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TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. STUDIES. HISTORY, MEMORY, OBLIVION. MUSEUMS AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS AS "SPACES" OF REMEMBRANCE

B. REVIEWS, SCIENTIFIC EVENTS

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

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A. STUDIES

HISTORY, MEMORY, OBLIVION. MUSEUMS AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS AS "SPACES" OF REMEMBRANCE

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ENTANGLED OBJECTS: THE PLACE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTIFACTS IN PAST COLLECTIONS AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MODERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS

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Abstract: *The paper is an attempt to trace the traditions that formed leading trends of displaying objects in archaeological museums. The main point of interest is the meaning of archaeological artifact in past collections. It is proposed to understand an archaeological artifact as a nostalgic souvenir that accumulates past, according to Johann Joachim Winckelmann's notions about aesthetics of fragment and ruin. Also described is the scientific significance of archaeological object that complies with the pre-modern theory of archaeology (typology and evolutional development). Finally, archaeological artifact is framed by the processes of commoditization that had taken place when the 19th century antiquarian market was in the peak of its popularity. The main thesis suggests that all perceptional models held archaeological artifact in the realm of aesthetics and this well-grounded tradition contributed to establishing the everlasting paradigms of exhibiting. The text also aims at underlining the wider sense of archaeological artifact – not only understood in terms of artistic or historic value, but above all – framed as a tool, functional past thing with rich biography reaching not only to the phase of usage, but also encompassing the post-depositional context. Methodologically, the paper is inspired by concepts manifested and promoted by new materialists.*

Keywords: *artifact, archaeological exhibition, archaeological museum, archaeological collection, new materialism, turn to things*

Archaeological artifacts create a grandiose group of different objects. Here, I will consider merely the set of objects that could be called "things" and placed easily in museums. That is partially because, on the methodological field, I would like to focus on ideas and concepts presented by the group of archaeologists named new materialists. By the term "things" according to archaeology I understand a broad branch of matters that descended from discoveries and excavations. Thus, listed are coins, tools, spindles, sculptures, pottery, jewellery, armour and more. A quick glance at names of those objects shows us, first and foremost, their variety. All those are linked together because of their archaeological context or simply because of being discovered accidentally or during the excavations. Those notions seem to be crucial when we reflect upon ontology of archaeological artifact. What is essential, while speaking about an artifact presented on archaeological exhibition, context constitutes and validates the exhibit's meaning. For the most, archaeological context is responsible for the morphology of unearthed objects. When diligently examining the object's appearance, we can learn about the technique, function, material form and creator, but context forms the story that is hidden behind an individual artifact – its linkage to other objects and to people, not only the past users, but also the discoverers.

Until today, archaeology, the discipline that should be things-centred, was immersed in paradigms that mistrusted objects and pushed them aside. Very famous "searching for the Indian behind the artifact" contributed to the loss of the main point of reference in archaeology – vibrant and dynamic object full of senses and meanings. The heterogeneous artifact comes back with the philosophical turn to things and new materialism. Studies led by prominent researchers open up new perspective on revising the work of archaeology (Olsen 2013, Olsen *et al.* 2012, Witmore 2014). According to recent ideas, archaeologists propose to focus on entities, not on processes (Witmore 2014, 11). Artifacts should be understood as aggregates and assemblages that refer to other objects and ideas (Witmore 2014, 5, 8; Olsen 2013; Olsen *et al.* 2012, 181). In this way, new materialists refer to Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory. Furthermore, they propose reversed reasoning in archaeology – "past-as-it-was" is not a starting point of research, but rather an outcome of study (Witmore 2014, 11). The significance of object is also widened by the concept of material memory (Olsen, Pétursdóttir

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2014). Whole range of approaches inspires to undertake complex studies on artifacts' materiality. The results of object-oriented philosophy in archaeology are mostly encouraging and engaging. For instance – artifacts' biographies take into account the studies on perception of artifacts throughout the ages, not only in the exact time of use (Holtorf 1998). A broader concern for archaeological artifacts gives us a fuller insight in the past. By implementing new theories we may construct an image of artifact that is a vibrant and dynamic structure. As was proposed by Cornelius Holtorf (Holtorf 1998, 2013), the life of an artifact may be divided into phases. One is connected to its primal function; the other links to post-depositional context. Deep focus on artifacts allows us to see individual properties of an object that relate to its usage and to its deposition. This provides concentration on the material memory and the morphological changes according to idea of pastness (Holtorf 2013) – or to simplify – aging, that constitute the nature of archaeological object. By following listed suggestions, an individual artifact with its own morphology, properties and history is reachable and closer to our reality.

The exact knowledge about artifacts and reflection on their being as things should be the basis for any archaeological exhibition (Alberti 2005; Pearce 2006a, 9; Pearce 2006c, 126). The problems with defining the matter of presentation influences the ways of constructing the exhibition (Swain 2007, 10). Undefined or partially specified object of display generates imperfect vision of exhibited subject. Leading trends in archaeological museums are, unfortunately, still immersed in very traditional and sometimes anachronistic paradigms of exhibiting that reveal very selective approach to object's meaning. Many displays are based on old-fashioned patterns – like for example typological presentations in glass-cases and cabinets. Just like with recent turn to things in archaeology, in museum studies researchers are trying to establish a brand new order. "Museum materialities" (Dudley 2010) with studies undertaken by Susan Pearce more than ten years ago (Pearce 2006a, 2006b, 2006c) push to reconsider the exhibited matter. For the most, materialists in museums advocate engaged displays (Dudley 2010, 6) and strong relations with visitors (Swain 2007, 12), that turn away from passive and merely visual model of exhibiting rooted in the 19th century traditions (Classen, Howes 2006, 207-208; Dudley 2010, 9). To achieve those goals, academics and museologists propose to apply biographical models of exhibiting (Alberti 2005; Dudley 2010, 4; Pearce 2006a) and broaden the meanings of single object (Dudley 2010, 2-7) – thus they transfer the methodological ideas that stand behind the new theory of archaeology to the museum studies.

To effectively move away from old patterns, a reflection on archaeological exhibit in past collections is necessary. Exhibiting archaeology has a long, but still incompletely written history (Pearce 1990, 8). The birth of interest in archaeology dates back to the 15th century (Impey, MacGregor 1987, 2) and is linked to the growing popularity of collecting. Renaissance humanists were fascinated with past because of Christian concern for time and place (Pearce 1990, 7), protestant ethos (Pearce 1990, 7; Vickers 1987, 223) and development of knowledge about ancient cultures (Pearce 1990, 7). The first archaeological artifacts gathered by enthusiasts of Antiquity were placed in *studiolos*, *Kunstkammern*, *Wunderkammern* and later – *Antiquitaetenkammern*. Chapters from this history are well-known and researched (Pomian 1987, Impey MacGregor 1987). Closed and private chambers of curiosities and art works functioned as world's metaphor, *theatrum mundi* – "universe theatre" (Schulz 2006, 178). Their significance in history of museums and archaeology cannot be overestimated; however, the turning point in establishing leading paradigms of exhibiting archaeological seems to date back to the second half of the 18th century.

Historically, the second half of the 17th century is full of archaeologically significant events. Starting from the discovery of Pompeii and ending with the establishment of the biggest public museums with statutory collections of archaeological artifacts, the last decades before modernity gave birth to ideas that contributed to certain concepts that shaped 19th century archaeological museums. Among the most influential intellectual trends I would list two that formed the state of archaeological displays and set up a still valid tradition of perceiving artifacts. Nostalgic cult of fragment and ruin reinforced by Johann Joachim Winckelmann's writings and the development of archaeology as an academic discipline seems to be decisive in establishing powerful and almost everlasting paradigms of presenting archaeology.

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Jean Starobinski underlines the importance of nostalgic remains from past as a leitmotif that formed the sensibility in the 19th century. In one short sentence, he sums up the longing for past that characterized people living at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries – he writes that to sense the past in paintings is risky, but still there is a possibility to feel it – directly through contact with past objects, because their presence in itself tells us about lost past (Starobinski 2006, 197). This return to things, in the 18th and 19th century is realized by appreciating ruins, collecting artifacts and surrounding with past objects. In the 19th century this approach to old things had grown up to the concept of modern cult of artifacts proposed by Alois Riegl. For Riegl, the value of past object is constructed by its possibility to accumulate time in itself (Piwocki 1970, 134-170). The cult of artifact theorized by Riegl could have not emerged so strongly without the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann dated back to the 18th century. Winckelmann, named the first historian of art (Davis 2009, 35), but also a pioneer in archaeological connoisseurship, contributed to the reinforcement and scientific validation of sentimental enchantment by ruins. In his writings, the most visible is the appraisal of the idea of fragment that accumulates the great history of Antiquity. What had lasted after the ages is the powerful semiophore (Pomian 2006) that saves the memory about past in fragmental form, resulting from the passage of time. Winckelmann's approach to the souvenirs from the past reformulated the cognition of objects. Ancient artifacts were perceived aesthetically, with no interest in the archaeological context, that in fact was responsible for their romantic and nostalgic appearance of a ruin or fragment (Hamilakis 2013, 49). Winckelmann's notions are also quite important according to specific modes of studying in archaeology. Iconographical examination started to be a fundamental activity in establishing chronological order of things (Olsen *et al.* 2012, 172). Thus, what is clearly seen as Winckelmann's input in archaeological studies seems to be the aesthetic approach towards artifacts (González-Ruibal 2013, 17) charged with seeing them as sentimental souvenirs from irrevocably gone past.

Iconological study, as I mentioned, was – and still is – a part of reasoning in archaeology. Other important methodological tools established in the similar time that serve archaeologists till today are typology, stratigraphy and technological evolution (Olsen *et al*. 2012, 38). Precisely, this trinity gave birth to academic archaeology. New methods proposed in the 19th century seek for legitimization of emerging discipline. And there were museums that helped first theoretical tools to constitute archaeology as an independent scientific branch (Olsen *et al.* 2012, 40, 42). Archaeological theses were visualized in museums – thus, typology and the belief in evolutional development begun to function as the leading trends in constructing archaeological exhibitions. Artifacts were presented in glass-cases and cabinets provided with short information about name, chronology and sometimes provenance. Typological way of writing and presenting archaeology gave and still gives the image of "order of time" (Olsen *et al.* 2012, 42; Olsen 2013, 173), where objects start to function merely as signs on time axis. Narrow understanding of artifact is a direct effect of employing typology to prove scientific thesis about evolutional development.

According to this short introduction of the two leading trends that formed important chapters in the history of archaeology in the 19th century, I would like to reflect upon the place and meaning of an individual object in past collections or museums, because their influence is still visible on today's displays in archaeological museums. With the help of examples that I am most familiar with – Polish history of collecting antiquities, I would like to set three categories that suit the 19th century models of perceiving artifacts: semiophores, scientific representations and commodities. I would like to prove that all of those schemes of artifacts' valuation are immersed in the dominance of visual paradigm (Classen, Howes 2006, 207-208) and thus are founded on aesthetic premises.

The category that seems to be the most common for the 19th century's collectors is created by a group of archaeological artifacts perceived as nostalgic souvenirs from irrevocable past. Immersed in the 18th century's sensibility, inspired by Winckelmann's cult of fragment fully expressed in the description of Torso (Davidson 1868), this approach forms an attitude that searches in objects the value of oldness. Aging and pastness, visible in object's morphology are in itself aesthetically appreciated. Artifacts appraised this way show also a popular trend for classicists and for the most – romantics – the historical escapism, where the object stands as a transmitter of past, which the collector wants to

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enter. Artifact can be here easily grasped as semiophore – an object that inherited a cultural significance is excluded from the processes of usage, is exhibited and protected (Pomian 2006, 121-122). According to this way of comprehending the archaeological remain, collecting may be understood as John Elsner writes: "collecting is inherently a cult of fragments, a sticking together of material bits that stand as metonyms and metaphors for the world they may refer to but are not" (Elsner 1994, 155). Semiophore that should link the collectors from the 19th century to the idea of great past, was in fact an object of pure illusion that helped to create mythical and imaginary realms.

The category of "antiquities" often appears in descriptions and inventories of the 19th century Polish collections. The lists are built with varied objects such as aesthetically appreciated sculptures and vases with iconographical scenes, but also small miscellaneous artifacts like pins, keys, stamps, armoury, lamps and small figurines (Mikocki 1990, 124-160). In collections of Polish king Stanislaw August Poniatowski and aristocratic families like Lubomirskis or Radziwiłłs prevails the tendency to treat artifacts as decorative gadgets that sublimate the atmosphere of the ancient past (Mikocki 1990, 11-33). In reference to small objects, often classified as "varia", "miscellanea", "small objects of material culture", it is worth noting that they merely transmitted the value of pastness. Unlike grand sculptures and antic pottery with painted compositions, small and unimpressive artifacts had no specific meaning. Following Bjørnar Olsen's reflections on badly balanced interest in archaeology (Olsen 2013, 34), those small things should be once put in the centre of concern. In mentioned collections they functioned solely as elements of huge compositions that evoked the ambience of Antiquity. Familiarized in bygone interiors they acted as participants in theatre of illusion that was formed also by artificial ruins popular throughout Europe and classicist or historic style buildings. Their presence and usage was dictated by the idea of pastness promoted by Winckelmann. His notions about possibility of seeing past times in even, small, destroyed pieces contributed to creating aura of authenticity (Mikocki 1990, 66). What is important here, is the lack of data about those small agents in the inventories and catalogues. For example – in Helena Radziwiłłowa's collection there are no information about provenance or chronology of artifacts exhibited in her palace (Mikocki 1990, 61-62). Thus, the reflection on scientific value of ancient remains is absent. What was the most alluring for many collectors stemmed from the cult of piece and object's capability of accumulating time that were stable components of pre-modern sensibility and strongly related to historical escapism. As I suggested before, the perceptional trend emanated from purely aesthetic notions about ruins.

Different premises arose from scientific approach to archaeological objects. The perceptional model assumes conscious way of collecting objects with the purpose of scientific elaboration. Approach is formed by Enlightenment's encyclopedism, the scientific progress in the 19th century and mentioned before – introduction of archaeology as an academic discipline with specific theoretical tools as typology, stratigraphy and evolutional development. Among the most distinguished collectors, also granted because of their merits for the growth of museums in Poland, were Stanislaw Kostka Potocki, Stanislaw Poniatowski and the family of Działyński with very famous figure of Isabel Działyńska, daughter of Polish Prince Adam Czartoryski. In case of the first collector, the owner of Wilanów palace in Warsaw, motivation towards gathering ancient objects and leading the excavations in Nola, Italy (Mikocki 1990, 36) was driven by the ambition to translate Winckelmann's *oeuvre* "History of Ancient Art". His collection was well-considered and there was no place for random objects, typical for sentimental collectors. The same motivation of assembling stood behind Stanislaw Poniatowski, who focused on Egyptian pottery and gems and prepared some papers about it (Mikocki 1990, 79). The most prominent person in scientifically-oriented program of collecting and also displaying was Isabel Działyńska, who saw her collection as social and artistic merit open for any research (Marek 1994, 3). Each purchase made by her was consulted with a specialist – the famous archaeologists and connoisseurs of Antiquity helped Działyńska to establish one of the biggest and most valuable collections of antiquities in Poland. Besides the consultations with – for example – curators from Louvre (Kłudkiewicz 2014, 203), Działyńska commissioned famous researchers to study and describe artifacts in detail. Jean de Witte, archaeologist and numismatist was responsible for vases and pottery (Kłudkiewicz 2014, 204-205), Francois Lenormant, professor of archaeology examined small artifacts and coins (Kłudkiewicz 2014, 204-205). In her castle in Gołuchów there was a

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curator, who was sent by Działyńska to France and Italy, where he had the chance to learn about modern exhibitions (Marek 2004, 64.). Collection was provided with catalogue and library (Marek 2004, 64). Artifacts were, not surprisingly, presented according to scientific trends in archaeology. Listed like in typological description, rows of objects proved the evolutional scheme of development. Typology, commonly used by 19th century collectors and curators, creates the spatial image of time, where single object is merely an element that contributes to establishing evolutional "order of things" (Olsen 2013, 173). This kind of treating an artifact is overloaded with typical for European culture interest in time (Pearce 1990, 7) and expresses also the ignorance towards its being in itself. In typological reasoning there is no place for reflection upon morphology, structure or function and past usage of an object. Thus, scientific approach towards objects may be concerned as the visual legitimization of specific theoretical concepts that in the 19th century were just in the state of early development.

The last category that I would like to set according to perception of archaeological artifacts in the 19th century is commodity. The category is drawn from Igor Kopytoff's cultural biographies of things (Kopytoff 1986). His considerations include insight in the past of objects, which is missing in typological narrations, but also introduces a context very important in these reflections – regarding object as a commodity that can be used and exchanged (Kopytoff 1986, 64). Supplementation of his theory with Heideggerian term "ready-to-hand" allows to speak about the process of commoditization of archeological artifacts in the 19th century. Heidegger defined "ready-to-hand" as a trait typical for beings that already exist (Heidegger 1996, 77) and that is discovered with the question "what for?" (Heidegger 1996, 78). In my reflections, archaeological artifact that has aesthetic value and scientific or just past meaning is enriched in commodity value. It cannot be neglected that intensive circulation of artifacts in the 19th century contributed to formation of antiquarian prices and thus made objects not only semiophores, but also perfect investments. Explicitly, this approach was realized by many collectors without well-specified program of assembling. In Polish history the most notable person who gathered artifacts with this kind of motivation was Prince Vladislav Czartoryski, brother of famous Isabel Działyńska. Studies undertaken by many researchers bring to light his chaotic purchases, dictated mostly by low prices and occasions coming out from the antiquarian market (Gorzelany 2010, 201). In his collection one may find very precious and high-quality artifacts, as well as uninteresting and rather mediocre objects. Unlike his sister, Prince Czartoryski was not engaged in any scientific cooperation and rarely consulted purchases. Czartoryski's motivation in collecting artifacts was based on seeing them as investments circulating on the market, with economic value depended on historical significance. To illustrate this approach I would also mention collectors' natural inclination to include prestigious and fashionable objects that correlated with the 19th century *antiquomanie* (Laurens, Pomian 1992). Precious artifacts were seen also as markers of high social status (Krajewski 2013, 119-120). A collection, because of economic value of single artifacts, provided a high status of the owner.

Presented categories of perception show no interest in other than aesthetic aspects of artifact's being. All of the presented approaches towards archaeological objects reveal very strong connection to visuality. As was noted by Constance Classen and David Howes: "The more that Europeans emphasized the distinction between the 'noble' sense of sight and the 'base' proximity senses, the less the latter were deemed suitable for the appreciation and understanding of art and artifacts. In contrast to the multi-sensorial modes of previous centuries, in the 1800s sight was increasingly considered to be the only appropriate sense for aesthetic appreciation for «civilized» adults" (Classen, Howes 2006, 207). Collections and museums in the 19th century became "empires of sight" (Classen, Howes 2006, 207). Winckelmann's writings shaped sensibility that was based on purely aesthetic notions, with no place for considerations on functions or biographies of examined and presented artifacts. Scientific attitude, promising as an alternative to sentimental perception of fragmented pieces, unfortunately also failed. Immersed in early theoretical archaeology – typology and evolutional development focused above all on chronological order, categorizing and searching for analogies. Typology in action, in museum worked in the 19th century according to thesis proposed by Classen and Howes: "Museums were important sites for testing and presenting visualizing scientific paradigms" (Classen, Howes 2006, 208). Still, the most important in proving archaeological theories was the sphere of

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visuality: "The «order of things» created through typological regulation contributed to the serial image of time moving between discrete moments" (Olsen *et al.* 2014, 42). Even the process of artifacts' commoditization brings to light visual approach – we must remember, that objects from the past were bought to be shown, to be presented, to legitimize the status of the owners, to represent their position in social hierarchy. Strong linkage of the 19th century collections and early-modern museums to visuality suggests concentration on aesthetic aspects of artifacts. Aesthetics of fragment, aesthetics of scientific representation and aesthetics of collecting as an activity (Sommer 2003, 11) permanently determined our approach to archaeological artifacts, that – as I noted at the beginning – are mostly simple things, and not always works of art inherited with aesthetic value.

As Chris Gosden remarks: "Notions of art and aesthetics have long been part of archaeological discussions, but few, if any, of these discussions focus on the links between objects, embodied experience and the senses. When discussions of art and aesthetics do take place in archaeology, they often have an untheorized look to them and revolve around issues of typology, dating and the transmission of style (…). Archaeology, which has always held material culture central, now has something of a gap in its tool-box of theories concerning the aesthetic appeal of objects to people under given cultural circumstances" (Gosden 2001, 163). This aesthetic charge rooted in the 19th century visuality and paradigms mentioned in the text shaped traditions of presenting archaeology even now.

