârțână – figured it out and threatened to come and check if we respect the syllabus. I was teaching at the Philology, Foreign Languages Department and after the revolution I went to say good-bye to my students, as there were nice and very good, cultured and interesting pupils. One of them told me: "We were seeing clearly what you were doing, but did you see what we were doing in our places?"

On the other hand, the courses of ancient history were a vital refuge. I didn't have a reason to quote and to praise Ceaușescu; moreover, I could spend time on some rather subversive subjects: I taught courses about tyrants, and the students were all ears when I was telling them about tyrant's wives or punished hubris. Another entertainment was Latin epigraphy, where we studied honorific epithets of the emperors, especially from the Late Empire: Magnus, Magnificus, Felicissimus, Invictissimus, Inlustrissimus...

As a refuge, I started studying the ancient sources regarding the Dacians, as I thought that a research of the sources of these sources and their means of transmitting – what is called *Quellenforschung* – may be important to correct the common nationalistic tattle. I found very interesting and unprecedented aspects, and then the revolution came and I naively believed that Thracianomania would disappear together with Ceaușescu. Alas, I found out that this was an illusion, so I restarted my research and published *Practica nemuririi* [*The Practice of Immortality*]. And then I was wrong again, as the majority of the cultured public and even a great part of my colleagues were so comfortably installed in stereotypes and so fascinated by Eliade and Zamolxis that I may have been convincing only for few of them. I heard that Alexandru Vulpe tried unsuccessfully to support my book for Academy's prize; and the same happened with the book of Dan Dana, an iconoclast one as well. In this way, what was a refuge became a war theatre after 1989.

As for other ways of escape from reality, reading was always a great art of my life, but I believe that I surpassed my records during those years. I remember that the Library of Academy was glacial in those winters as an ice pack...

Watching video was a miracle though. My father bought the first video, and then my friend, Lia Lupaș, sent me another one after my fathers' death. I was to sell it and to pay my debts. I kept the video and sold some items from home – a painting that I disliked – so that we were richer than ever at the revolution of December 1989. I tutored to afford to buy food on the black market. I didn't have acquaintances like you, but I had a domestic help, who was an innate merchant, with bosom friends in any grocery in Bucharest. When we had money, we had meat, cheese and cold cuts; otherwise, there were potatoes, pasta and

polenta... I can't say that I queued a lot, as my boys understood the situation – it was better for all of us that I tutored instead of freezing queuing.

As for the video, it was manna for us – the boys had many friends and the tapes circulated with an incredible speed. I remember watching *The Name of the Rose* only a few months after the premiere abroad. I can't remember how many years we hadn't watched the TVR programs, but I can tell that the first thing I did in November 20, 1989, at 7.30 pm without even taking my coat off was to watch the news (Telejurnal). I was expecting to see Ceaușescu's defeat at the Communists' party Congress...

I have a small story about queuing and another one about money. I once went to Hala Traian for shopping and near the butcher's shop I saw a crowd and agitation. When I got there, I learned that a lady got a piece of meat that was not so fresh, and she was outraged, then other potential buyers were on her side, when the butcher – a fat guy, red as a lobster and with small eyes, as if he was related to his goods – snapped at them: "What? Do you imagine this is Poland?" I told the incident to my friend Bronislaw Geremek and we were both amazed about the clear political conscience of socialist butchers.

Probably if my parents and grandparents didn't raise me the way they did, I would have had money back in those days, and perhaps even today. I tutored a pupil, who came from Craiova, and among all pupils I had, she was by far the weakest; intellectually, I mean, otherwise, she was rather fat, ugly and especially vulgar. She did try her luck at the university, but in vain, as she didn't know a thing, let alone history; she was writing with terrible mistakes and I felt a discomfort to take their money when the case was hopeless. I told her mother, but she begged me "to give it another try", assuring me that they have enough money, because her husband was selling terylene pants in the market in Craiova and he had a lot of buyers.

The next week I had the palpable proof, as the father came with a big bag and he told me that the bag is mine if I can guarantee that his daughter becomes a student. The bag was packed with cash, as in gangster movies. I threw them out – father, daughter, and bag – so that I would never know if there was a million in that bag – or less. What I know is that the girl was admitted as a student during the next autumn, at the Philosophy Faculty.