What I propose now is a quick glance at prevailing exhibition trends in archaeological museums. As was noted by Hedley Swain, artistic presentations and socio-historical narrations are still leading on displays (Swain 2007, 37). Swain's division correlates with Peter Vergo's elaboration of exhibitions (Vergo 1989). Vergo in "The New Museology" describes two types of displays – artistic and contextual. Artistic presentations are realized in archaeological museums by using typology. Vergo underlines that artistic displays are hermetic ones, dedicated to specialized visitors, exclusive (Vergo 1989, 48). Contextual exhibitions also popular in archaeological museums show an artifact with loads of additive materials – texts, maps, diagrams and often reduce the meaning of materiality and authenticity of exhibit (Vergo 1989, 48-51). None of those types of displays are interested in ontology of archaeological artifacts, in their wide meaning, in their biographies.

With the help of material turn we can pose new questions to exhibitions and open up perspectives on understanding the significance of single artifacts. According to Sven Ouzman's words: "We need to consider how objects work and what their rights might be. Objects, places, and people have typically «messy» biographies that offer points of attachment for a wide range of sensory engagement. Archaeology's two strengths, materiality and context, can productively expose significant ruptures in master narratives through archaeologies of archive that ask how objects come to be collected and displayed (or not) and at what cost" (Ouzman 2006, 269). Ouzman's reflection, as well as Susan Pearce's (Pearce 2006a, 2006b) or Samuel Alberti's (Alberti 2005) notions about the biographies of things, push to reconsider presented matter. Leading paradigms in museums ignore the issues of materiality and context. Thus, they do not show the meanings that constitute the idea of archaeological artifact. Artifact, regardless of artistic or contextual type of presentation, is being reduced to its visual sphere and grasped because of its aesthetic value or scientific information. There is no place for showing function and post-depositional history that formed the exact shape and state of discovered artifact. Very narrow understanding of artifacts on displays reveals ignorance towards "simple and useful" things (Olsen 2013, 165). In Heideggerian terms, artifacts are historical things – useful, but in the world that was and no longer is (Heidegger 1996, 381). Even according to Heidegger who stands often as inspiration for new materialists, object is constituted not only by historical value, but also past function, which refers to the bygone world. Function, as well as technology and also creator or user may be reread in morphology of object, in its materiality. Materiality is also a source of information about deposition, the time when artifact is independent from human's actions and agency.

Thus, it is needed to reconsider the current state of archaeological art of exhibiting. Following new materialists and all of those, who are turned to things, we may present artifacts that are moving, full of meaning, pulsating and vibrant matters. Simple things and tools, provided with archaeological context, presented by "messy biographies" seem to fit better the today's vision of archaeology than nostalgic souvenirs gathered

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by romantic collectors and overloaded with merely aesthetic meaning.

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FROM THE ELIZABETHAN CABINET OF CURIOSITY TO THE VICTORIAN OLD CURIOSITY SHOP

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***Abstract**: To celebrate 450 years since Shakespeare's birth, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington opened an exhibition of curiosities entitled "Shakespeare's The Thing" containing the collectors' "favourite" displays in Shakespeare collections – objects, books, and pictures. This paper looks at how the notion of the "curiosity" itself evolved from the early cabinets and the things of wonder recorded by the Elizabethan literary texts, most prominently Shakespeare's plays, to the 19th century, when the conspicuous display gained a commercial dimension, epitomized by Dickens in the novel The Old Curiosity Shop (1841). The survey uses pieces of canonical English literature to observe the cultural history of the "curiosity" and the object generating awe and wonder, its displayers and consumers from the Renaissance to the Victorian age, as well as to investigate the social or entertainment role performed by the monstrosity of the freak.*

***Keywords**: curiosity, display, freak, monstrosity, Shakespeare studies, Victorian studies, wonder*

Introduction

In 2014, when the world celebrated 450 years since Shakespeare's birth, the Folger Shakespeare Library organized an exhibition entitled "Shakespeare's the Thing" (www.folgerpedia.folger.edu), which tried to recreate the patterns of display of early modern cabinets of curiosities, offering wide-ranging, often unexpected associations of objects remotely related to Shakespeare's legacy and appropriation, from rare translations of plays in exotic languages, musical scores, to printed editions of set designs for plays by famous painters, and many others. In 2016, when we celebrate 400 years since the Bard's death, united under the motto proposed by the BBC, the British Council and other cultural forums, "Shakespeare Lives in 2016", this paper wants to investigate the evolution of the curiosity and the thing of wonder, in its positive or negative sense, from the early modern period, when man's fascination for such things was first recorded on a massive scale, to the 19th century, the age of the climax and decline in popularity of the curiosity, or the "freak", as it came to be known. This evolution is studied with the help of canonical literary texts, which best define the two periods. At one end – Shakespeare, whose "wonder" and its objects sweep through all the plays, being recorded in the Concordances no fewer than one hundred times. At the other end – Charles Dickens, with a novel that enjoyed tremendous popularity when it was published, even if, nowadays, it is not regarded as immediately canonical, like *Bleak House* (1853) or *Great Expectations* (1861). *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841) is an example of how the conspicuous display of wonders gained a commercial dimension in the Victorian age in several ways, one being the shop that lends the novel its title, another being the gallery of human curiosities displayed by the writer in true realistic style.

The cabinet of curiosity – an inventory

The cabinets of curiosity, or of wonder, or the wonder rooms became popular in Renaissance Europe, an age with encyclopedic ambitions, in which the number of people of great wealth and solid education increased, thus favouring the development of such fashions. Monarchs, aristocrats, very rich merchants and very ambitious intellectuals and men of science developed an interest in such "cabinets", which ranged from a simple piece of furniture, a room or a gallery, to a whole building or palace full of objects on display. These objects had a bewildering variety, ranging from natural history, archaeology, religion, art, and the Antiquity. The original cabinet of curiosity was not concerned with any categorization, the collections thus always having a random, arbitrary appearance of a bric-a-brac agglomeration.

Like most Renaissance endeavours, the wonder room had the ambition of being a *theatrum mundi*, a theatre of the world (Mauriès 2011), which illustrated the owner's desire to demonstrate his knowledge of the world, his quest for

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omniscience. These were all private collections, but they opened for a select public, made up of the patron's important guests, who showed a similar desire for an accumulation of knowledge of the world or who had to be impressed by the owner's power, measured in the number of objects collected or the size of the furniture and rooms hosting these collections. The cabinets were often libraries (built-in cabinets), with books and albums, containing drawings and sketches of natural history or herbariums, rare manuscripts with information about things of wonder, as precious as the things themselves. If, initially, only natural or "real" objects were considered worthy of display, later many man-made objects were added, either with an aesthetic or ethnographic value, or rare examples of mechanics and manufacturing, such as clockwork.

One of the most important features of the cabinet of curiosity was its mixture of fact and fiction (Mauriès 2011): while many of the objects displayed were real, others were faked. This stemmed from man's desire for the sensational but also from his limited knowledge, the result of combined factors – the scarce travel possibilities, the slow circulation of information, the lack of or small degree of advancement in science. Consequently, the objects on display which are very "rare" were sometimes things whose rarity could be easily explained scientifically nowadays but which, in early modern times, was considered extraordinary and mysterious. On other occasions, the objects, especially those belonging to natural history, were fake rarities which were supposed to demonstrate the existence of mythical or monstrous creatures – one such example is the narwhal's tusk, which was often "recognized" as belonging to a unicorn, as proof of its existence in the real world. It is true, however, that most of these objects were indeed collected during genuine exploring expeditions or voyages outside the confines of the familiar Western European world.

The functions of the cabinet of wonder can be easily guessed: they were representational, facilitating the display of status, aesthetic, with an inclination for the exotic, but also scientific and educational. Even when they were meant for entertainment, it was a learned entertainment that was promoted (Davenne 2012), since such cabinets were frequented by people who belonged to the true humanist tradition. The collections often contributed to the development of science, when reproductions of these curiosities were published and circulated among a more or less wide circle of learned men. Moreover, the fact that the original cabinets lacked clear categorization, being arbitrary juxtapositions of corals, icons, skulls and clocks, for example, proved beneficial, since this encouraged comparisons: analogies and parallels between various historical periods, various geographical areas, various fields of natural history, various types or branches of science, etc. This was a crucial element, since it gave more dynamism to man's view of the world and taught people that their ambition to know everything was impossible to achieve, even if the microcosmic effort of organizing a cabinet in one's private residence did manage to shed some light on the mysteries of the macrocosm.

Shakespeare's things of wonder, between admiration and repulsion

Shakespeare's England was no stranger to the fashion of the cabinets, which the country imported from Italy during the Elizabethan age. Courtiers and influential aristocrats travelled extensively themselves or had agents who operated for them in foreign countries and thus were able to come up with rare collections from exotic places, which enhanced their fame and prestige and put them in an advantageous position in relation to the sovereign herself, as Queen Elizabeth I was reputed for "taking pleasure in strange curios" (Doran, Jones 2011). Observers of Elizabethan high society life noted that, while the Queen was proud to show a stuffed bird of paradise, a huge whale rib, and an impressive collection of peacock feathers, other important Londoners' collections from China, Africa and the New World had become genuine tourist attractions for important visitors to Elizabeth's court. But these collections of rarities were doubled by art collections, which the owners purchased on the European markets themselves or via agents who made bids on their behalf. Thus, Italian and Flemish paintings, expensive altarpieces and rare illustrated manuscripts arrived in London to sit on the same shelves with the tusks of sea bears and the busts and portraits of notorious and controversial personalities.

In this context, Shakespeare's own display of curiosities in his plays can be explained in the context of this insatiable desire to see and possess things of wonder, whether they are beautiful and artistic, or grotesque, loathsome and monstrous. It comes as no surprise that the word *wonder* itself appears in Shakespeare's plays 129 times, while plural forms and compound forms of this word

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appear yet another 67 times in the Concordances (www.opensourceshakespeare. org/concordance). According to Adam Max Cohen (2012), Shakespeare offers in most of his plays, especially the late romances, a genuine theatre of wonder, in which stage magic and religious awe were often overlapping, a quote from *The Tempest* being quite illustrative of this theory: "I might call him / a thing divine, for nothing natural / I ever saw so noble" (I, 2).

The Tempest is the play in which wonder is exploited more than anywhere else and that happens not only because Prospero is a reputed magician. From the very beginning, characters experience intense feelings of admiration and awe, which, according to the same Adam Max Cohen (2012, 28), has a critical role in the play, since it directs the audience towards "the affective end the play pursues". The special effects, operated not at a mechanical level, but at a word level, attract Miranda to witness the shipwreck and later see Ferdinand as an amazing creature, product of the brave New World. Ferdinand, who, unlike Miranda, has seen young human faces before, is just as perplexed by Miranda's sight, whom he takes for a goddess. Prospero's magic powers organize a stunning wedding masque for the two lovers, mainly in order to intimidate Ferdinand and put him under his control and coordination forever, though he does admit that both youngsters "are surprised by all" (III, 1), where surprise is a key aspect of wonder. Last but not least, Ariel's soft magic creates a fairytale-like atmosphere and Caliban's heritage from his mother Sycorax, a witch, helps him hear and understand the noises, the music of this fantastic island.

Another play which makes extensive use of wonder and its effect on both stage audience and the real audience in the theatre is *Winter's Tale*. The last act of the play shows such a concentration of faith and wonder that it is not matched by any other Shakespearean "trick". While in *Much Ado about Nothing* the stage audience is not aware of the background of Hero's pseudo-resurrection, but the real audience in the theatre is, in the *Winter's Tale*, neither audience is aware that Hermione is actually alive. So, when her faithful lady in waiting Paulina invites the king and his daughter to see a life size statue of the defunct queen, both the characters and we, the public, are taken aback when the statue comes to life and starts talking. After Leontes and Perdita admire the craft and talent of the sculptor who made such a faithful rendition of the woman they think lost, Paulina invites them, and us, to prepare for "more amazement" (V, 3) as she will make the statue "move indeed, descend / And take your hand" (V, 3) on one condition – that the romantics will later call suspension of disbelief, but which Shakespeare here deems an awakening of faith, an invitation, for the more suspicious spectators, to "Look upon with marvel" (V, 3).

Adam Max Cohen remarks on the uncomfortable link between magic and miracle working, where the former is, according to the strict religious standards of the time, to be categorically kept apart from the latter. There was, indeed, an early modern misconception that natural philosophy, so popular during the Renaissance, so interdisciplinary, as we might say now, and so related to the scholarly desire to acquire objects of wonder, was somehow related to black magic. Consequently, Paulina herself is hesitant in performing the trick that may be interpreted as witchcraft and assures her king that she is a Christian soul who has just brought life and art together to resurrect an angel, not a demon, who is the queen herself.

In a book on *Reading Cultural History in Shakespeare's Plays* (Percec 2014b, 147-177), I studied this curious private space which has been Hermione's shelter and prison for many years. This is the wonder room, which seems to be Paulina's private collection, containing a curiosity like no one has seen before, a statue which looks totally like Hermione, not as she was years ago, but as she might be now, a statue which is breathing, moving, and speaking. This intermediate space in which Paulina introduces Leontes and Perdita is first announced as a "gallery", quite understandably, since it accommodates a work of art. Chastely, Paulina calls it a "chapel", as the private space of a virtuous woman can be expected to be. King Leontes identifies it with a kitchen when he exclaims "If this is magic, let it be an art lawful as eating" (V, 3), where the "kitchen" is to be regarded in alchemic terms, as a place where substances are mixed in order to obtain something superior, perfect. We may easily call the room a cabinet of wonders since it contains the most notorious curiosity in all Shakespeare's plays – a pseudo-resurrection.

The display of wonder is not limited to positive and admirable curiosities. On the contrary, the narrative of monstrosities occupies a larger part in the economy of the plays, an excellent example being, again, *The Tempest*. "This thing of

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darkness I acknowledge mine" (V, 1) says Prospero, presenting the savage Caliban, half man, half fish, a mooncalf, a freckled monster, "not honour'd with a human shape" (I, 2), apparently not endowed with the gift of articulate speech, except when he wants to curse. He is presented as evil and insubordinate, because he tried to rape Miranda and refuses to obey Prospero's orders, and stupid because he takes Stephano, a mere servant, for a god and worships him. Prospero thinks his subhuman nature hosts a demon because he is the son of a witch who came on this island from Algiers. And, of course, his name is a pun on "cannibal" and recalls the alleged cruelty against humans that Caliban might harbor.

This article does not provide enough space for the defense of Caliban, in what has already become, for several decades of Shakespearean criticism, a post-colonial tradition, which suggests that the character is the most accurate reflection of white imperialistic propaganda, which was dawning in Shakespeare's time, with the discovery and appropriation of new territories across the Atlantic, for commercial and political purposes. I will therefore stick to the description of Caliban as an exotic thing which Prospero wants to possess and control. Prospero the magician is a true Renaissance collector. He has an impressive number of books, from which he has learned all about the visible and invisible world, and which he buries, for safe-keeping, when he leaves the island. But he is also a collector of souls, two pairs of which being Ariel, the good spirit, and Caliban the devil, on the one hand, Ferdinand and Miranda, on the other. He controls both pairs completely, scheduling their lives, ordering their obedience, making them respect and even fear him, initiating the chosen ones (Caliban is an exception) in the art of white magic.

Caliban's place in Prospero's collection of curiosities from the exotic island, probably somewhere in the Caribbean, signals yet another dimension of the phenomenon of accumulation of private collections of wonders. This relates to the endless catalogue of monstrous human and animal attractions which have always been fascinating for the public, illiterate or educated, child or adult. In general, the objects contained by the cabinets of curiosities reveal a fascination with alterity – gender, racial, religious, geographical, ethnic, linguistic, an alterity of species, etc. Early modern collections boasted displays such as the entire skin of a "Moor", the bearded or horned woman, the four-legged bird, "the mermaid" (Thornton Burnett 2002). These objects were meant to express an already forming discourse of Western superiority, that had the adult male white Christian at its centre, as well as a set of norms and rules that had been strictly obeyed for centuries of religious doctrine and were not to be abandoned even if the dawns of secularization were already visible. The symbolic, generic figure of the monster, of anything hybrid and different or difficult to explain and understand, was very powerful in the social imaginary of the early modernity. To explain the monstrous, says Mark Thornton Burnett (2002, 24) was "to provide a rationale for its existence, […] to demystify its status as cultural anomaly". The monsters, like everybody else, were measured against the norms that had been forever accepted, that were inscribed in the divinely appointed physical, psychical, moral, sexual standards. The monstrous is anything that happens against nature, any creature or object displaying a disproportion. If extreme deviations from nature were displayed in cabinets of curiosities – like deformed fetuses in glass jars and real or faked animals and plants with hybrid features – the more regular irregularities were condemned by society as similarly monstrous: drunkenness, prostitution, sodomy, vagabondage, treason, murder, ingratitude, and the list can go on endlessly.

More specifically, any monster was regarded as being the result of a transgression (like the incest, or an unlawful, even "unnatural" copulation). Caliban, to come back to the recent example, was the son of a witch and a devil, which is explanation enough for his sub-human nature (if Caliban is a pun on cannibal, it is also a pun on *Cambion*, the child of evil spirits and humans, in the terminology of witchcraft such as that provided by the famous *Malleus Maleficarum*, "The Hammer of the Witches"). In a book on early modern conceptions about maternity, Chris Laoutaris (2009) reminds us that one of the most frequent anxieties of procreation was that of the monstrous birth. Caliban, the baby monster, is a reflection of the curiosities displayed outdoors, in grottos and gardens, which were "politicized cabinets of wonders in which a maternalized and potentially monstrous nature was subjected to the regimen of natural historical investigation in the interests of colonial expansionism" (2009, 24). In this case, Prospero's island is an artificial garden or grotto populated by emblematic savages, who are the monstrous objects of the curious, civilized gaze.

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Fairy tales, but also medical treatises, pieces of folklore, sermons, and wonder books are full of stories about mothers miscarrying abnormal fetuses, or giving birth to "moles". While pregnancy is a frequent wish motif in fairy tales, reflecting the reality of pressure on consorts to produce healthy, preferably male, heirs, the disappointing outcome of conception and gestation is just as recurrent. This fact reflected, on the one hand, the popular obsession with monster births, but also the anxiety of society to secure viable succession from the top echelons to the most humble communities. According to Jo Eldridge Carney (2012, 50), stories of abnormal births are to be read as cautionary tales in the emerging Protestant tradition and can be regarded as instruments of the reforming mission taken on by the new church. Stories about women who give birth to animals reflect a cultural anxiety about reproduction, insufficiently known medically and thus uncontrollable. Another important observation made by Eldridge Carney (2012, 52) is that monstrous births usually imply an erased paternity: the kings and princes of fairy tales cannot forgive their consorts for the offence of a baby whose body does not follow the standards of beauty and health. While taking the credit for good children, the misshapen offspring is rejected as not their own flesh and blood. What is more, in fairy tales, husbands never check the (usually slanderous) rumours about the queens' delivery of a mole or cat, simply deciding to keep the event as secret as possible and have the failed mothers suffer the consequence of their inefficiency or, worse, transgression. Last but not least, fairy tales may focus extensively on the queen's misfortune, but the concern for the baby's state is usually inconsequential. Mothers deplore their own disgrace but give little thought to the sons and daughters they gave birth to.

Such a pattern is observed in one of the most debatable stories of kingship proposed by Shakespeare, the history of *Richard III*. Much has been written by Tudor historiography against the last Plantagenet king, including that Richard was born with teeth after two years spent in his mother's womb, that he was crookbacked, with a withered arm etc. (see Percec 2014a). Shakespeare does better than any historian, when he adds a limp and all sorts of other "disproportions" and when he has the female characters of the play call him the names of all known and abhorred animals: a hedgehog, a dog, a worm, a cur, a hell-hound, a toad. His mother, Duchess Cecily, following the pattern of queenship hit by the disaster and shame of monstrous birth, beweeps the day she gave birth to him, in a scene which most likely goes against objective history, in which Richard, the youngest of her five sons, was also the one who looked most like his father, the late Duke of York, dark, with a smaller, more fragile and effeminate frame. For Shakespeare, though, the story goes like this: "I have bewept a worthy husband's death / And lived by looking on his images: / But now two mirrors of his princely / semblance / Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death, / And I for comfort have but one false glass" (II, 2).

Here Shakespeare plays with the motif of the mirror, recurrent in the play, as Richard himself introduces this trope earlier, when he compares his brother Edward, known to have been very handsome and a notorious womanizer, with an "amorous looking glass" (I, 1). The two princely mirrors which are cracked in pieces, evoked by Duchess Cecily, contrasting one false glass, seem to echo a fairground game, in which the people are faced with distorted mirrors, in a gallery which is supposed to be both funny and scary. In Shakespeare's gallery of monstrous curiosities, Richard holds the leading position by far, a character whose villainous nature is enhanced by his physical deformities, so numerous that he could only possibly be a faked exhibit.

The curiosity shop as freak show

The evolution of the monstrous curiosity from bad omen in the early modern period to a public good destined for entertainment was gradual. The cabinet of wonder with its displays took two directions, consolidated in the 19th century. The first direction was the museum, a natural derivation of the wonder room, now open to the general public. The second direction, for the less learned curious, was the freak show.

The first national public museum in the world, with free admission, opened in 1759 in London, exhibiting the vast collection of 71.000 objects (books, manuscripts, natural specimens, antiquities, coins and medals, etc.) that Sir Hans Sloane, explorer, scholar, and collector, decided to leave to the English king and the British people upon his death. This place was the British Museum (Cavendish 2009). In the 19th century, other collections were added and the museum was made more appealing to the public through lectures, popular catalogues and guides, improved exhibitions of general interest.

The freak shows, which started to gain popularity in the 17th century, for smaller, more elitist groups

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of people, became one of the most widespread forms of entertainment during the Victorian period, enjoying special interest from the general public in English-speaking countries. More and more people were willing to pay a sum, neither small nor big, to see natural oddities with their own eyes, a privilege that had belonged only to the wealthy or very scholarly. This form of entertainment became a booming business in the mid nineteenth century (Grande 2010), the shows featuring "natural" freaks (midgets, hairy women, Siamese twins, "savages" from exotic lands) as well as artists with unusual talents (fire eaters, acrobats, contortionists). Apart from the living humans, freak shows continued the true tradition of the cabinets of curiosities, displaying strange natural specimens (like P.T. Barnum's famous – and faked – mermaid, in fact a giant fish to which a monkey's skull was attached), or plants and animals which had nothing unusual about them, except the fact that they were still completely unknown to the average European viewer.

As Rosemary Garland Thomson (1996, 2-16) argues, the frequency and popularity of the freak shows in the English-speaking world is to be understood in the context of imperial expansion, industrialization, scientific and medical advancement, increased leisure for more layers of society. First of all, freak shows were to be regarded in connection with British ideology and imperial imagery, displaying people from the colonized territories all over the world, with a view to building an identity discourse in which the Western civilized man defined himself against other ethnic, racial, religious groups. The show was thus a reminder of what privilege being British implied in comparison with representatives of alterity. Secondly, in a more and more secular 19th century, the freak show was a means of making the less educated individual familiar with natural history, medical trivia, or common scientific experiments. In the century of exploration, discoveries, and cartography, samples of the wide outer world were brought to the metropolis and displayed with pride. Last but not least, with the massive dislocation of population from the countryside to the city came a larger number of people who got in contact with the realities of the age and afforded to satisfy their curiosity. As the 19th century gave way to the 20th, freak shows began to decline because more and cheaper travel opportunities enabled people to see the wonders of the world where they belonged, on other continents, while the raised awareness about disability rights made people see the sideshows as undignified (Grande 2010). More medical knowledge also made people accept scientific explanations for the existence of freaks as individuals with a medical condition rather than as monsters (Garland Thomson 1996).

The public museum and the popular freak show offer the double backdrop for Charles Dickens' extremely well-received novel of 1841. The writer's choice for the title is already indicative of his awareness of the fashion of curious display among the Victorians. While most of his books' titles bear the name of heroes and heroines (*David Copperfield*, *Little Dorrit*, *Nicholas Nickelby*, *Oliver Twist*) and some contain abstract phrases or references to imprecise, symbolic locations (*Great Expectations*, *Bleak House*), this novel grabs the readers' attention with its reference to a *curiosity*, with a commercial twist (*shop*) and a pretence of tradition that further legitimates its existence and importance (*old*). The place itself plays a role in the economy of the novel, though not as substantial as its presence in the title might suggest. It is the place where the novel opens and the loss of it ensues the Trents' exodus. The transfer of the shop into Daniel Quilp's possession also signals this character's greed, cruelty, mercantile drives, exploitation of the absolute victims, the senile old man and the angelic little orphaned girl.

In the first chapter, in the true realistic tradition, the main characters are introduced as organic parts of their habitat, which is the old curiosity shop. The place echoes the grandfather's strangeness, being old, dusty, unadapted, hectic, like its owner ("a little old man with long grey hair, [..], slender, of delicate mould", "There was nothing in the whole collection but was in keeping with himself; nothing that looked older or more worn than he", p.12). It also makes a powerful, though melodramatic statement about little Nell, whose small frame and innocent being seem to be at odds with the crammed, impersonal space in which she is forced to live. The narrator observes her cot, being no larger than one to accommodate a fairy, in the middle of the bric-a-brac of the shop, whose objects for sale look even more pointless and arbitrarily gathered when lit by a single candlelight, at night. An illustration by George Cattermole in the original first print shows Nell sleeping peacefully and somewhat enraptured in a small room whose walls, shelves, chairs and floor are full of swords, candlesticks, small statues and icons, picture frames, paintings, grotesque masks, mirrors, pieces of furniture, making it hard for the viewer to discern which object is for domestic and personal use and which is for

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display and sale. A precise inventory of the shop is offered promptly by Dickens, after only three pages of the story have unfolded, indicating two things: how this shop echoes the tradition of cabinets of wonder and what kinds of "curiosities" were considered fashionable and were sought after by the Victorians: "There were suits of mail standing like ghosts in armour here and there, fantastic carvings brought from monkish cloisters, rusty weapons of various kinds, distorted figures in china and wood and iron and ivory: tapestry and strange furniture that might have been designed in dreams" (p. 12).

From the narrator's comments, we understand that this place was not at all unusual in the London trading landscape ("one of those receptacles for old and curious things which seem to crouch in odd corners of this town") and far from being original, in the accumulation of exhibits pretending a Romantic and Gothic ancestry ("[the owner] might have groped among old churches and tombs and deserted houses and gathered all the spoils with his own hands").

Naming the objects for sale "spoils" is in the spirit of another pseudo-wonder cabinet Dickens presents a little later, the villain's den, Quilp's business, also known as "Quilp's Wharf", an agglomeration of old, useless, strange and dubious objects, genuine "spoils" guarded jealously by a similarly genuine freak: "A few fragments of rusty anchors; several large iron rings; some piles of rotten wood; and two or three heaps of old sheet copper, crumpled, cracked, and battered. […] its only human occupant was an amphibious boy in a canvas suit" (p. 29).

While the curiosity shop is "musty" and "haggard", as it suits its purpose and ancestry, the mini-shipyard is pathetic in another sense. While the former place tries to replicate history, the latter fails in its attempt to replicate the shipping industry and booming commercial activity of the London harbor, an aspect of Victorian life and culture much more conspicuous than the more private and scholarly interest in the trade with curiosities and "antiquities". This place is inhabited by a boy who seems to blend with his environment completely (an amphibious boy in the strip of land that connects and separates the river from the town), as if this were yet another study in natural history, not a novel about London life and its citizens.

If old Trent and Quilp are collectors of practically useless second hand discarded objects, Dickens himself can be said to be a collector of freaks. In his gallery of villains, none seems more evocative and memorable than Daniel Quilp, a monster in the good old English cultural tradition established since the early modern period. The reasoning in Dickens' portrayal of Quilp is the same as Shakespeare's in Richard III – only an agglomeration of the most severe physical disproportions can convincingly mirror the character's evil nature: "[…] an elderly man of remarkable hard features and forbidding aspect, and so low in stature as to be quite a dwarf, though his head and face were large enough for the body of a giant. His black eyes were restless, sly, and cunning; his mouth and chin, bristly with the stubble of a coarse hard beard; and his complexion was one of that kind which never looks clean or wholesome. But what added most to the grotesque expression of his face, was a ghastly smile, which, appearing to be the mere result of habit and to have no connexion with any mirthful or complacent feeling, constantly revealed the few discoloured fangs that were yet scattered in his mouth, and gave him the aspect of a panting dog" (p. 23).

Conclusion

It is interesting to notice (Davenne 2012) that, after a period of neglect and disinterest, the cabinets of curiosity are, once again, in fashion nowadays, due to the appeal of eclecticism in interior design. Restaurants, stores, private homes are replicas of older cabinets or curiosity shops in their display of vintage collections. Books of cultural history or unusual biographies of famous writers and personalities can be presented as "cabinets" recently, with an inventory of objects that belonged to these persons or objects and places that are featured in their work (an example I am currently working on is a biography of the Brontë sisters presented as a cabinet with nine symbolic objects that belonged to or were characteristic of the three famous Victorian women writers – see Lutz 2015).

The connection between Shakespeare's romances and historical plays and Dickens' little melodrama, so popular with the Victorians, may seem a little far- fetched at first glance. However, what brings the 17th century plays and the 19th century novel together is the documentation of the evolution of a phenomenon that was much more widespread than we may realize, due to the factors of mentality that were already presented in this article. The cabinet of curiosities, whether a thing of wonder, a shop or a show, a seemingly or truly

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eclectic inventory of things known and unknown, is a constant motif in literature, reflecting people's fascination with the various embodiments of alterity, processes of acceptance and rejection, which are economic, biological, aesthetic, or cultural.

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FORGOTTEN HOUSES OF THE LIVING: THE JEWISH CEMETERY OF ALBA IULIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF RECENT INVESTIGATIONS

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Abstract: *Places of memory and also holders of significant historical information, Jewish cemeteries were in Romania insufficiently subject to recovery efforts. The dramatic decline in Jewish communities led to the cessation of the use of several cemeteries and to severe deteriorations of funerary monuments. According to statistics from 2007, of the 810 registered cemeteries, over 750 were in places where Jews no longer existed. During the last decade a general inventory has been made and the risk factors for the preservation of gravestones have been indicated. However, actual interventions for research and preservation of cemeteries have been delayed. Under these circumstances, the question is whether their meanings (sacred places, places of memory, vestiges of the past) have been preserved for the non-Jewish communities, or they are doomed to oblivion, like the communities they served. My paper tries to answer this question, based on the results of an ongoing project, regarding the inventory and description of gravestones existing in the Jewish cemeteries of Alba County.*

Keywords: *Jewish cemeteries, Alba Iulia, places of memory, funerary monuments, conservation*

Places of memory, but at the same time depositories of historical data which is difficult to estimate (Theune, Walzer 2011), Jewish cemeteries, like all cemeteries in general, were too rarely subject to extensive recovery efforts in Romania. Moreover, we can only speak about a historiographical topic pursued with more persistency from a proper historical perspective starting around a decade ago (Grancea 2005; Rotar 2005), the contributions preceding this period being few in number. In the mentioned time frame there are a series of works based on systematic field investigations, having tackled the study of epitaphs (Grancea, Csapó 2005; Grancea 2008a; Filimon Doroftei 2012), typology and symbolism of tombstones from Jewish cemeteries (Grigorescu 2005-2007 and 2012; Paraipan 2008; Vasiliu 2011 and 2012), continuing the old research work undergone by Silviu Sanie (Sanie 1997, 1998, 2000a, 2001 and 2003) or the evolution of some cemeteries in the context of urban transformations from the modern period (Csapó 2007; Grancea 2008b; Szegedi 2009; Soroștineanu 2010; Uilăcan 2010; Nyárádi 2012). The complexity of such research was signalled by an overview of the various sources and analysis perspectives (Rotar 2006, 504-590) and on emphasising the investigation of funerary art in the context of evolution of the cemeteries during the modern and contemporary period (Grancea 2014); both quoted contributions relate the Romanian topic to the major contributions from the foreign historiography. Concerns for the inventory of tombstones from disused cemeteries (Albu, Munteanu-Beșliu 2011; Munteanu-Beșliu, Albu 2012) were followed by the attempt of an exhaustive investigation of this type (Mérai 2015). Works that have a monographic character resulting from such preliminary studies are not yet too numerous; we can mention here the catalogue of monuments from the Jewish cemetery of Siret (Sanie 2000b) and the volumes resulting from a complex project, consecrated to rural cemeteries from Banat (Ciobotă *et al.* 2012, 2013 and 2015).

Inevitably selective, the image reflected by this brief overview is not too encouraging if we compare it to the stage of the issue in the foreign historiography, where the topic of cemeteries has accumulated during the last years alone a consistent bibliography: studies (Rugg 2000; Bar-Levav 2002; Sárraga, Sárraga 2002; Lauwers 2003; Morpurgo 2006 and 2007; Gusman, Vargas 2011), author volumes and thematic ones (Theune, Walzer 2011; Morpurgo 2013; Bertherat 2015; Bertrand, Carol 2016), case studies (Haller 2003; Stricklin 2013; *Weißensee* 2013), dissertations (Lővei 2009; Lane 2013), to only give a few examples. They could be more numerous if we took into consideration the studies dedicated during the last years to Jewish cemeteries from Eastern Europe, mainly the ones

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from the Polish space. Furthermore, several conferences during the last years tackled the same topic, without taking into account, as we've already noted recently (Dumitran 2015, 235-236), examples from the Romanian space: ICOMOS conferences from Munich and Berlin (Denk, Ziesemer 2005; *Jüdische Friedhöfe* 2011) or the conference organised in Vilnius by the Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv) Europe (*European Jewish Cemeteries*, 2015). It is true that the difficulty of carrying out such systematic field inquiries (Bertrand 2011, for the case of French historiography) was also signalled.

Virtual information resources reflect similar deficiencies. I also referred to the ones characteristic for the section dedicated to Romania on the International Jewish Cemetery Project web page, with a list of cemeteries outnumbered in Eastern Europe only by Ukraine and Poland (Dumitran 2015, 236; *Jewish Cemetery Project-Romania*). Up until today, the most complete image remains the one owed to the project *Jewish Cemeteries and Synagogues in Transylvania* (1998-2000), coordinated by professor Ladislau Gyémánt (Institute of Jewish Studies "Dr. Moshe Carmilly") and architect Mircea Moldovan (Technical University of Cluj), namely the most ambitious project the above-mentioned architect has coordinated so far, *Setting-up a Modern Multimedia Inventory and Information System for the Cultural Heritage of the Jewish Community from Romania within the European Context of Multi-Ethnicity and Heritage Diversity* (2008-2011) (Gruber 2010; Moldovan 2011). However this only represents a starting point for further investigations beyond the level of the illustrated guides (Erdélyi 1980; Geissbühler 2009; Bortoș 2012).

Research presentation

The research the present study refers to was carried out throughout two years (2014 and 2015), by the students of the Department of History, Archaeology and Museology from the "1 Decembrie 1918" University in Alba Iulia. The field investigation was accompanied by the identification of the documentation from archives allowing a detailed reconstruction of the history of the community and of the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia. The choice was not only determined by their quasi-inexistence in the virtual resources dedicated to Jewish heritage from Romania. The cemetery in question represents one of the many "places of memory" who can no longer fulfil their mission, as the number of the community members from here decreased dramatically after World War II. According to statistical data from 2007, out of the 810 Jewish cemeteries recorded in Romania, over 750 are situated in localities where there are no more Jews (*Memoria cimitirelor evreiești* 2007, 6). Under these conditions, (without taking into account the vandalism attempts), from indifference through accountability, we can observe a wide range of attitudes of the mostly non-Jewish communities of today towards the heritage of the communities which disappeared or are almost extinct, which back in the day used to contribute to the identity profile of the community as a whole. Another fact adds up here: in Alba Iulia the transformations undergone by the city during the pre-modern period had, as a result, the disappearance of all confessional cemeteries, as they have been replaced by the current municipal cemetery. Only the Jewish cemetery, with a documented history of almost four centuries, remained on its location; therefore its current configuration allows reconstructing its evolution over time.

Our investigation considered the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia a priority, for which the topographic marking and compete inventory of the old sector ("C"), according to the sheet of the monument (Fig. 1-2), were performed. The description of each tombstone comprises the typological classification (Fig. 3), sizes (for height, from the ground level), the language used on the inscription, identification of the symbol (where it was possible) and status of conservation. High resolution photographs have been taken for each monument described, including for the fragmentary or destroyed ones. In the resulting inventory, the succession of tombstones is based on their position in the field.

Similar investigations, only less detailed (limited to types, sizes – for the most interesting ones, languages of the inscriptions, general preservation state and photographs) have been carried out for the majority of the Jewish cemeteries from the county of Alba, assigned to the community of Alba: Aiud and Teiuș, among the large-sized ones; Ighiu, Sâncel, Sebeș and Valea Lungă I and II, among the medium-sized ones; Abrud, Mihalț, Pănade and Zlatna, among the very small-sized ones. Cemeteries from Blaj, Ocna Mureș (only a partial inventory could be made here) and Vințu de Jos (the first and second large, the third

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medium-sized) have also been visited, and the research leaves out four small-sized (under 15 monuments, from Cetatea de Baltă and Sânmiclăuş) and very small-sized cemeteries (up to 5 monuments, from Lopadea Nouă and Şilea). Based on observations, general statistical data has been put together and from the perspective of the number of tombstones compared with a centralising situation performed by the administration of the community in 2007.

Historical landmarks

Documented on the current location from Vasile Alecsandri street by two plans of the esplanade of the Habsburg fortification from 1804 and 1858 (Anghel, Josan 1998; Dumitran 2015, 242), the cemetery of the Jewish community from Alba Iulia was in fact functional since the middle of the 18th century. According to what the authors of the 1804 plan marked down, its land had been purchased from the city in 1764, but it also appears as a burial place for Jews in a plan of the city dated 1752 (*Erdély története* 1986, fig. 307; Dumitran 2015, 240). Its location on the outside limit of the North-East esplanade of the citadel, which corresponded to the street called until the beginning of the 20th century *Csürök utcza* (Uliţa Şurilor - Barns Street) (*Plan der Stadt Carlsburg* 1900), can be explained by the topographic modifications determined by the repositioning of the medieval city, East of the old location, following the beginning of the building works for the bastion fortification renamed *Karlsburg*, after the name of the founding sovereign, Charles VI of Habsburg. However the hypothesis of its identity with the old cemetery that was used throughout the 17th century and at the beginning of the following century (Neumann 1996, 103) seems to be confirmed by the research carried out this year. Within its borders, we could identify the fragments of the oldest dated tombstone, probably from 1720 (Fig. 4). In addition to that, the investigation of the horizontal tombstones from the old sector of the cemetery, lacking any kind of inscription and only shaped on the upper side, allows us to presume they are older, even if we haven't yet identified any analogies; anyhow, it is certain that they mark the tombs of some Sephardic Jews, belonging to the oldest community from Alba Iulia (Fig. 5-6).

Expansion of the cemetery within the limits of the current perimeter was due to donations made between 1874 and 1875 by Moise and Iosif Mendel, the latter having reserved for his burial, his male-line descendants and up to the third generation for the female-line descendants (CSIER Archive, fund VI, file no. 405, p. 99; fund I, file no. 440, p. 5) one parcel known until today as "Mendel's Garden". The oldest plan of the cemetery, the one opening the first register of deaths, contains the names of the ones buried within the initial perimeter (currently sector "C"), divided at that time into two areas (numbered with 1 and 2) by one North-South median line, which also covers the location of the *ohel* of Chief Rabbi Ezekiel Paneth (1823-1845). The succession of the recordings illustrates the gradual expansion of the cemetery towards South (with two new areas, 3 and 4), fact which is also confirmed by the distinct features of the monuments on this side: more elaborated stylistically, the Jewish inscriptions are most often doubled on the back of the tombstones by texts in German and Hungarian (with most of the dates no older than the 70's of the 19th century), sometimes even bearing the names of the craftsmen or workshops that made them. In addition to that, the obviously newer rows on this side are oriented on the direction West-East, unlike older ones, lined on the direction North-South. On the same plan there is a sketch of the perimeter of a piece of land destined to the tombs of Iosif Mendel's family, of around 15 ordinary parcels. Portraying the image of the historic sector of the cemetery, it constituted an important documentary support for facts about its current situation. A second plan later presents all five sectors of the current cemetery ("A", "B", "C", "D" and "E"), framing the old perimeter (Fig. 7). All the recordings from the old plan were copied into this plan and subsequent burials were marked in the same register mentioned above, this time in the usual order of the pages and by doubling the name of the deceased in Latin writing. "Mendel's Garden" can be observed here at the South end of the "main road" (*Haupt-Weg*), which separated sector "C" from the new sectors "D" and "E". Unlike the sketch from the initial plan, its sizes are a bit smaller (14.20 x 11.20 m, compared to the maximum designed sizes of 17.50 x 16.20 m), however with a higher number of parcels (30). Nearby there is the *"Rav Fischer" Garten*, a parcel circumscribing the tomb of Rabbi Alexandru Fischer (1892-1932). In time, this road has lost its importance, the most imposing remaining the alley which separates sector "C" from sector "B", much closer to the access into the cemetery; to its left the monumental vaults belonging to families Glück, Friedmann,

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Schreiber and Iónás (Fig. 11). A secondary alley, trodden by visitors' footsteps, divides sector "C", marking their desire for a minute's silence before the tomb of Rabbi Paneth. We may note that the tombless parcels on the North part of sectors "D" and "E" are today occupied by houses and gardens.