MG: *How many existential asymmetries! You were opening for us a lively world by teaching about the ancient Greeks. That was a form of evasion for me, your student. Those seminars, the theatre, concerts from the Athenaeum, Cinematheque... It was the beginning of the last Ceaușist decade. I couldn't have imagined that you had such moments and terrible humiliations!*

To be completely honest, I have wondered frequently why you weren't among the academicians. And Mr. Lucian Boia, as well. And I see clearly that the Romanian historiography returned to traditionalism. The generosity of the '90s had discontinuities despite the "historiographical avant-garde" stimulated by you, Lucian Boia, Pompiliu Teodor, Alexandru Duțu, Al. Zub. Even nowadays the historians who approach the cultural history are considered marginal – neither historians, nor men of letters. This is a common opinion. As for iconoclast books, several young people are writing such books, and most of them are Ph.D. theses. Some of them are remarkable and surprising, but such books may be the first and the last ones, as the writers may be confronted with the intellectual unemployment due to a great potential and no institutional opening for them. And this is another silent Romanian tragedy. The "bureaucracy" of the academic milieu, the group interests, and the so-called "tradition" kill the innovation. There are young people who completed significant research projects in centres of research in Europe and then they have no continuity, no support and no future. And then I ask myself, and here I paraphrase ironically a "nefarious" sentence: "What Is to Be Done?"

ZP: You touched a painful aspect. And it is not the fact that I am not a member of the Romanian Academy; it doesn't matter. I don't pretend that the grapes are sour, like in the fable, but I can't say either that being a member of a scholar society that voted for the orthographical reform and imposed it despite the arguments of the Linguistic Institute does interest me. An Academy that doesn't care about the scientific opinion of an entire research institute doesn't deserve its name. Several months after the revolution, when Alexandru Elian, Maria Holban, Pompiliu Teodor, Șerban Papacostea, Cornelia Bodea or Alexandru Zub became members of the Academy, when the President of the History Section was Pippidi, my place was not yet among

this formidable group, but I hoped that one day it will be; things changed however, rapidly, and not for the better, so that now I don't suffer at all for not being in it. The painful part refers only to the extremely conservative, even reactionary manner of researching history nowadays. When the obligation to offer more or less materialistic interpretations disappeared, the historians considered they have the right or even the duty to give up **any** interpretation, returning cheerfully to the positivist pattern. I have read many innovative works of my former students, but most of the colleagues of my generation consider themselves liberated from the burden of seeking significances. As for the cultural history, this is an area where I renounced fighting. When the historical bibliography was published in Bucharest by "Nicolae Iorga" Institute, I wasn't even on the list of authors; only when it was moved to Cluj, I won the privilege to be considered a historian.

MG: *Some final thoughts, what about the way you relate to your writings? What are your current scientific projects? May I ask about some details of your intellectual habits? Is there a history of these specific customs? Pompiliu Teodor mentioned the hygiene of work... I don't have it and I am sorry to write only when I have the mood or inspiration, but I don't have the self-discipline of a historian.*

ZP: Projects? I expect now the publication of two studies of mine: one about Thucydides and myths, following Cornford's wonderful book from 1907 – *Thucydides Mythistoricus* – and the other one on a subject that concerned me a lot during the last years – the cultural life of archaic cities. Due to a series of events, both are published in Constanța. I have also some major projects for the future, but I don't know if I can face them. I am going to share more when they are closer to materialization.

Regarding the intellectual habits, I may say that I have rather adjustments to exterior circumstances. The most stable habit was until recently working during the first hours of the day when everyone else was asleep and only my sons' fish, dogs or hamsters were keeping me company. I have a pleasant remembrance of these silent hours when the coffee smell accompanied the jubilation of expressing ideas rather well. I don't have that enthusiasm anymore, and the house is silent anyway. Maybe I lost something from that impulse that woke me up at dawn. I have only coffee now; I let myself convinced to give up

smoking, even though I don't know if it was better for me, or my writing.

Otherwise, from my university years I haven't ceased reading scholarly books and papers. Ancient history and culture is an area with lasting traditions; the risk to write something that my predecessors wrote better is always present. On the other hand, when you are preoccupied not only with a factual history, but with a history of the imaginary, you know that the battle of Salamina or Tapae can't be deciphered if you don't attempt to retrace Greek and Persian, Dacian and Roman way of thinking. And this requires a lot of time, and of reading.

I read an excellent text of Vintilă Mihăilescu in *Dilema* several years ago about

"Slow science" that refuses this prolific species of academic Taylorism or Stakhanovism, if you prefer, a sort of Chaplin's *Modern times* in the process of knowledge, but with no Chaplin to gibe. What is questioned is the myth of the sovereign productivity, partaken from economy and imposed to knowledge, perverting thus its inner nature and even affecting its real "productivity" (*Dilema veche* no. 396, 15-21 September 2011). This is not so much an alibi for my laziness, but a serious critique of knowledge transformed into fast-food.

MG: *Thank you for sharing all this.*

Translated by Olga Grădinaru