The results

For the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia (historic sector) a number of 676 tombstones were inventoried, out of which 117 are fallen or fragmentary. From a typological point of view, the *matzevah* type is undoubtedly the predominant one, in early variants A.III and A. IV (with almost 100, respectively 120 tombstones) and the late phase A.IX (with almost 140 tombstones), representing way over half of the total. Around 40 stones belong to the early type A.VI and the late type A.XI; between circa 20 and 25 to types A.V, A.VII and A.VIII, and under 20 to types A.X, A.XIII and A.XV. The rest of the types, including the obelisk type, are illustrated by up to 10 tombstones, these being in exchange more frequent on the newer rows. Quite rare are the horizontal coffin-type stones, which appear in more cases combined with stones positioned vertically (Figs. 8-9). An *ohel* raised in 1879 houses the tombs of Rabbis from the first half of 19th century, honoured as *tzaddikim*: Menachem ben Iehușua Mandel (Mendel) (1818-1823), *daian* of the rabbinical court for 24 years, and Ezekiel ben Iosef Paneth (1823-1845) (Figs. 10-11), to whom we owe the building of the old synagogue from Alba Iulia, *Mareh Yezekiel*, inaugurated in 1840.

Therefore simple forms predominate, the visible baroque and neo-classical influences characterising the late types. It can be explained by increased financial possibilities for some of the members of the community, who could afford to commission tombstones made out of more durable and costly materials than the limestone used until then (marble, granite), also turning to craftsmen or stonemasonry workshops from outside of Transylvania, who could make more pretentious works than the local craftsmen did. Even tombs surrounded with wrought iron fences start to appear or monumental family vaults outside the old sector of the cemetery. During the 20th century, standardisation and simplification of the shapes were accompanied by the use of concrete.

In the other medium or large-sized Jewish cemeteries from the Alba county, the late types prevail: they represent the majority in the cemetery from Valea Lungă I (located on 554 Al. I. Cuza street), supplemented with some stones of new type and of obelisk type; around two thirds of the number of tombstones inventoried in Ocna Mureș, compared to a third for the new types, including the obelisk type; approximately half of the cemeteries from Aiud, Teiuș, Vințu de Jos, Ighiu and Sebeș, the rest being mostly represented by obelisk-type tombstones or illustrating new types, in Aiud and Sebeș. The exceptions are the cemetery from Blaj, with more than a half of the tombstones being of the new type, the obelisk-type are slightly fewer than the late types present here; the one from Valea Lungă II (located on 306 Victoriei street), where the early types prevail and the new types or the obelisk-type of stones are completely absent; and the one from Sâncel, with a balanced presence of the early and late types, to which several stones of the new type are added.

Except for the case from Valea Lungă I, that needs to be studied more thoroughly and the one from Blaj, set up a bit later (20th century), the difference seems to be between urban and rural cemeteries, or, more precisely, between the different material possibilities of the inhabitants from the two areas, the first ones also being characterised by a greater desire for prestige. The materials used for the manufacturing of the tombstones, marble and granite being more frequent in urban cemeteries and concrete as a "benefit" of the 20th century, illustrate the same fact. In this comparison, the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia represents in its historical part, a rarer case of typological coherence, reported to its evolution over time.

The tendency towards integration into the host communities, manifested particularly after the civil emancipation was acquired (in 1867), also contributed to the change in the look of the monuments. Thus, in the case of bigger cemeteries, one can make a difference between the older areas and the newer ones, with a frequent presence of the obelisk-type of monuments and inscriptions doubled on the back of the tombstones in Hungarian and German, or even with the text being written exclusively in these languages. The apparition of the Romanian language as accompanying Hebrew or as unique language represents a reality of the post-war period. Clear examples are given by the

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cemeteries from Aiud, Teiuș and Ocna Mureș, but also by the cemetery from Alba Iulia regarding the area of the "C" sector, not taken into account for the inventory – as it was only limited to the "historic" part. A different case is the cemetery from Valea Lungă II, which has a greater presence of the old types.

One aspect that cannot be avoided in the context of a discussion about the typology is the presence of some similar shapes of the tombstones in Jewish cemeteries from other regions, but also in cemeteries of Christian confessions. It is of no surprise, since the stonemasons did not work exclusively for one single confession or religion, as the offer of craftsman Carol Quittmann from Alba Iulia proves it, offer addressed to the local pious meeting of *Chewra Kadischa* in 1935 (CSIER Archive, fund VI, file 318, p. 40, 43). For the non-Jewish cemeteries, I will only mention now the various shapes the coffin-type tombstones have, whose probable first apparition in the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia dates from 1833, thus later than in the others.

Besides the typology, the shape and content of the epitaphs offer the possibility to follow the evolution of the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia. The initial simplicity of the first datable tombstones, placed in the 18th century, is characterised by the lack of a distinct relief field and absence of ornament (Fig. 12). However, there are more particular epitaphs, with beautiful symbols that accompany the inscription texts (Fig. 13), but they represent to a greater extent a particularity of the 19th century. After 1850, texts written on the back of the tombstones in German and Hungarian start to appear, without replacing the main epitaph in Hebrew, as it happened in other areas, as well as in Teiuș. The oldest identified, except for some undated inscriptions, but probably late ones, dates from 1858 (M 533, dedicated to Heinrich Lemberger) for German and 1884 (to Löbl Iszak) for Hungarian language.

Overlaying the oldest plan of the historic sector, datable around the middle of the 19th century over the current configuration of the cemetery suggests its evolution over time. In the North part, numbered with 1 on the plan, there are the oldest tombstones identified, datable approximately between the middle of the 18th century and the beginning of the following century, so that in the second part, from North-East, they date from the middle of the 19th century. At the borderline of the two areas and probably at the border of the old cemetery were located the tombs of Rabbis Mandel and Paneth. After having received some land for the expansion of the cemetery, burials were mostly made in the South and South-East areas, by trying to respect the old alignment of the rows. Here newer monuments appear, with epitaphs doubled in German and Hungarian, starting the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Starting the same period and until today, an expansion of burials towards the South-East limit of the sector took place, which were only partially recorded in the second plan of the cemetery, so that towards the end of the period these recordings were completely discontinued. We identified here 226 tombstones distributed on 37 of the 47 rows of the old sector; however, time did not allow inventorying them. The oldest tombstone identified dates from 1870, and the most recent one from 2003. The monuments erected in this period illustrate a genuine contemporary history of the Jewish community from Alba Iulia, through the family names of the deceased.

The analysis of the symbols represented on the tombstones is precluded by the precarious state of conservation of the monuments or by the deposits of vegetation preventing the observation of details. Thus, out of the total number of inventoried monuments only a bit more than a quarter (193, representing 28%) can be taken into discussion, the rest of them being illegible (240, 35%), fallen or fragmentary (99, 15%), or lacking representations (147, 22%). Out of the ritual and Jewish symbols (73 representations, 38%), we come across the motif of ritual washing illustrated on the tombs of the Levites (Fig. 14), blessing of the *Cohanims*, sometimes accompanied by the crown of priesthood (*keter kehunah*) - on priests' tombs (Fig. 15), Shabbat candle-blessing - on the tombs of pious women (Fig. 13), menorah, the candlestick, star of David (*Magen David*), the crown - simple or combined with other elements, such as the canopy of the menorah, handing the Tablets of the Law.

Very rarely we have animal symbols in the middle of the relief, such as maybe a griffon and a stag, only combined with other elements: the star of David, an olive tree, a pitcher, floral motives, or in more complex compositions as an illustration of death and eternal peace wished for the deceased (Fig. 16).

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Motives of phytomorphic inspiration are a little more frequent. But, besides the tree of life - appearing on several monuments, and the motif of the hand crushing the flower of life - on some coffin-type tombstones, which however is not exclusively Jewish, the other motives (leaves and branches of olive or palm tree, laurel wreath, which at one moment start surrounding a heart, trees, the flower pot on the tombstone of a young girl who died in 1825, the rose with a broken stem) rather have an ornamental role or are related to trends, such as the willow tree represented often, but particularly on later majestic monuments, made out of marble. Baroque and neo-classical architectural elements definitely have the same role, as they replace the symbols on the later monuments. Contrary to the tradition, we mention placing a photograph of the deceased on the tombstone monument, as we can observe in a recent case from Teiuș, but also in the family vault of the Glück family from Alba Iulia, for the first half of the past century.

The conclusions stated here rather represent work hypotheses regarding the historical aspects of the research, which also included cleaning interventions and, where necessary, the restoration interventions on a number of 42 tombstones in 2014-2015, actions continued this year on other tombstones. The reason is that there is a distinct problem, namely the one of the state of conservation of the monuments, statistically proven by the most often superior number of fallen or fragmentary stones, compared to the situation reflected in the centralising reporting from 2007. Such cases appeared during our research. The risk factors are the type of settlement (the case of the cemetery from Aiud, where it is not by accident that the number of affected monuments is so high), abundant vegetation (a quasi-general reality, whose removal by setting it on fire does not represent the best solution), depositions of vegetation (just as general, but with more cases signalled for the cemetery from Alba Iulia, which have often prevented observations from taking place), quasi-continuous deterioration of the monuments, especially those made out of more friable materials, under the influence of climate factors, lack (in many cases) of periodical cleaning actions. Undoubtedly, this does not characterise the situation of Jewish cemeteries alone, only the ones from the county of Alba. The researcher is thus put in front of insurmountable activities, even when there are no wilfully destructive interventions.

In addition to ensuring the preservation of the monuments, the mentioned interventions allow a gradual reduction of the proportion of stones with inscriptions and undecipherable symbols. For the future, this way deciphering all the inscriptions from the tombstones, which did not suffer major damage, will be possible, as well as recovering historic information of major importance for the past of the community. And this will not be of petty importance for a city characterised too much by discontinuities and lack of knowledge about its own past.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Aerial photograph of the Jewish cemetery from Alba Iulia: detail of sectors A, B and C. Author: Călin Șuteu, 2014.

Fig. 2. Inventory sheet for the monuments of the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia. Author: Călin Șuteu.

Fig. 3. Typology of funerary monuments from the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia. Author: Călin Șuteu.

Fig. 4. Reconstructed tombstone from the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia (1720).

Figs. 5-6. Funerary monuments positioned horizontally from the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia.

Fig. 7. Plan of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia: detail of sectors B and C. In sector B, from right to left, is marked the position of the monumental vaults belonging to families Mór Glück de Marosváradja, Marton Friedmann, Jacob Schreiber and Adolf Jónás de Berve. Archive of the Jewish Community from Alba Iulia. Photo credit: Călin Șuteu.

Figs. 8-9. Funerary monument from the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, made up of a star and a horizontal stone. Photo credit: Călin Șuteu.

Figs. 10-11. The *ohel* housing the funerary stones of Rabbis Ezekiel Paneth (d. 1845) and Menachem Mandel (d. 1823).

Fig. 12. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1753 (before restoration). Photo credit: Călin Șuteu.

Fig. 13. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1741 (before restoration). Photo credit: Călin Șuteu.

Fig. 14. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1819 (after restoration).

Fig. 15. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1848 (after restoration).

Fig. 16. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1843 (after restoration).

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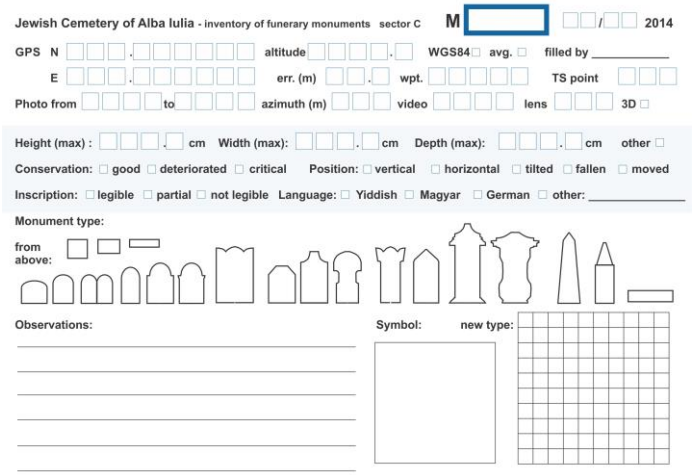

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https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

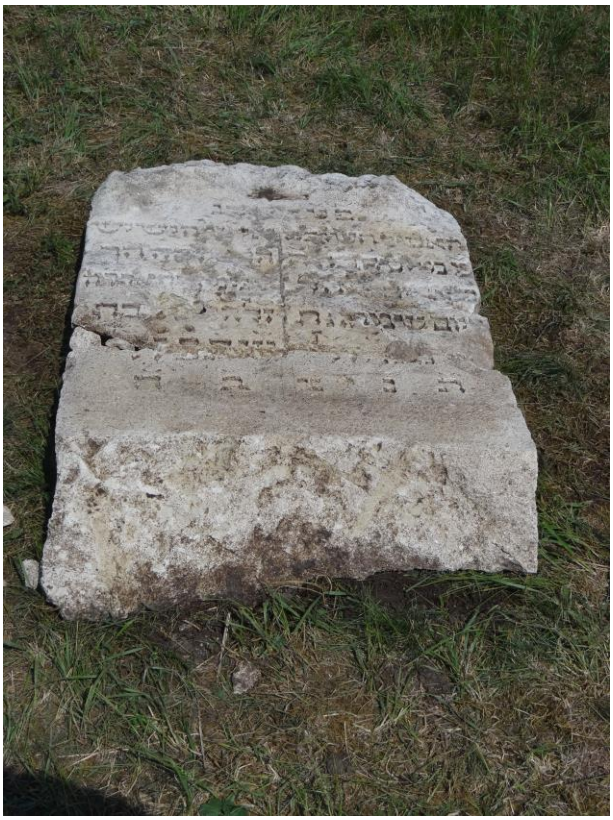
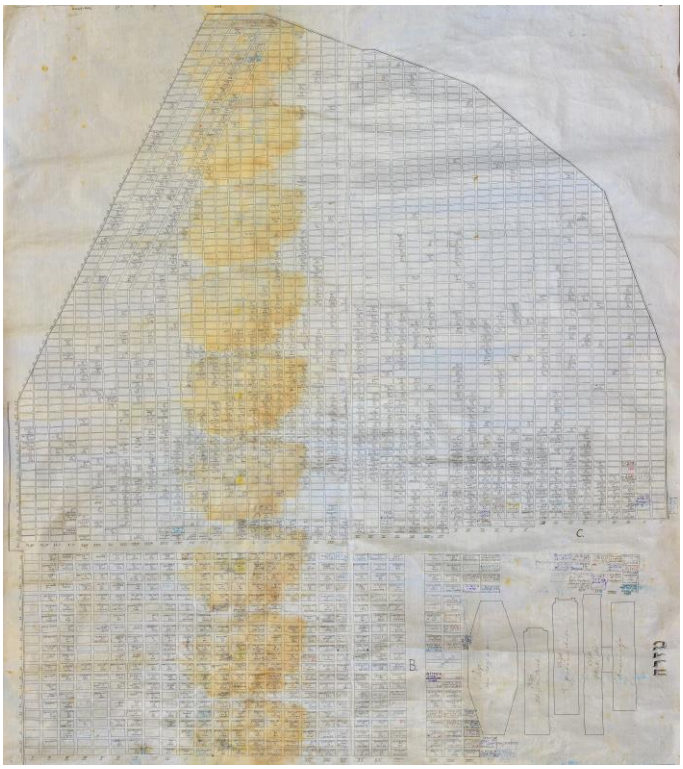


Fig. 4. Reconstructed tombstone from the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia (1720).

Figs. 5-6. Funerary monuments positioned horizontally from the old sector of the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro



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https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

Figs. 10-11. The *ohel* housing the funerary stones of Rabbis Ezekiel Paneth (d. 1845) and Menachem Mandel (d. 1823).

Fig. 12. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1753 (before restoration). Photo credit: Călin Șuteu.

Fig. 13. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1741 (before restoration). Photo credit: Călin Șuteu.

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Fig. 14. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1819 (after restoration).

Fig. 15. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1848 (after restoration).

Fig. 16. Tombstone from the Jewish cemetery in Alba Iulia, dated 1843 (after restoration).

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SOME REMARKS CONCERNING A PAINTING BY JOHANN GEORG HINZ FROM BARON SAMUEL VON BRUKENTHAL'S COLLECTION

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Abstract: *Although traditionally placed in the large category of the still lives, the painting The Cabinet of Curiosities by the Hamburg painter Johann Georg Hinz kept at the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu has a particular cultural and historical significance within the more restrictive group of the so much appreciated "ostentatious still lives" due to various artists from the Low Countries, but also to some German painters influenced by the Dutch art. In the Age of Enlightenment the passion of collecting acquired a social meaning, because it transcended not only an obviously harmless form of the greedy and selfish desire to accumulate rare and precious goods, but even the mere curiosity. The collections of natural oddities or illustrating the human ingenuousness became the subject of discussions in a larger environment, not only among connoisseurs or scholars, for the sake of socialization, but they also served the advancement of knowledge, the improvement of their neighbours' lives, by enlightening them on the beauty of creation, on the divine love for mankind, on the providential care to relieve the humans from their needs, but also to make their lives easier. Some German inscriptions, discovered during the conservation of the painting, lead to assume that J. G. Hinz had a certain interest to express his loyalty to Leopold I, perhaps on the occasion of the defeat of the Ottomans at St. Gotthard (August 1, 1664) and his wedding (December 12, 1666) with Infant Margarita Theresia (1653-1673), the daughter of King Philip IV of Spain, maybe because of some hoped or even already achieved (but presently still unknown) imperial commissions. Compared with its versions from Berlin, Hamburg, Copenhagen and Rychnov nad Kněžnou dated c. 1666 and considering the lack of the imperial couple's miniature portraits, the painting in Sibiu could be dated c. 1666-1673, the latest between March 12 – October 15, 1673, i. e. shortly after the stay of Johann Daniel Major in Hamburg (1663-1665). As a consequence, the painting cannot be linked to his later activity as a collector, to his museological or numismatic writings and to his archaeological excavations in prehistoric barrows, which led to the founding of the Cimbricum Museum, nor to his commemorative speech of 1684, delivered on the occasion of the release of besieged Vienna (1683) or to the Holy League's victories during the Great Turkish War (1683-1697).*

Keywords: *cabinet of curiosities, Johann Georg Hinz, German painting, still life, Baron Samuel von Brukenthal's collection*

One of the most significant works of German painting from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, signed by Johann Georg Hinz (1630-1688), is *The Show Case*, more recently known (thanks to the new opinions on its cultural and historical significance) as *The Cabinet of Curiosities* (oil on canvas, 128.5 x 102 cm; inv. 561) (Die Gemälde-Galerie 1844, 92, no. cat. 372; Führer 1893, 41, cat. 389; Frimmel 1894, 58, cat. 389; Csaki 1895, 75; Csaki 1901, 150, no. 541; Csaki 1909, 169, cat. 561; Mureșan 1996, 114-115, fig. 5; München 2003, 124-125 (V. Mureșan); Mureșan 2006, 238-239, fig. V/3; Hrib 2007, 145-146; Mureșan 2007, 93-95, cat. 54, fig. 54; Debize 2007, 23; Paris 2009, 158-159 (N. Sainte Fare Garnot); Hrib 2011, 36-39; Luxemburg, 2012, 174-175 (V. Mureșan); Gdańsk 2015, p. 115) (Fig. 1).

There are few biographical data about the painting's author (on the biography and work of J. G. Hinz: Thieme, Willis 1922, 489; Gerson 1983, 221-222). In the documentary sources J. G. Hinz is referred also as *Hins*, *Hintz*, *Hainz*, *Haintz* or *Heintz*, even *Hintsch* and, generally, without the first name *Johann*. Even the painter's signature is known in various forms: *Hainz*, *Heintz* or *Hintz*. As a result, in some artists' lexicons (Thieme, Willis 1922, 489) and in the records of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Dokumentatie (RKD) in The Hague, he is mentioned as *Georg Hainz*. The painter was born in 1630 in Altenau, in Lower Saxony and not in Altona, near Hamburg, as is erroneously stated sometimes

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(Mureșan 1996, 114; München 2003, 124 (V. Mureșan); Mureșan 2007, 93; Luxemburg 2012, 175 (V. Mureșan). He settled in Hamburg in the early 60's of the 17th c. He managed to acquire the citizenship of the big Hanseatic city only in 1668 (probably by marriage), and as a freelance craftsman he is mentioned only in 1681. The Dutch influences (especially of the painters Peter Claesz and Jan Davidsz. de Heem, but also of Floris van Schooten) on his works led to the supposition that he was trained in Amsterdam and Haarlem. Cornelius Norbertus Gijsbrecht, who worked only in Hamburg, seems also to have influenced him in using the *trompe l'œil* technique, in which he excelled. Known as a painter of still lives with fruit and flowers, of ostentatious still lives and of banquet scenes or of illusionist compositions, he is considered to be the first and most important still life painter in Hamburg and the founder of the local school of painting. Occasionally, he painted portraits, both as standalone works (some of them very expressive) and as miniatures within larger compositions, but also historical scenes and even an allegorical ceiling, lost in 1842, after a fire. Ernst Stuven is mentioned as a disciple of J. G. Hinz by Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719), who writes about him that : "*Hy is te Hamburg geboren, en heeft ook aldaar aangevangen de Konst te leeren by eenen Hins, die hem, om dat hy 'er een leerzugtigen aart in bespeurde, had in zyn huis genomen, daar hy wakker en vaardig het penceel had leeren handelen*" (Houbraken 1718, 371-372) (i. e. "He was born in Hamburg, where he began to learn the Art with someone Hins, who noting his eager character for learning, took him in his house, where he learned to handle the pencil carefully and skilfully"). From this laconic statement it seems that the Dutch biographer did not have sufficient information about J. G. Hinz, who must have been less known in the Netherlands and elsewhere and is not mentioned even in the collection of German artists biographies by the engraver and painter Joachim von Sandrart the Elder (1606-1688), his contemporary. In the early 20th c. he is noted as one of those Hamburg painters of Dutch training from the second half of the 17th c. (some far less known today), like Matthias Scheits, Christian Berentz, Ottmar Elliger the Elder, Jürgen (Juriaen) Jacobsen etc., who contributed to the development of the local artistic life (Thieme, Willis 1922, 489). Due to the stylistic influences on other two still life painters from Hamburg, Christian Berentz and Franz Werner von Tamm alias Dapper, it was assumed that they would have been his disciples, with some reticence concerning the latter. In the current state of research (Mureșan 1996; Mureșan 2003; Mureșan 2007; Mureșan 2009), in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum both E. Stuven and Chr. Berentz and especially F. W. Tamm are represented by still lives, generally conceived as pendants, to which can be added a still life by Ottmar Elliger the Elder.

The painting by Johann Georg Hinz in the Brukenthal National Museum comes from the collection of the museum's founder, Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, who acquired it as being made by a Dutch painter, Willem Kalf (1619-1693), known for his inclination for "ostentatious still lives". In the gallery guides of the museum published in 1844 and 1893, this attribution was kept, but stating that the painting would be the signboard of a haberdashery shop. Although in 1894 the painting was attributed to J. G. Hinz, by Theodor von Frimmel (whose opinion remained unchallenged until now), the old wrong opinion on the painting's signboard function is found in the catalogues printed in 1901 in 1909 by Michael Csaki.

Abroad, the painting was exhibited in Munich (2003), in the Malbrouck castle of Manderen (2008), in Paris (2009), Luxemburg (2012) and Gdańsk (2015). In 1987 the work was reproduced on the cover of the Brukenthal Museum's yearbook and since then on a large diversity of souvenirs sold in the museum shop, which are highly appreciated by the visitors. The recent conservation works on this interesting painting led to the discovery of several, still unpublished inscriptions, enabling thus a deeper analysis of its cultural and historical significance.

As forerunners of the modern museums (for medieval and early modern collections, Schlosser 1908; MacGregor 1983; Pomian 1987; Bergvelt, Kistemaker 1992; Grote 1994; Bann 1995; Bredekamp 1995; Findlen 1996; Rütsche 1997; Daston, Parker 1998; Müller-Bahlke 1998; Pomian 1998; Bredekamp 2000a; Impey, MacGregor 2001; Mauriès 2002; Falguières 2003; Davenne 2004; Martin, Moncond'Huy 2004; Faesch, Salvisberg 2005; Arnold 2006; Davenne, Fleurent 2011; Schnapper 2012; Beßler 2012), the cabinets of curiosities became themselves a subject of exhibitions: Bredekamp 2000b; Die Grosse Kunstkammer 2011; Saule, Arminjon 2011; Marrache-Gouraud *et al.* 2013).

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The cabinets of curiosities of the 16th-17th c. illustrate the growing interest (but already existing in the late 15th c. and even earlier) for collecting not only venerable relics of saints, like in the Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, but also rare and precious, old or exotic, natural or artificial objects, which were a form of social representation especially for monarchs and princes (DaCosta Kaufmann 1978), all these items being kept in "treasure chambers" (*Schatzkammer*), quite less accessible to the scholars and ceremonially shown to visiting diplomats and magnates. Rich merchants and city officials, as well as lay scholars and the academics began to emulate this aristocratic model, due to the astonishment aroused by the nature's beauty, diversity and richness, as an evidence of the Providence's care for mankind, after the expulsion of the primeval humans Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, as punishment for their disobedience to God, owed to Devil's temptation (for the problem of the aspect of the Late Renaissance cabinets of curiosities: Siegel 2006). According to various written evidences of that age, the "cabinets of curiosities" were often placed in alchemic laboratories and libraries, because of the intellectual interest generated by the collected items, which became more important than the greed for their intrinsic value. The study of a quite important number of paintings and prints shows that in mid-17th c. the collectors already displayed their paintings separately, in galleries, usually together with ancient or more recent sculptures, while many of their objects of decorative art continued to be kept together with natural and exotic curiosities or with artefacts, even with coins and medals, in special rooms which included books facilitating the collectors' study. The theoretical approach concerning this kind of rooms containing "cabinets of curiosities" (and called identically, as a consequence) and the best way to organize them dates back to the late 17th c. It is due to one of the founding fathers of museology, the German physician, naturalist, archaeologist and numismatist Johann Daniel Major (1634-1693) (Major 1674), who was born in Breslau/Wrocław, studied in Wittenberg and Padua and lived in Hamburg between 1663-1665, before moving to Kiel, where he taught medicine and botanics at the new established Christiana Albertina University (1665). He is known as the author of various museological and numismatic writings, as well as an avid collector (1673-1682) and a forerunner of the archaeological excavations in prehistorical barrows (1685-1692), the founder of the Cimbricum Museum (1688) (for the biography and activity of Johann Daniel Major: Reinke 1912; Steckner 1994; Frank 1995, 558-563; Schlürmann 2007.). The cabinets of curiosities, which had a particular importance in the development of the 18th c. scholars' interest in universal and rational knowledge, allowing a more methodical study of the antiquities, appreciated not only for their aesthetic value, but also as witnesses of the past (Redford 2008).

The theme of the cabinet of curiosities is a mannerist one, occurring in paintings or prints by Hendrick van der Borcht the Elder, Pieter Brueghel the Elder and Jan Brueghel the Elder, Peter Isselburg and Hans Troschel the Younger, Francesco Calzolari, Frans Francken II, Étienne de La Hire etc. An older, but somewhat unusual depiction of this kind, by Lucas Cranach the Elder, is the portrait dated in 1526 of Albrecht of Hohenzollern, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz and co-margrave of Brandenburg, rendered as St. Jerome in his Study (oil on wood, 124.5 x 81.5 cm) from the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota (United States of America): the archbishop is sitting in a study in which there are many living European and exotic animals, and above his head, on an antler, are hanging pouches which contain relics of saints, an allusion to his famous collection consisting of more than 8,000 such relics and 42 skeletons, attributed to various saints. Usually, the paintings belonging to this category show the collector in his cabinet or, sometimes, a general view of the cabinet or only a group of "curiosities", having, in compositional terms, a looser relation with the Baroque paintings showing various items displayed on the shelves in cabinets of curiosities. For this reason, I think that the closest ancestors of this category of Baroque paintings should be found among the Franco-Burgundian miniatures of the early 16th c., with depictions of church shelves with liturgical paraphernalia. Such images (Figs. 2-4) can be seen even in the *Brukenthal Breviary* (on p. 176, 190 and 551), a manuscript attributed to the Ghent-Bruges School, dated by the more recent research after 1520 (Morrison 2006, 161, n. 7; cf. Ordeanu 2007, 45), but which in my opinion could be dated more precisely between 1526-1529. The Baroque character of J. G. Hinz's works is due not only to the deep symbolic meaning of the precious and exotic objects, ostentatiously displayed, but especially to the diversity of the props, depicted with voluptuous minuteness and fidelity. Among the Baroque paintings and prints with renderings of

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cabinets of curiosities (by Joseph Arnold, Arnold Houbraken, Jacques de Lajoue, Salomon Kleiner, Nicolas Henri Jeaurat de Bertry etc.), the closest to the works of J. G. Hinz in terms of composition would be, I believe, a painting dated in the 1690s from the Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence (Fig. 5), by Domenico Remps / Rems (1620-1699), a less known artist of German or Flemish background, who is documented in the second half of the 17th c. in Venice, more or less related to the Flemish artist Gaspar Rem / Rems (c. 1542 – c. 1615/1617), born in Antwerp, where he was the disciple of Willem van Cleve and who is later (1572) documented in Venice, where supposedly he died (Vollmer 1934, 145).

In his work from Sibiu, the Hamburg painter J. G. Hinz uses the perspective to create the illusion of three-dimensionality, employing for this purpose the effects of light, the colour effects, a precise drawing and especially a rigorous and elaborate structure of the composition. The view of these objects is complete, avoiding their overlapping, so as not to fragment them. In an apparent disorder, they are displayed on a shelf that creates symmetries, both by the similarity of some of them and in terms of colour and stage-lighting: vases of crockery, glass, ivory and metal, Oriental pistols and majolica containers for gunpowder, a small ivory statue, miniature human skulls and dices carved in semiprecious stones, clocks, medallions, jewels and jewellery boxes (made of lake or wood decorated with tortoiseshell, nacre and precious stones), coral or exotic sea shells, but also native land snails. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot, although remarking that the painter opposes the "curiosities of nature" (*naturalia*) the results of the artisanal and artistic mastery (*artificialia*), does not believe, however, that the depiction of these objects, repeated from a version of the work to the other, had a genuine moral intent (Paris 2009, 158). Valentin Mureșan stressed repeatedly (Mureșan 1996, 115; Mureșan 2006, 238; Mureșan 2007, 93) that the shelf with three equal columns and five shelves (equal in pairs, above the central one, of double height), serves as a solid and ordering compositional "reinforcement", but also to highlight each object, byscreening. Meanwhile, the shelf creates a familiar, intimate environment which calls for reflection, not only on the assembly, which may be seen, according to the above-mentioned researcher, as an "encyclopaedic" still life, but on each of these strange objects, especially in terms of their symbolic significance linked to transience. The equivocal relationship between the display of these rare and precious objects and the anxiety aroused by the understanding of their contradictory meanings also belongs to a Baroque worldview, unlike the model of the so-called "ostentatious still lives" (*pronkstilleven*) of some Dutch painters. Although a work in the Chazen Museum of Art at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (the United Stated of America) and another one, in the Michaelis collection at the Iziko South African National Gallery in Cape Town Art Collections (South Africa) shows that J. G. Hinz also painted "ostentatious still lives", very similar to his Dutch models which influenced Christian Berentz as well, like in the latter's two works at the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu. The very strong influence of the Dutch contemporary patterns can be noted by comparing in terms of the composition not only Chr. Berentz's paintings, but especially J. G. Hinz's from the Chazen Museum of Art with two works: *Still Life with Nautilus* by Willem Kalf (1619-1693) from the collection of Baron Hans Heinrich von Thyssen-Bornemisza (oil on wood, 79 x 67 cm, dated 1660), which has a variant at the Art Museum of Gothenburg (*Göteborgs konstmuseum*) and another displayed at the Bank of Commerce and Navigation in Rotterdam (Moskva, Leningrad 1983-1984, 34-35 (Gertruda Bogrero), respectively *Still Life with a Nautilus Cup*, dated 1648-1688, from the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (oil on canvas, 66 x 56.5 cm, inv. no. SK-A-2655), by Frans Santacker, a painter from 's-Hertogenbosch (Zachariasse 2010, 26-27), documented at c. 1670. A late echo of these models occurs in the works of a painter from Haarlem, Barend van der Meer (1659-192/1703), a contemporary of Christian Berentz. In the 16th-17th c., due to its rarity and value, the *Nautilus* shell, brought from the shores of the Indian and the Pacific Ocean, became a status symbol, being often transformed into a cup by its mounting in precious metal, as several paintings show. This explains why *Nautilus* shells, although in natural condition, untransformed into cups, are displayed in the cabinet of curiosities depicted by J. G. Hinz or in the still lives by Joris van Son, as *Still Life on a Stone Table* (oil on canvas, 85 x 120 cm, inv. 1116) and *Still Life Near a Column* (oil on canvas, 85 x 119 cm, inv. 1117), both from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum. The cups made of *Nautilus* shells were more popular in Germany and in the Low Countries than in England and other countries. According to the inventory drawn after his death, Baron Samuel

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von Brukenthal also had "1 gilded chalice with a shell", whose value was estimated at 37 Rhineland florins and 30 Kreutzers (Vlaicu, Gündisch 2007, 41), but which unfortunately is not preserved.

The other items on the shelf have various symbolic meanings, for whose understanding their place and how they are associated are very important. Thus, the skull symbolizes the human being's perishability, the weapons refer to the fickleness of the military glory and to the power's instability, the jewels draw attention to a fragile beauty and to the impermanence of wealth. The precious objects carved in ivory suggest that, more often than not, value brings suffering and death. This idea is supported both by the presence of the corals, still considered rare and exotic in the 17th c. (Debize 2007, 23) and by the exotic sea snails shells, which were symbols of prestige, alluding to the wealth gained by maritime trade. The association of the pearls with these remains of creatures from the depths of the sea, thrown ashore by chance, to satisfy the whim of collectors, recalls the dangers faced both by those who dive into the sea in their pursuit and by those who bring them from distant countries to satisfy those who love the insignia of wealth. The presence of native land snail shells also has a symbolic meaning, because the latter are not "curiosities of nature", like the exotic shells, but only banal substitute thereof, because this kind of snail has been known as the food of the poor for centuries. The clocks, recalling the inexorable passage of time, have the power to suggest the conclusion of the various reflections induced by each of the items laying on the shelf: nothing which is terrestrial, visible and palpable, nothing which could become an object of the human passions remains unaffected by the time's merciless tooth.

Interestingly, the cabinet features figurative works of decorative art as well. Except for the ivory statuette rendering Samson's fight with the lion, all the characters on other such objects on the shelf belong to the Greek-Roman mythology. The big ivory goblet exhibits maenads and satyrs belonging to the noisy retinue of Child Bacchus, who gambols with his acolytes, while on the mug with lid, also carved in ivory, the small god of wine is rendered drunk, carried by his friends, in a ridiculous and absurd procession. Instead, the polychrome decor of a glass goblet appears to render the wedding of Bacchus with Ariadne, characters personifying the instinct, respectively the reason guided by love, but whose expectations remain unfulfilled, because of the intervention of the irrational, which seduces it and makes it suffer, overcoming it eventually and bringing it under its power. On both sides of the ivory goblet, there is a metal cup, full of jewels, whose foot is shaped in the form of a statue of Venus, respectively of Mars. Such a combination might suggest the invincible force of wine, the drink which gives pleasure and courage, but which, consumed excessively, unleashes vices like debauchery and aggression. At another level, this message is confirmed by bringing together the mythological characters suggesting *vita luxuria* with the statuette rendering Samson's fight with the lion, which symbolizes virtue, always in danger to be annihilated by vices and sins, as taught by the life of this biblical hero.
The recent X-ray examination of the work exhibited in Sibiu did not confirm the existence of effigies painted inside the medallions in which, in its versions at Rychnov nad Kněžnou and Hamburg, miniature portraits are mounted. Dana Hrib attributed the absence of these portraits to the work's success, which led to the appearance of several versions, as the portraits of the customers had to be painted over only when the work was purchased (Hrib 2007, 145; Hrib 2011, 38). However, I believe that the absence of the portraits could also have a symbolic meaning, probably to show that, from the perspective of eternity, regardless of their qualities or defects, of their rank and age, people are insignificant and the power of the the monarchs is transient.

On the occasion of the painting's conservation, several German inscriptions on various painted glass vessels were discovered, whose existence was already noted in 1894 by Th. von Frimmel (Frimmel 1894, 58), who did not reproduce them. Deciphered by Al. Gh. Sonoc, they reveal moralizing or political loyalist messages. The only visible inscription before the conservation, which had not been previously noticed by those who studied the painting, lay on the upper part of the big glass goblet adorned with Bacchic scenes: *Auf Heyl vom grossen Keyser und groser Norden Häuser* (Fig. 6). This inscription can be read on a similar vessel in the version at Rychnov nad Kněžnou (Czech Republic) (Německé malířství, 1989, 47-48, cat. 27, fig. 29). Other inscriptions occur on two painted beakers, on either side of the foot of this vessel (Fig. 7). On the left one, in front of which there is a red skull and a red dice, the Sibiu version reads the following inscription:

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Schlaffen in / den armen in / Goldes nicht gut. The painting at Rychnov nad Kněžnou has a slightly different corresponding inscription: *schlaf in der … / Armen ein … / … soll das nicht …* The right flap, also with red dice in front of it, in the Sibiu version, reads: *Die Tugend bei[sst ?] / nicht Tief / Sie weis von k[einem] / Todt*. In the above-mentioned Rychnov nad Kněžnou painting, the corresponding inscription is also slightly different: *Die Tugend gut … / … nicht not … sie weisst von keiner Tot*. In the Sibiu painting, in the upper left corner, also on the second shelf, but approximately about the grip of the Turkish pistol, there is another glass beaker, with the inscription: *…er bester … Frosten d...* (Fig. 8). Instead, the corresponding vessel in the Rychnov nad Kněžnou painting reads: *… el besser hoffen … / …ung unser feinde...* In the Sibiu painting, on the same shelf, but at its left end, near the foot of the jug, there is another glass beaker, decorated with medallions with olive wreaths surrounding the House of Habsburg's double headed eagle, in front of which there is a small human skull. This vessel reads: *i(e)S(us) Unsrer Feinde zu* (Fig. 9), which recalls the last part of the aforesaid inscription on the Rychnov nad Kněžnou painting.

There are several variants of this work: at Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, at Statens Museum før Kunst in Copenhagen (Fig. 10), at Kunsthalle in Hamburg (Fig. 11) and in the Rychnov nad Kněžnou Castle (Czech Republic) (Fig. 12), the latter painting coming from the collection of Count František Karl I Libštejnský z Kolowrat / Franz Karl I von Kolowrat auf Liebstein (1620-1700), dating from the late 17th c. This last painting, from the Kolowrat collection, is of particular importance, not only because it is similar to that of Sibiu in size (127.5 x 101 cm) and props (aside from the effigies of Emperor Leopold I and his first wife, Infant Margarita Theresia, rendered in medallions) and even in how the props are displayed, but also because it is signed and dated 1666 (Německé malířství 1989, 47-48, cat. 27, fig. 29). For this reason, V. Mureșan considered it to be a possible chronological reference to the Sibiu work, which should be considered an author's version. However, in the Malbrouck castle exhibition at Manderen (2007) it was dated very late, by 1680 (Debize 2007, 23). The Hamburg painting (Fig. 9), in a medallion of which there is an effigy of King Christian IV of Denmark (1588-1648), is dated in 1666 as well, which shows that this theme enjoyed a great and immediate success at the time, even if the cabinets of curiosities were already in decline (Debize 2007, 23). The Hamburg work (Schneede, Leppien 1994, 225-226) seems to be, in fact, the prototype of the other versions, because the ivory goblet (which is currently in the custody of a Danish collector at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe of Hamburg) is depicted in both the Rychnov nad Kněžnou and Sibiu paintings and occurs also in the Berlin version, but seen from another angle. This ivory goblet from the Løvenhørn collection is the masterpiece of Joachim Henne (documented at 1663-1704), made around 1665 (Německé malířství 1989, 47). Because the medallion depicted in the painting from Copenhagen, dated between 1665-1667, contains the effigy of Duke Johann Georg I of Saxony (1585-1656), it was assumed that it could come from the former ducal collections in the Gottorf castle (Skogh 2011, 43, fig. 7). Although this painting is dated approximately in the same period as the Hamburg, Rychnov nad Kněžnou and Sibiu versions, it depicts a completely different goblet. In his compositions with this theme, which he altered according to the commissioners' desires, the painter depicted not only real objects, from his own props or sometimes inspired by engravings (as shown by the similarities with the models of Jean Le Pautre), but even imagined ones (Mureșan 1996, 114; cf. Hrib 2007, 145).

Of all versions of this painting, the Copenhagen one is the most simple, while those in Rychnov nad Kněžnou and Sibiu are, obviously, the most rigorously elaborated and, in terms of the number and of the diversity of the "curiosities", the most abundant, being full of symbolic meanings. The particular artistic quality of the Sibiu painting, if compared with its other versions, was emphasized by N. Sainte Fare Garnot (Paris 2009, 158), and this conclusion applies even despite the fact that it is not signed and dated, unlike the almost perfect resembling Rychnov nad Kněžnu version. Unlike the latter work, the Sibiu painting features inscriptions which are more coherent and can be more easily completed. The commissioner of the Sibiu painting remains unknown, because no effigy of monarchs is shown, which appear in the Hamburg, Copenhagen and Rychnov nad Kněžnou versions, made either for high rank courtiers or even for the sovereigns of Denmark, of Saxony or of the Holy Roman Empire.

Considering this, it is hard to say to what extent the Sibiu work is not a simple copy made for a

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buyer simply interested in the theme of the "cabinets of curiosities" (like Johann Daniel Major may have been, among many others), but the fruit of a deepened reflection of the painter on this theme and on the symbolic meaning of the depicted objects. But if the painting was made according to the requirements of a commissioner, unknown in the current stage of research, it could be argued that, unlike the monarchs, he was less interested in self-representation by effigies and in the ostentatious exhibition of his wealth, as in the three aforementioned versions, than in the opportunity to meditate on the transience and vanity of glory, love, wealth and power.

However, it should be discussed whether the two inscriptions on the Sibiu painting would apparently support a later date for it or not and, therefore, if the painting could be linked to the museological activity and the writings of Johann Daniel Major.

The first one, on the big glass goblet on which is depicted the wedding of Bacchus with Ariadne, invites the viewer to drink for the well-being and salvation of the Emperor and the great Northern houses: *Auf Heyl vom grossen Keyser und groser Norden Häuser*. As mentioned before, the same inscription appears on the Rychnov nad Kněžnou version, which is dated in 1666 (Německé malířství 1989, 47-48, cat. 27, fig. 29). While the mentioned emperor is, doubtless, Leopold I (1658-1705), it is not clear however if the painter, mentioning "the great Northern Houses", would have thought of certain aristocratic houses or of other rich and prestigious families from the Hanseatic cities and other Northern ruling houses, like the Danish and the Saxon ones, i. e. the House of Oldenburg and the House of Wettin, whose monarchs' effigies were rendered in the Hamburg and Copenhagen versions. Both monarchs, enemies of the Holy Roman Empire during the Thirty Years War, were already dead when the paintings were made, so the medallions with their effigies could be considered antiquities, symbols of the transience of power and glory, all the more so since, in the Copenhagen painting, the portrait of the Duke of Saxony is smaller and opposed to that of his enemy, the ruling emperor Leopold I. While the Danish king was a protector of the arts (more precisely, of music and of the musicians), the Duke of Saxony was seen as a harsh ruler, addicted to drink and hunting. The rendering of Bacchus' wedding with Ariadne would allude, in my opinion, to the wedding (December 12, 1666) of Leopold I with his niece and first cousin, Infant Margarita Theresia (1653-1673), the daughter of King Philip IV of Spain, and this would explain why this glass goblet is also rendered on the Rychnov nad Kněžnou painting.

However, the miniature portraits of the imperial couple, featured on the Rychnov nad Kněžnou painting, made when both sovereigns were still alive, are missing in the Sibiu painting, while other versions show the miniature portraits of long deceased rulers: King Christian IV of Denmark, in the painting kept in Hamburg and Duke Johann Georg I of Saxony, in the Copenhagen one. Although the rendering of the portraits of deceased sovereigns would mean, as I have already pointed out, that the power of the rulers is transient, the absence of the imperial couple's miniature portraits in the Sibiu painting does not necessarily mean that both sovereigns were already dead as well (Infant Margarita Theresia died on March 12, 1673, but Leopold I only on May 5, 1705, i. e. later than J. G. Hinz, who died in 1700), but that, from the perspective of eternity and regardless of their qualities or defects, of their rank and age, people are insignificant, as argued above. Therefore, the absence of the imperial couple's miniature portraits would not be evidence enough to date the Sibiu painting much later than the Rychnov nad Kněžnou version, i. e. after 1673 or even after 1683 or 1697.

Some other evidence which would support the hypothesis of an earlier date for the Sibiu painting, in 1666 or between 1666-1673, the latest during the death of Infant Margarita Theresia and the new wedding of Leopold I, i. e. between March 12 and October 15, 1673 will be discussed below. Surely, if the latest period (when Leopold I was grieving) would be considered the most likely date of this painting, it could be assumed that it was an imperial commission.

The second inscription, recalling partially one which occurs on the Rychnov nad Kněžnou painting,is written on the glass beaker decorated with medallions with olive wreaths surrounding the House of Habsburg's double headed eagle, in front of which there is a small human skull: *i(e)S(us) Unsrer Feinde zu*. It calls for the Savior's help against the enemies, obviously those of the House of Habsburg, most likely the non-Christian ones, i. e. the Ottomans, who were defeated by Raimondo Montecuccoli in the battle

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of St. Gotthard (August 1, 1664), after which the peace of Vasvár/Eisenburg was signed, which lasted for almost 20 years, till the siege of Vienna (1683). That is why, considering the chronological proximity between this long lasting peace and the wedding of Leopold I with Infant Margarita Theresia, as well as the strong similarity to the Rychnov nad Kněžnou version, dated in 1666, I believe that there are weak reasons to link the painting with one of Leopold I's later weddings, namely on October 15, 1673 with Archduchess Claudia Felicitas (1653-1676), the heiress of the County of Tyrol, and on December 14, 1676 with Eleonore Magdalene Therese von Neuburg (1655-1720), a princess of the Palatinate, as well as with later victories against the Ottomans, i. e. the release of besieged Vienna (1683) by the intervention of Jan III Sobieski, King of Poland (for which Johann Daniel Major delivered a commemorative speech in 1684) or the subsequent victories in the War of the Holy League (1683-1697), also known as the Great Turkish War. Thus, there is no real reason to assume that the Sibiu painting is much later than its other versions and as a consequence, the inscription on the big glass goblet doesn't allude to the common war of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland and Russia against the Ottoman Empire. However, this context sheds a new light on the significance of the depiction of the two Turkish guns: they can be precious trophies, reminiscent of the futility of glory, the shortness of human life and the dangers lurking around military life.

Both inscriptions lead to the assumption that J. G. Hinz had a certain interest to express in such an obvious way his loyalty to Leopold I, maybe because of some hoped or even already achieved (but presently still unknown) imperial commissions, linked perhaps to his most representative works, the "ostentatious still lives" or even to the two paintings with cabinets of curiosities at Rychnov nad Kněžnou and Sibiu.

In the Age of the Enlightenment, the passion for collecting acquired a social meaning, because it transcended not only an obviously less harmful form of the greedy and selfish desire to accumulate rare and precious goods (which is often akin to avarice and other sins), but even the simple curiosity (which recalls, to a certain extent, the primordial human couple's sacrilegious desire to feast on fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, defying the divine interdiction). The collections of natural oddities or those reflecting human ingenuousness became the subject of discussions in a larger environment, not only among connoisseurs or scholars, for the sake of socialization, but also for the advancement of knowledge, to improve one's neighbours' lives, by enlightening them on the beauty of creation, on the divine love for mankind, on the Providence's care to relieve the humans from their needs, but also to make their lives easier.

Although traditionally placed in the large category of the still lives, the painting *The Cabinet of Curiosities* by the Hamburg painter Johann Georg Hinz displayed at the Brukenthal National Museum could be dated shortly after Johann Daniel Major's stay in Hamburg (1663-1665), more precisely c. 1666 or between 1666-1673, the latest between March 12 – October 15, 1673, but is not linked to his collector activity (1673-1682), to his museological and numismatic writings and to his archaeological excavations in prehistoric barrows (1685-1692). Thus, within the more restrictive group of the so much appreciated "ostentatious still lives" by various artists from the Low Countries, but also by some German painters influenced by Dutch art, this painting has a particular cultural and historical significance, especially if it was commissioned by Emperor Leopold I.

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https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

Fig. 1. Johann Georg Hinz, *The Cabinet of Curiosities*. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania.

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Figs. 2-4. Depictions of church shelves with liturgical paraphernalia in the *Brukenthal Breviary*. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania.

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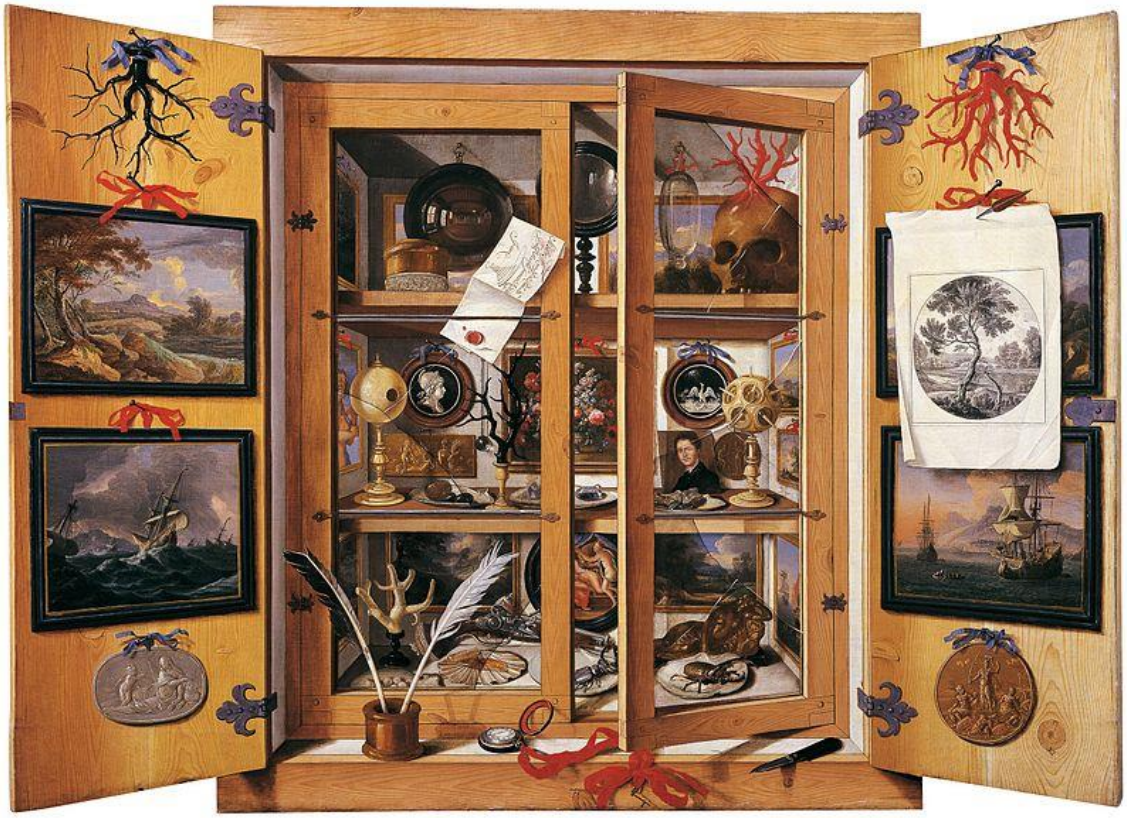

Fig. 5. Domenico Remps / Rems, *The Cabinet of Curiosities*. Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence, Italy.

Fig. 6. Johann Georg Hinz, *The Cabinet of Curiosities*. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania. Detail.

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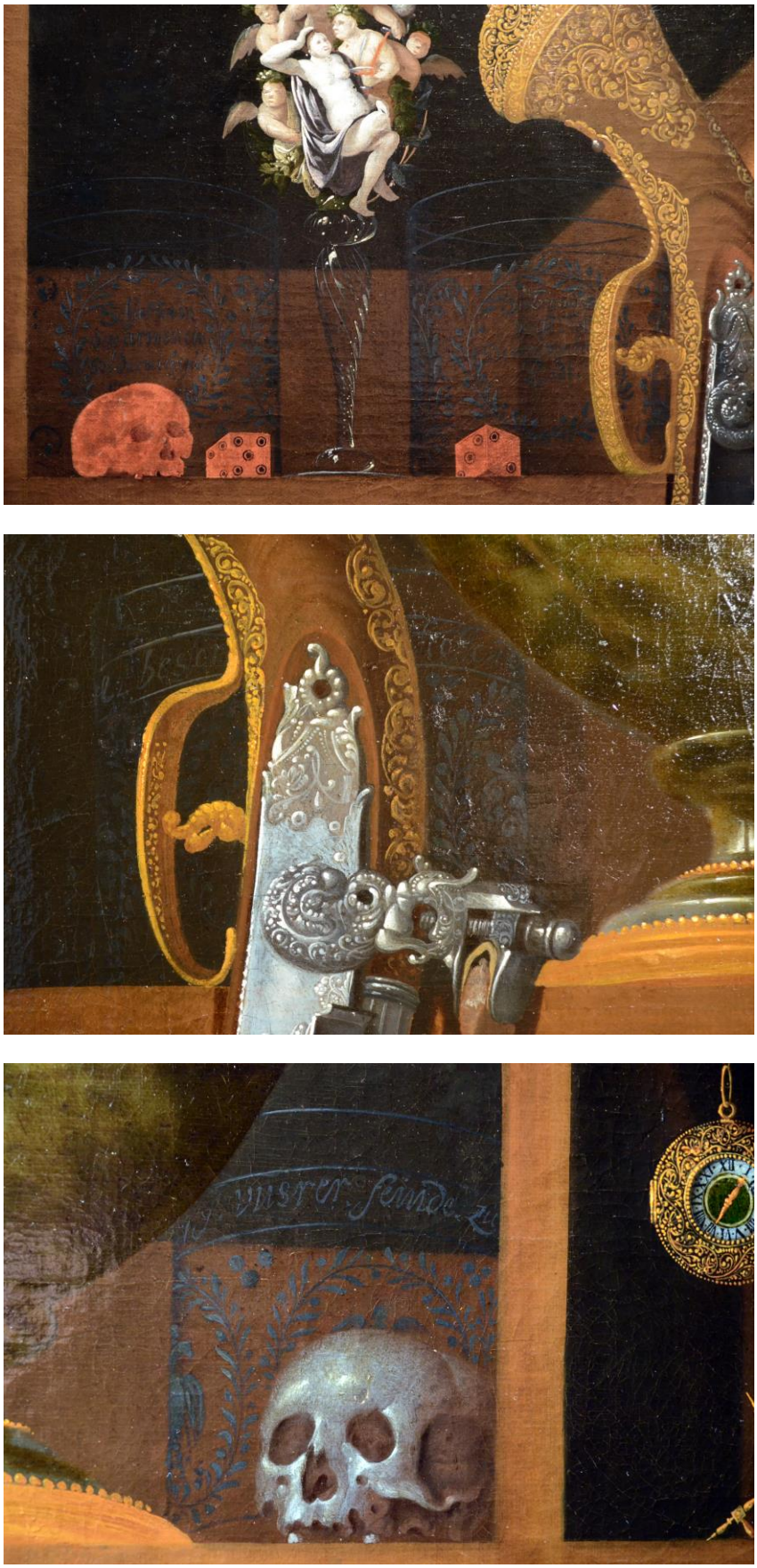

Figs. 7-9. Johann Georg Hinz, *The Cabinet of Curiosities*. Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu, Romania. Details.

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Fig. 10. Johann Georg Hinz, *The Cabinet of Curiosities*. Kunsthalle Hamburg, Germany.

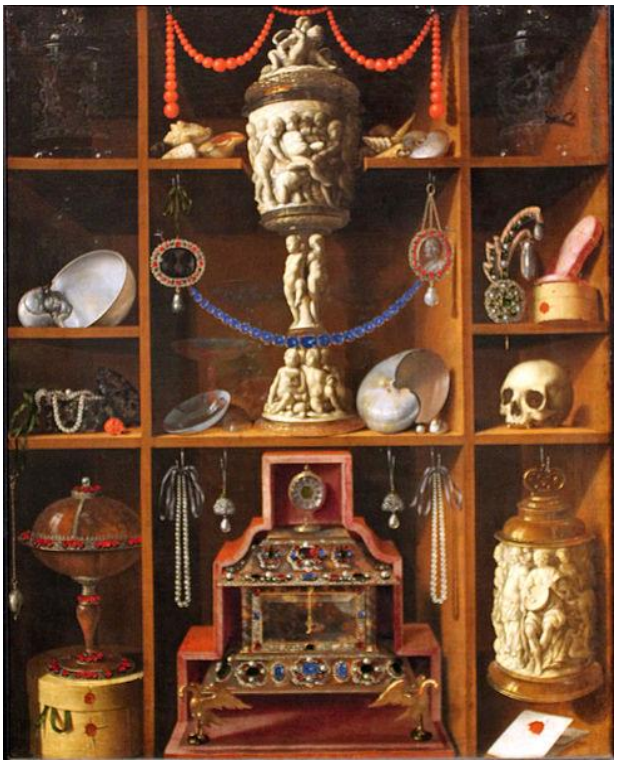

Fig. 11. Johann Georg Hinz, *The Cabinet of Curiosities with Ivory Goblet*. Statens Museum før Kunst Copenhagen, Denmark.

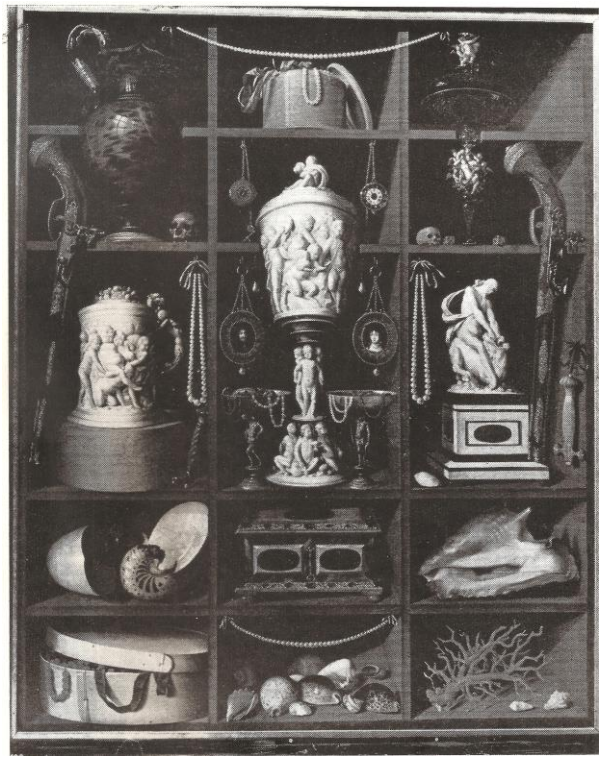

Fig. 12. Johann Georg Hinz, *The Shelf with Antiquities*. Zámek Rychnov nad Kněžnou, Czech Republic. After Německé malířství 1989.

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SYNODAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMANIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH (18th AND 19th CENTURIES): ARGUMENTS FOR EXPLOITING A SPECIAL SOURCE HERITAGE

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Abstract: *The study presents a quantitative research based on a very rich source heritage consisting of published and unpublished documents that have not been systematically exploited yet. The author reemploys the synodal documents of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (18th and 19th centuries), representing in fact the current memory of the Church. The collection and analysis of this significant archival material allows the author to discuss certain important aspects of institutional history, religious life and anthropology of religion as part of the church history of Transylvanian Romanians in the modern age. In addition, the exploitation of this rich heritage may stimulate a systematic and necessary comparative study of religious life in Transylvania and similar research in neighbouring regions and cultures, such as Hungary or Slovakia.*

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

Synodal papers document the day-to-day history of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania in the modern age. Therefore this paper proposes an international cooperation, funded by a project of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary (The history of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church in the mirror of its synods [18th and 19th centuries]. Contract no. DSZ/61/2013), as an integral part of a larger project of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This project studies the relationship between State and Society from the 18th to the 20th century, interested in how the Church contributed to the modernization of society by the decisions taken at the synods („A katolikus egyház zsinatai és nagygyűlései Magyarországon/Synods and Assemblies of the Catholic Church in Hungary, 1790 - 2010", nr. OTKA NK 83799, director CSI dr. Balogh Margit, see: http://nyilvanos.otka-palyazat. hu/index. Php ? menuid = 930 & num = 83799 & lang = EN). I chose to focus on the issue of synodality as an expression of confessional identity, and the fact that this analysis extended over a period of two centuries (18th-19th) has led to relevant conclusions. They emphasised, on the one hand, the normative capacity of the synods and proved their will for social modernization. On the other hand, the synodal decisions, as a result of debates and consensus, illustrated in the end the social dimension of faith. Regarded from the perspective of the relation Catholic Reformation - *Aufklärung*, the constantly and coherently formulated synodal regulations prove the success of the principles of Catholic Reformation in the Romanian Uniate Church of Transylvania.

At its meetings in 1697, 1698, and 1700 the synod, the most important institution of the Romanian Eastern Church, decided on the union of the Eastern Church of Transylvania with the Church of Rome. At the time when the religious Union was concluded by Bishop Teofil (4 June 1697) and by Bishop Atanasie (1701) Rome treated the Union of the Romanians and that of the Rutheniansas being within the framework of the Council of Trent: the placing of the new churches under the jurisdiction of Rome (Stanciu 2010, 176-195). The era recognized the distinction between jurisdictional problems and those related to dogma and ritual and thereby maintained the canonical and disciplinary individuality which characterized the status of the Uniate Church of Transylvania. This reality marked the institutional evolution of the Church and regulated the relationship between the Holy See and the Uniate Church in Transylvania in the modern period.

The analysis of its institutional history is done through synodal acts and decrees of the Church beginning in 1782, when Ioan Bob was elected Bishop and at the institutional level he prepared the Church for the modern age (A.N.D.J.A.*M. R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1782, f. 11r-26r). The study is based on a special source heritage consisting of reproductions of unpublished documents from the archives (some 4000) as well as documents published in the 19th century in

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various volumes, brochures, and the press of the time, all referring to the organization and conduct of synods of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania (See the A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.* references). We decided that the moment was opportune to gather together these documents, scattered in various archives, in the contemporary press and in collections of sources preserved in Blaj, in a single volume, which, they are certain, will be useful for both Hungarian and Romanian historiography (Moldovan 1869; Moldovan 1872; Conciliu 1882; Conciliu 1885; Conciliu 1906).

Since the amount of material they have uncovered is vast, the editors of the volume were obliged to make a selection of relevant documents that were decisive in determining State-Church relations, notably those dealing with church autonomy and the internal organization of the Romanian Uniate Church. In the same way, the book focuses on the discussions and the decisions in the synods that regulated matters of faith and responded to questions of canon law, which the editors have arranged as follows: 1. the convocation of the synod; 2. the members of the synod; 3. the list of problems discussed; 4. the minutes of the synod; and 5. the rulings of the synod. This perspective also requires the identification of resistance to modernization. Therefore, my research also traces the strengthening of the new Greek Catholic confessional solidarity, which constructed the confessional and ethnic identity alike (Stanciu 2015, 701-712; Tamási 2015, 179-200). For this reason, in the case of the 19th century the analysis tackles how social modernization took place in Transylvania as an effect of the synodal decisions of the Greek Catholic Church. The relationship between regional identity on confessional grounds and social modernization illustrates in Transylvania, as in all territories of the Habsburg Empire, the efficient cooperation of State and Church. It is a way of approach which offers a huge potential for further investigation, in correlation with research done in other, neighbouring historiographies (Hungarian and Slovakian). Therefore it is a priority of this research to present the significance of the synodal decisions of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania, on the basis of published and unpublished documents and a critical investigation of the rich historiography in the field.

The post-Tridentine Catholic model and the performances of the European historiography of the 18th century turned the synodality of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church into a subject of interest also for Romanians from Transylvania (Aguirre 1693, 1753, *passim*; Batthyány 1785, passim; Péterffy 1742, *passim*; Sirmond 1629, *passim*, Szvorényi 1807, *passim;* Wilkins 1737, *passim*). However, this interest is limited to the late 19th and late 20th centuries. In agreement with the initiative of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Alba Iulia, Ignatius Batthyány (Batthyány 1785, Szvorényi 1807, apud Mârza 2014, 77-82), and completing the work of the Jesuit Nicolaus Nilles, the contribution of I. M. Moldovan and the full scale publication of the documents of the provincial synods (1872, 1882, 1900) came as a partial restitution (Moldovan 1869, *passim*; Moldovan 1872, *passim*; Conciliu 1882, passim; Conciliu 1885, passim; Conciliu 1906, *passim*) of the synodal documents of the Greek Catholic Church from the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a synchronization with European church historiography, which had already moved on to the next step, the discussion of the problem of synodality (Ram 1828, 1858; Haddam, Stubbs 1860-1878; Leclercq 1907, 1921). The analysis of the role of synods in the history of the Greek Catholic Church has only continued in Romanian historiography during the last twenty-five years. This endeavour comes as a renewed intention to exploit yet unpublished documents and its main performance is to use the results of the initiative carried out a century ago. This almost a century-long gap of Romanian historiography has been filled during this while by the works of Ioan Bălan, Charles de Clercq and J. D. Mansi, who all brought their contributions to disseminating the synodal documents of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church to international church historiography.

Romanian historiography has also put forward works of canon law that treated the attributions and composition of the synod. At the end of the 18th century, under the influence of Catholic Reformation (Febronianism, Gallicanism), Petru Maior advocated the return to the synodal tradition of the Romanian Church. In the middle of full-fledged Josephinism, the stake of his work *Protopopadichia* (1795) was the argumentation of the autonomy of the Church within Catholic universalism (Stanciu 1998b, 21-53), a thesis corresponding to the cultural and political needs of the Romanian nation. Relying on tradition, Maior considered that the synod was the authentic form of Church government and the representative – actually, the only recognized - institution of Romanians from Transylvania (Stanciu 2003, 197-200; Stanciu 1998b, 21-53). This conception was also adopted by the

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following generation. Simion Bărnuțiu saw the synod as a mixed representative assembly that had to undertake the leadership of the Romanian nation both on an ecclesiastical and national level (Chindriș 2003, 385-390; Dumitran 2007, 279; Ghișa 2008b, 50-60). It was mainly the support of this thesis that influenced the polemics between Petru Maior and his superior, Bishop Ioab Bob, and also the conflict between Professor Simion Bărnuțiu and Bishop Ioan Lemeni.

The subject of synodality in Romanian historiography returned with the appearance of the work *Dialog despre constituțiunea bisericească şi despre sinoade* (1861) [A dialogue on church constitution and synods], written by Ioan Vancea, canon of Oradea. The work was pleading for the synod as the exclusive government of the Church, with lay participation only to the extent allowed by canon law. Bishop of Oradea Iosif Papp Szilágyi also expressed his views about the composition and competences of the synod. In his work *Enchiridion Juris Ecclesiae Orientalis Catholicae* (1862), he supported the ordinary jurisdiction of bishops as representatives of the Pope in the government of the Church, and assigned no role at all for laypeople in the synod (Bocșan, Cârja 2001, 120-121). In his work *Institutiunile dreptului besericescu, cu respectu la disciplina vigente in provincia metropolitana greco-catolica de Alba-Iulia - Fagarasiu* [The institution of canon law, with respect to the rules in force in the Greek Catholic Metropolitan province of Alba Iulia-Făgăraş] (1873: Barta 2007, 9-25), following in the steps of Petru Maior and Bărnuțiu, and opposing Szilágyi, canonist Ioan Rațiu conveyed an advisory role to laymen in the mixed synod. Again in order to reinforce the specificity of the Greek Catholic Church in the Roman Catholic world, Petru Maior's position was also reiterated by canon Ioan Micu Moldovan, who claimed the return to synodality, with a fair proportion of implication of the laity. More moderately, in articles published in the press of the time, Grigore Silași thought that the laity should only have a say in "temporal or external" business, supporting the organization of the new Metropolitan Bishopric on synodal basis (Bocșan, Cârja 2001, 123-127). Alexandru Grama was the first to connect the inclusion of the laity into the synod to the contact between Calvinism and Orthodoxy. Moreover, in her research about the origins of the institution of the synod, Ana Dumitran added to Grama's view the argument of the internal evolution of the institution, which she considers to be the result of the influence of external factors which favoured the inclusion of the laity in the synod (Dumitran 2004, 169-170).

The analysis of Greta Monica Miron was the first in Romanian historiography to launch the systematic research of the history of the synod as an institution (Miron 2004, 109-117). Based on the large amount of sources and bibliography, Miron identified the majority of the synods, establishing the composition and role of this institution in the 18th century. For the following century, the Cluj school of history led by Professor Nicolae Bocșan conducted an integrated research of the history of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church and the dynamics of its institutions, separately for each bishop and metropolitan bishop: Ioan Bob (Dumitran 2007, *passim*), Ioan Lemeni (Ghișa 2008a; Ghișa 2008b; Deteșan 2007, 2012), Ioan Vancea (Cârja 2007), and Victor Mihály de Apșa (Covaci 2010). The problem of sinodality has recently gained the attention of theologians as well. They studied the subject from multiple points of view: that of confessional identity (for the period 1697-1742: Barta 2007, 9-25), analysis of the main synods from the point of view of canon law (18th and 20th centuries: Bleiziffer 2002, 24-49), or clarified the role of the bishop during synods.

During the period under review (1782-1900) both extraordinary and ordinary synods were held. They were forums which debated and made decisions about the internal administrative and canonical organization of the Romanian Uniate Church.

Among the extraordinary synods were the electoral synods (1782: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R. U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1782, f. 11r-26r; 1832: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1833; 1850: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Reg.* 1845; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Reg.* 1846; 1868: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Cab. Mitrop.* 1869; 1893: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1893) and synods convoked to swear allegiance to the new emperor (1791, 1792, 1838: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1791; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1792). In general, synods held to take the oath of loyalty to the emperor are less relevant to our project and therefore receive relatively little attention (See the Documents from the National Archive of Alba District). Electoral synods, specific to the character of the Eastern Church, inherited one of the attributes of the "Grand Assembly" (Săborul Mare), namely, the right of the clergy gathered in the synod to elect their bishop. Throughout the

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19th century the preservation of this right served to confirm the autonomy of the Uniate Church in its relations with the State and the Latin Church (Cârja, Sularea 2007, 5-42). Although because of political pressures discussions in the synod had to be limited to the naming of candidates for the vacant see, in the electoral synods of 1782 and 1832 other canonical and ecclesiastical matters were discussed, and the synod of 1850 even debated political questions (See the Documents from the National Archive of Alba District and Stanciu 2015, 701-712; Tamási 2015, 179-200). Other exceptions were the electoral synods of 10-11 August 1868 and 16 April 1893, when delegates protested against the interference of the State in the affairs of the Church and against limitations on church autonomy. Thus, the acts of these synods recorded the will of the clergy to preserve the Eastern tradition in the Church. The electoral synod of 1868, through the ten points it adopted, reiterated the right of the representatives of the clergy to elect their bishop as an important aspect of the struggle to defend the autonomy of the Greek Catholic Church (Bocșan, Cârja 2004, *passim*). It is significant that this right was asserted against the intervention of both the State and the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church in its affairs which took place as a result of the new political order introduced after the Compromise of 1867.

Ordinary synods were diocesan synods (1821, 1833), archdiocesan synods (1869, 1889, 1896, 1899), and provincial synods (1872, 1882, 1900). In the 19th century ordinary synods were convoked by the Bishop (after 1853 the Metropolitan) of Blaj by means of circular letters. At the request of the Gubernium the synods were organized by the Episcopal, later Metropolitan, Consistory, which also proposed the date of the meeting, all with the approval of the Ministry of Cults in Buda and, of course, of the Emperor in Vienna (Stanciu 2014, 83-89).

The debates and decisions of the Greek Catholic synod of 15-17 September 1821, which was convoked in preparation for the meeting of the general council of the Catholic Church of Hungary, show us that the decisions made at Blaj were compatible with synodal discussions and the decisions reached in the five commissions of the Council of Bratislava of 1822 (Dumitran 2007, 377-385). We have in mind those matters relating to the duties of the bishop, the morality of the clergy, the reinvigoration of social morals, the organization of schools and of theological seminaries, and the reform of monastic orders and ecclesiastical tribunals. The diocesan synod which met at Blaj on 3/15 July 1833 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.* Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1833) continued the work of the preceding diocesan synod (1821). It limited itself strictly to the regulation of ecclesiastical matters and pursued the improvement of the material, cultural, and moral condition of the clergy. The decisions of the synod continued the tendency toward the centralization of power in the Church by strengthening the bishop's authority at the expense of collective, synodal leadership. The functioning of ecclesiastical institutions and the conduct of the clergy were regulated in minute detail.

The electoral synod of 1868 and especially the archdiocesan synod of 1869 of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania regulated questions concerning the practices and procedures of the Church such as the marriage of priests, the authority of the synod in leading the Church, the attributes of protopopes, the role of laymen in the Church, the organization and canon law specific to the Eastern Catholic Church, and the election of the metropolitan and bishops (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B., Cab. Mitrop.* 1868; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B., Cab. Mitrop.* 1869). These were questions raised by Greek Catholic representatives from Transylvania who took part in Vatican Council I (1869-1870: Bocșan, Cârja 2001). The delegation of the Greek Catholic Church assumed responsibility for presenting and defending before the Council the specific nature of the Greek Catholic Church (Sima 2002, 104-113). The subjects under discussion were those referring to tradition, practices and procedures, canon law, and dogma in relation to the Latin Church, as well as the Eastern Catholic individuality of the Romanian Church, its hierarchical relations with the Latin Church, and its autonomy in the Catholic world. As a consequence of the work of Vatican Council I the provincial synod of the Greek Catholic Church was held in 1872 (Sima 2002, 104-113; Raquez 2004, 139-147; Sima 2007). The purpose of the synod had to do with the preservation of the individuality and the specific character of the Eastern tradition of the Greek Catholic Church, but also with the need to align the Church with the ecclesiology of Ecumenical Vatican Council I. The acts and decisions of the provincial synod of 1872 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.,* Arh. Gen: doc. înr. 1872), modified and approved by the Holy See (Conciliu 1882), respected the above-mentioned coordinates and assured the Romanian Church a constitution, a proper organization, and a clear

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identity, which was perfected in the provincial synods of 1882 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. înr. 1882) and 1900 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Cab. Mitrop.* 1900; Conciliu 1906).

The last three archdiocesan synods of 1889 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. înr. 1889), 1896 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. înr. 1896; Covaci 2006), and 1899 (A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. înr. 1899) provided for the maintenance of a decent standard of living for priests and an improved administration of archdiocesan church and school funds by reorganizing the commission charged with oversight of church accounts, and, in general, assured the improvement of the eparchy's administration (Covaci 2010, 77-99). Noteworthy also was the canonical procedure instituted to "eliminate concubinage" (1889), the codification of rules concerning the efficient administration of "archdiocesan funds and foundations," and the improvement of the condition of schools and of the procedures for handling matrimonial questions (1896). The archdiocesan synod of 1899 was noteworthy for its celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Union, its reiteration of the attachment of the Greek Catholic Church to the Holy See, and its robust protest against Hungarian Catholic autonomy. It is evident in the acts and decisions of these last three synods how greatly the Greek Catholic Church had evolved and how much progress it had made in church administration.

If in the 18th century the general synod met on the average of once every three years, in the following century we have a period of 36 years in which the diocesan synod did not meet (1833-1869: A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, Arh. Gen: doc. neînr. 1833; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Reg.* 1845; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Reg.* 1846; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Cab. Mitrop.* 1851; A.N.D.J.A.*M.R.U.B.*, *Cab. Mitrop.* 1868; Bonda 2008, *passim*). This situation was a result, on the one hand, of the intervention of the absolutist political regime, which was cautious about permitting the gathering of the Uniate clerical elite, which had proven its attachmentto the national cause of the Romanians of Transylvania. On the other hand, the centralizing pressure of the Roman Catholic Church caused the synod to lose steadily its importance in the leadership of the Church, all at the expense of the consistory and the chapter of canons. We may note, on the other hand, the increasing role of the canons in the various synodal commissions. Toward the end of the 19th century, they were responsible along with the bishops they were responsible for providing the plenum of the synod with normative texts for debate.

For the period analyzed (1782-1900) we may note the persistence of the Uniate clerical elite in regulating through the synod essential aspects of internal church life, especially those relating to discipline, dogma, the liturgy, and organization. The acts and decisions of ordinary synods were focused on five important aspects: 1. The state of the Union in Transylvania (1701, 1707, 1711, 1713, 1728, 1744, 1750, 1766, 1768, 1821, 1838, 1868, 1872, 1882, 1899 and 1900); 2. Concern for ensuring the proper functioning of central and local ecclesiastical institutions, including schools and economic bodies (1779, 1821, 1833, 1869, 1889, 1896, 1899); 3.Close attention to the discipline and morality of the clergy (1703, 1725, 1869, 1889); 4. The status of the priest in his community through proper attention to improving his financial situation and the systematic education of the clergy (1702, 1738, 1821, 1833, 1869, 1889, 1896, 1899); 5.Concern for the maintenance intact of the Eastern tradition and of the autonomy of the Romanian Uniate Church in its relations with the Roman Catholic Church and the State. We wish to emphasize the success of the Uniate elite in large measure in achieving its goals and preserving the Eastern individuality of the Greek Catholic Church through its rites and liturgy, the form of its houses of worship, and a coherent policy in matrimonial questions (1701, 1702, 1732, 1734, 1742, 1754, 1833, 1872, 1882, 1889, 1896), including the specific Eastern practice of the married priest (1872).

Decisions of ordinary synods (diocesan, archdiocesan, and provincial), less so of extraordinary synods (electoral and those convoked to swear the oath of fidelity to the emperor), embodied both the vision of the bishop, who summoned delegates to the assembly, and the aims for which the synod had been convoked. The circulars calling the clergy together, the discussions contained in the minutes, and, finally, the decisions of the synod, in effect, set forth the plans of the bishop for the institutional and canonical renovation of the Church he led (See the Documents from the National Archive of Alba District). The documents from the synods provide us not only with information about the clerical elite of the first rank (bishop s and metropolitan) but also with details concerning the second-rank clergy (vicars, canons, protopopes, priests, professors). The synods were good occasions to display individual personalities and attitudes

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reveal the interests and involvement of the diocesan clergy in the fundamental problems of the eparchy. The workings of the synod also offer us a perspective on the functioning of institutional and, especially, human relationships in the Romanian Uniate Church (1782, 1868, 1869, 1889, 1899).

The inclusion of proposals from parishes, which originated in debates in the synods of protopopiates, on the agenda items of archdiocesan and provincial synods, suggests something about the vision and involvement of the local clergy and the interest of parishioners in the ecclesiastical reform of the Uniate Church, as is clear in the synods of 1869, 1889, 1896, and 1899. From the perspective of church practices and procedures, the fundamental difference in the organization of synods between Latin and Eastern Christians resides in the fact that while Eastern Christians preserved the important role of laymen in the synods, the Latins did not accept their involvement in the governance of the Church. These differences were the occasions for debate at Vatican Council I in 1870.

The acts of the protopopiate synods, to the extent that they are preserved in the archives, reveal the preoccupation of the clergy and parishioners with a variety of problems, from matters of dogma (*About God*) to practical issues of everyday life such as the formation of temperance societies and associations for pensions for invalid priests, the overseeing of accounts of church and school funds, and celibacy, and a consistent concern for improving morality among both the clergy and faithful. The majority of themes discussed in these synods took practical form in proposals passed on to archdiocesan synods to be transposed into normative acts. The procedure was repeated in the case of demands coming from local bodies that were discussed in archdiocesan synods at the beginning of the 20th century in 1904, 1906, and 1909.

In this context the debates of the synod as recorded in the minutes reveal both the principles of internal functioning of an institution at a time of reform and modernization and the dynamics of the inter-institutional relationship among the Uniate Church, the State, and the Roman Catholic Church. The acts of the synod contain the main organizational and canonical problems on which the clergy of the protopopiates of the Eparchy of Blaj and Făgăraş had to make decisions. All these acts present the substance of the issues which were to be debated and decided upon at the highest level of Church leadership. The questions posed for debate at the synod offer us a horizontal perspective on the adoption of canonical regulations. At the same time we may also form an idea from a vertical perspective on the way in which the decisions taken at the synod were applied to the day-to-day life of the protopopiates, as may be seen in the reports of synodal commissions in 1869, 1889, 1896, and 1899. Those synodal debates which did not result in final decisions clearly reveal the limits of such representative institutions. In judging this lack of accomplishment, we must mention the extenuating circumstances created by the complex situation of the time. Here we have in mind the double pressure exercised, on the one hand, by the canonical supervisers of the Holy See (as is evident in the case of the decisions of provincial synods in 1872 and 1882) and, on the other hand, by the secular authorities, who were prone to interfere in the administration of the Church (Bocșan, Cârja 2001, *passim*).

Finally, we may say that the synod constituted an expression of church autonomy and was the sole institution that could make decisions regarding the governance of the Church. The synod reached decisions on the improvement of the relation of State and Church (1869, 1899), issued official statements on the policies of the State toward the Church (1872, 1882, 1900), and remained the forum which was empowered to transmit the desires of Uniate Transylvanians for institutional and canonical autonomy in relation to Hungarian Catholicism (1899). The acts of the synods of the Greek Catholic Church may, therefore, constitute a reference point for comparative investigations of the organization and functioning of the Eastern Catholic Churches and the Roman Catholic Church in this region in the 18th and 19th centuries (Bleiziffer 2016, *passim*). I am convinced of the utility of this research in that it exploits an exceptional source heritage, which informs both the field of institutional history and that of religious life or anthropology of religion. The validity of this statement is confirmed by the very content of these acts, which are similar to acts issued at the time by other Churches. For the historian interested in the subject the acts of the synods may serve a double purpose as instruments for probing and understanding the past. They reveal a realistic desire to carry out institutional reform to the extent allowed within the political and canonical context of the moment, but at the same time they may also offer an indication of the way in which decisions reached at the synods were transformed into everyday practice.

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ROMANIAN "NATIONAL" COSTUME: GENESIS OF AN IDENTITY SYMBOL

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Abstract: *The study proposes an excursion in the history of how the specific folk costume has been perceived, from a social mark deprived of prestige, to a symbol of the Romanian nation, adopted and promoted by the elite of the society and by the institutions of the modern state.*
The stimulus of these shifts is to be placed around 1830-1840, with both cultural and political grounds. The western look upon the pre-modern Romanian society and then its appropriation by the local aristocracy, educated in the European academic centres of the time, seem to have originated the phenomenon. Each of the great political movements of the century provided further motivation for the transfiguration of the folk costume, which was given new and new values on the occasion of the 1848 Revolution and of the unionist movement, at the beginnings of the Romanian Principality, when state independence was gained, and culminating with the Great Union of 1918.
All along this way, a decisive role was played by the ladies educated in the spirit of the romantic and civic patriotism characterizing the second half of the 19th century, particularly the Princesses of Romania – Elena Cuza, Elisabeta, Maria and her daughters – who actually institutionalised the new symbolism of the Romanian costume. Although at its origins it had been the product of a modest, anonymous world, clearly differentiated from the urban and nobility elites, the costume in question became, over several generations, an object of institutionalised trading, protection and promotion.
Its establishment and canonization as an emblem of the Romanian ethnicity and state started by means of private initiatives – private collections, cultural or charity settlements, organization of exhibitions, competitions, costume parties and patriotic festivities –, which never disappeared completely, but the process was finalized with the contribution of the public (especially school) institutions, which imposed catalogues of models, regulations of production and exhibition, forms of certification of the skills needed for the transmission of folk and national art, etc.

Keywords: *tradition, folk art, national symbol, modernity, patronage*

The un-invented tradition

In the following lines, we aim at questioning the historicity of some traditional practices, usually deemed timeless or older than they really are. The study of the origin, evolution, finalities, utilization or dissolution of such *traditions* has become over the last decades a subject of cultural studies, of investigations about historical memory and cultures, of political rituals and social history[1], so that our approach actually extends to the Romanian case a well-known type of research in the western historiography.

By invoking a *non-invented* tradition, we underline the certain pre-existence of some realities in use, received and reformulated in time by the educated observers. We think that "traditional" art was not *imagined* in the usual sense of the Romanian language, starting from something completely different or even inexistent. It was a reality partially preceding modernity, but adapted and administered according to some public expectations and commands. Benedict Anderson's famous formula – *Imagined communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* – is rather peculiar to the former western colonies, forced, for instance, to appropriate the anniversary of the French Revolution as a crucial event of their past, than to the modern Romanian society, however fascinated it was by various models.

[1] We do not aim at summarizing this vast corpus of studies. We will only mention a recent, courageous and well-documented work, which brings forth the fact that the very notion of "peasant" was questioned by the critics of the national "traditions", determined to investigate even the most indestructible representations of social and cultural history; see Alex Drace-Francis, *The Tradition of Invention. Romanian Ethnic and Social Stereotypes in Historical Context*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2013, especially the first chapter, "The Tradition of Invention. Representation of the Romanian Peasant from Ancient Stereotype to Modern Symbol" (Drace-Francis 2013, 11-59).

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In fact, even the more radical wording by Eric Hobsbawm, who invoked the "invention of tradition", could equate, at a new reassessment, a process of formalisation and ritualization of functional social practices (Hobsbawm 1984, 1, 3-4). Under the name of "traditions", the volume published by Hobsbawm in 1984 was targeting other kind of historical realities than the ones we aim today, investigating rather the area of the legitimizing political ceremonies (the establishment of national days/festivities, the construction of memorials, the organization of civic festivities, etc.). There were just brief mentions of public display of the peasant costume in nineteenth century England, as a way to proclaim a valuable social identity (Hobsbawm 1984, 7-8). His investigation however provides a useful suggestion to the present approach, as it correlates the phenomenon of "mass" production and spread of traditions with some governing problems of that time, and with the need to generate new forms of loyalty and cooperation from the part of the citizens of a new modern state; which mainly happened in the years 1870-1914 (Hobsbawm 1984a, 263-265). From this point of view, the civicism circulated by the just understanding and promotion of Romanian national/traditional art products could be correlated with the same institutional construction simultaneously going on in the states that were models of western European civilization (Thiesse 2000).

Collections of objects and images

Speaking about Carol I's arrival to the country, in 1866, Sabina Cantacuzino mentioned the fact that her father, Ion C. Brătianu, accompanied the prince to "meet the most famous Romanian family, due to both its culture, and its disinterested patriotic feelings", the Goleşti family. At their mansion, the ladies, who were "all waring the peasant costume", entered a *hora* [traditional circle dance] with the villagers. Carol was very impressed then by Anica Racoviţă (a niece of the famous patriot Nicolae Golescu, married to doctor Carol Davila), quite impressive in those clothes (Cantacuzino 1933, 54)[2]. At the end of the year, the young woman sent to Prince Carol's sister "Romanian costumes, whose originality delighted the princess" (Grecu 2012, 75).

There are also other signals about the fact that, occasionally, girls from important families of the country resorted to the "national" costume: portraits from that time, or even from earlier periods than the story about the Golescu family. Being, in general, portraits made by foreign painters, we could suppose that they were the ones who asked the models to appear in such costumes that provided a picturesque and memorable identity mark, highly appreciated in those days' Europe.

A recent case that was brought out to light was that of lady Aglaie Ghica (1834-1904), daughter of Grigore V Ghica (prince of Moldavia between 1849-1856) and mother of the well-known memorialist Radu Rosetti. Her face was included in an album of "beautiful women", receiving the name of *Mädchen aus der Moldau*. The young princess was not only wearing the peasant costume, but she was also spinning, so as to illustrate even more explicitly the role she took. As researcher Ruxandra Beldiman mentioned, "the album was offered by the group of artists of Munich to King Ludwig I of Bavaria, (1825-1848), when the allegorical statue of *Bavaria* by Leo von Klenze was inaugurated, with the contribution of the former monarch" (Beldiman 2012, 139-143)[3].

The well-known portraits of Mariţica Bibescu, made a few years earlier (1845), were stylising in a more sumptuous, oriental and post-Byzantine manner a Romanian costume dominated by elements specific to the southern areas[4]. But she appears too, in a later version (probably from 1849), posing in a more credible way, in an architectural setting of rural inspiration, with a sober costume and miming an activity specific to country women, with a spinning wheel and tow

[2] The scene is credible, as a beautiful portrait of Ana [Anica] Davila suggests, made by Sava Henţia in the years 1860 or 1870. Here, she is wearing a refined "national" costume with a transparent scarf and a noteworthy neck ornament: a dark strip with a locket (see illustration no. 94 in George Oprescu, *Pictura românească în secolul al XIX-lea* [Romanian Painting in Nineteenth Century], Bucharest, Editura Meridiane).

[3] The author identifies 1850 as the moment when the painting was made: the year when the Munich album was published, where the original painting, in oil, was reproduced. Taking into consideration Radu Rosetti's specification that the painter in question had come to Iaşi "around the beginning of Grigore Ghyka's rule", we could also estimate 1849 as the moment of the actual achievement of the painting (Beldiman 2012, 143-144, 146).

[4] "Both national costumes that Maria Bibescu wears have a composite character, representing, like in the case of Aglae Ghyka's costume as well, boyar versions of the traditional garment, cult re-elaborations, operated in the milieu of the princely courts of Bucharest and Iaşi, around the moment of the Unification of Principalities" (Beldiman 2012, 145).

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(1849)[5]. But the most emblematic one remains Mary Grant's allegorical portrait – C.A. Rosetti's English wife – symbolising, in the perspective of the painter Constantin Daniel Rosenthal, the *Revolutionary Romania* (a painting made in 1850, in Paris).

Besides the painters', the backers' or the models' political and civic implication, by choosing the "national" costume and no other kind of clothes, we can notice that, at least in the 1840s, there were local boyars and princes from the ruling families who could appreciate the peasant costume and art, providing them with a not only ethnographic and social, but also ethnical over-significance (Bușă ed. 2012, VII, 49-50, 59, 91)[6]. There are few clear data about those who were then collecting or using such objects, but it is known that first Romanian participations in the international exhibitions in the second half of the 19th century with such objects were mainly made of private collections items.

In 1865, France invited the United Principalities to participate in a major international exhibition, which was going to open in two years. The Committee established to be in charge with the participation of the Principalities in Paris included Theodor Aman, Alexandru Odobescu, Carol Davila. This was an important diplomatic chance, with obvious political stakes. Representing the official position of the government, Odobescu pleaded for an ample display of the country's natural and artistic treasures. For him, the paramount art element to be shown to the world was the very fact that "our people wears one of the most gracious costumes" (Vlad 2001, 24, 26). We could assume that several of the items were taken from different private persons, collectors or even villagers who sold or "lent" the domestic objects that called the committee's attention.

In the 1889 Paris Exhibition, the Romanian pavilion was organized and promoted to a great extent by prince George Bibescu, the son of the former Prince Gheorghe Bibescu. Objects from his private collection were included in the stand of woollen blankets and carpets, particularly catching the visitors' attention (Vlad 2001, 69-70). As the prince had lived, after his father's exile – Gheorghe Bibescu, former prince of Wallachia between 1843-1848 –, in France, we could suppose that at least part of the objects had been gathered by his family before his late return to Romania (after the 1877-1878 Independence War).

After the middle of the century, the interest of the boyar families in traditional art became even more obvious, along with the interest manifested by the princesses of Romania, but not necessarily because of it. In her memoirs, Elena Văcărescu (born in 1864) told that when she was around ten, while living at the mansion of Văcăreşti, in the county of Dâmbovița, she was very attracted by the peasants' lively coloured clothes, "with red, violet, golden-reddish or yellow nuances", as well as by the "men's imposing outfit". This was a spontaneous impulse, which outraged her English governess: "I was strictly forbidden to approach this rustic world, full of the unknown". Yet, her mother decides that it was time to start learning Romanian dances; so that, from a certain moment, she started to go, every Sunday, to the circle dance party in the village (Vulcănescu, Fălcoianu 2000, 41). This was maybe the memory of those circle dances that made the young woman, at the end of the 1870s, pose "in the Romanian costume" (Vulcănescu, Fălcoianu 2000, 40)[7]. Ion Brătianu's four daughters were also, occasionally, dressing the national costume[8]. The Brătianu family showed actually a clear interest in Romanian popular art, accentuated in the late 19th and the early 20th century[9]. In the same period, the information about the collectors' world grew more and more accessible.

Alexandru Tzigara Samurcaş, a passionate object-searcher himself, for him and for his museum, was informed about the most important private collections. A reason of conflict with Spiru Haret (the minister of religion and education of those years) was the very problem of acquisitions: "notifying the minister […] about the selling of the collection of Romanian tissues of baron

[5] This portrait belongs to painter Constantin Lecca, while those of 1845 to Carol Pop de Szathmari.

[6] Some foreign travellers who describe the costume specific to the inhabitants of the Romanian Principalities in the mid-19th century insist upon the fact that it is strictly associated to the "low classes", to villagers, while in the boyar families, women consider "rigorously the fashion of Paris".

[7] In 1879 she left to Paris with her parents, from where she returned around 1888, when she was called to the Court by queen Elisabeta.

[8] At least during a trip in north Moldavia, recorded by Nicolae Gane (Cantacuzino 1933, 327).

[9] For instance, Ionel Brătianu brought on his estate Horia's church, from the banks of Arieş (from Transylvania), in order to save it from destruction. He intended to make of it "a museum of Romanian objects" (Cantacuzino 1933, 364-365).

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Mustaţă [from Bucovina], he answered he has no money for such things" (Samurcaş 1991, I, 87)[10].

At the 1906 national exhibition, Bessarabia stood out "by the display of an interesting collection of traditional woollen carpets, quickly purchased by our public" (Samurcaş 1991, I, 206), which proved the existence of many informed collectors. The same year, Samurcaş managed to visit, at Sibiu, D. Comşa's rich collection "that, as he could not purchase for the Museum, which did not have money dedicated to this purpose, he recommended to Mrs. Eliza Brătianu, who bought it but also gave the Museum some double items" (Samurcaş 1991, I, 222). In 1908 he noted that, more than the Museum or other public institutions, the collections of Mrs (Eliza) Brătianu and of Alexandru Bellu "grow richer and richer" (Samurcaş 1991, I, 263). In 1908, on the occasion of another exhibition organized in Iaşi by N. Iorga, "in honour of the Bucovina inhabitants", "very precious objects […] were brought out […] from the old Moldavian *private collections* (our emphasis)" (Samurcaş 1991, I, 263).

Samurcaş had urged Henri Focillon to gather Romanian objects. "Before them, at the beginning of the century, the famous Alexandru Bogdan-Piteşti, a politician, a sponsor, a poet, an art critic, associated in his collection peasant art with the innovating painting and sculpture of his time, implicitly imposing in the Romanian society of that time new criteria of taste and artistic hierarchies. The icons and popular ceramic were placed at the same level as Luchian's and Ressu's painting or as Brâncuşi's sculpture" (Vlasiu 2000, 31). The public's tastes were more and more courageous and varied.

The national festivities in the early 20th century particularly encouraged the presentation and purchase of popular art items, which could satisfy both the refined aesthetic criteria, and the artisan impulses of the less pretentious public. To make the selection and reproduction of "genuine" national art models easier, several albums were published, and in many cases, it was the initiative of those who already had rich collections (Comşa 1904). Sometimes, they were those ladies involved in the societies for the promotion of folk art, among whom the most famous ones were Elena Cornescu (Cornescu 1906)[11] and Eliza Brătianu (Brătianu 1943)[12].

The latter testified, in the 1943 album preface, that "for a very long time, since my childhood I might say, the Romanian stitches have been for me a subject of astonishment and delight. Considering that I lived, as a child, most of the time in the country, I got used to the costumes of our peasant women, which later I saw – as a "fashion" – in the women's world in Bucharest and Sinaia. But how little the *imitation* [author's emphasis] that the latter brought forth resembles the costumes of the former, the ones I saw in the world of our villages" (Brătianu 1943, 1). Yet, her plates included models taken from the *ştergare* [embroidered cloths] belonging to queen Elisabeta or from the collection of lady Maria Racotă (Brătianu 1943, see plates 4, 10, 11).

It is interesting that most of the collectors did not make their passion public, associating the objects of "folk art" with the intimacy of a space less exposed to social rigors[13], with the nonchalance of

[10] The account is placed in the context of evoking the 1904 festivitaties, dedicated to the commemoration of four hundred years since the death of Stephen the Great.

[11] Her successors kept a vivid record of this achievement, associating it with her activity at the "Furnica" company and with the dedication of her whole family to the "cause" of folk art. Elisabeta Odobescu-Goga remembered, about this episode, that "in 1906, at King Carol's jubilee, my grandmother had released an album of Romanian stitches [on graph paper] and my aunts, my mother, my uncle, several family friends were all coping shirt embroideries. Stich by stich. And she made an album, she sent [the material] to Germany, because home they did not have colour printing, and she made a stitches album. Each shirt represented a county. There was the sleeve, there was the front part… each stich had a name" (Rostás 2004, 176).

[12] The most famous is her album from 1943 (Elisa I. Brătianu, *Cusături Româneşti* [Romanian Stitches], Bucharest, Marvan, Ediţiune a Consiliului Superior al Industriei Casnice, 1943, 180 plates), reedited in small format (*Cusături româneşti culese de Elisa I. Brătianu* [Romanian Stitches collected by Elisa I. Brătianu], Bucharest, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Marvan" S.A.R, 16 plates, 1943). But, at the beginning of the century a first collection had been published with *Models of national stitches*, published by Eliza A. Marghiloman, at Carol Göbl, in Bucharest, with 104 pages in "black, red and blue" (see no. 4 of the inventory made by G.T. Niculescu-Varone, *Albume cu modele de cusături naţionale. Bibliografie (1893-1939)* [Albums with models of national stitches. A Bibliography (1893-1939)], Bucharest, Tipografia "Graiul Românesc", 1939, 16 p.). At that time, Eliza Ştirbei was married to Al. Marghiloman, and it was only in 1906 that she became Ionel Brătianu's wife.

[13] Zoe Cămărăşescu spoke about the passion of her younger sister, for whom, in order to please her, her husband had arranged on their estate of Ştorobăneasa, county of Teleorman, "a peasant *little house*", "a *real toy* for us" (our emphasis)". Here, her sister, with her "childish" way, was bringing everything that "she gathered, from all the corners of the country where she travelled, a piece of an old plate, a cloth of a rare colour, a stitch of a more original drawing, an icon coming

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holidays[14], with the trips in the country, when they could take the liberty of a less rigid dress, adequate to the rustic environment[15].

Princely patronage and national costumes

In the 1870s, queen Elisabeta wished to show as explicitly as possible her sympathy for the Romanian costume, which she was wearing on certain public occasions[16], preferring the stylised variants, sometimes particularly sumptuous ones. Since 1869, her first year in Romania, the princess was photographed "wearing the national folk costume, which she received as a gift from her husband" (Badea-Păun 2007)[17]. It was not only a caprice. In a few years, in a 1872 painting, Elisabeta was wearing an impressive southern costume, with a floss silk shawl, big beads necklaces and a richly adorned *fota* [traditional skirt] (Carandino-Platamona 1936, 55)[18].

Her attitude was in accordance to the political and aesthetical option of other Princesses (German too) from the previous decades. "By 1830-1860, the effigies painted in national costumes – wives and daughters of kings or princes in south-eastern Europe – were related to the idea of independence and national unity. By adopting the dress in question, this kind of effigy, having the connotation of "portrait to defend", acquired a symbolic value, expressing national identity. We should also highlight the role played in the period by the important female characters in disseminating the taste for the fashion of the national costume. Thus, Amalia de Wittelsbach, queen of Greece, being in a milieu different from her native Germany, created in her adoptive country, around 1837-1840, a court costume called "queen Amalia costume"/"amaliopoimenes", reuniting ethnographic components from different regions of the country the costume was subsequently adopted by the city women of Greek origin from several regions of the Ottoman Empire, such as Serbia or Macedonia" (Beldiman 2012, 142-143).

But her gesture had local precedents, as the reminded portraits of Mariţica Bibescu suggest us, or the costumes of the ladies from the Goleşti mansion. A special case is that of Princess Elena Cuza, who did not assume directly the traditional costumes[19], but created – firmly and not

from the old days, a burned cauldron, a clay pot of the most perfect shape and so on" (Cămărăşescu 2011, 231).

[14] Folk art in its utilitarian form could also mean "a Romanian cloth apron, embroidered with red or blue cotton thread, bought by my mother from Tudoriţa of Câmpulung", worn in the house in the hot summer days (Cămărăşescu 2011, 164).

[15] Remembering her youth, spent at the Court of King Carol and Elisabeta, so restrictive because of the rigid etiquette, queen Maria wrote that during the trips on the Danube everything was more relaxed, they could renounce the formal dresses and put on the "peasant clothes" (see Maria, Regina României 2013, II, 311). The photographs speak about the same "vacation" option. Thus, in one of the walks in the forest, at Sinaia, Princess Maria posed "with my sons Carol and Nicolae in national costumes" (see the group of illustrations in Maria, Regina României 2013, II, 311). Another photo (probably dating from the 1920s) shows her together with her daughters, at Bran, all of them wearing national costumes. From a trip to the Danubian Delta, made in 1926, a photograph was preserved with the queen wearing again the folk costume, this time next to her son, Nicolae (see the illustrations of Gauthier 2004). Generally, the family albums are more explicit than the written notes, confirming that this was a pretty spread, self-evident phenomenon.

[16] Here is, for instance, an account about queen Elisabeta at the great ball of the Court from 1 January 1882: "la souveraine a inauguré les produits de l'industrie roumaine. Elle porte une robe d'étoile du pays, posée sur un transparent a reflets d'argent; garnitures de magnifique broderies d'or et d'argent, *style roumaine le plus pur, travaillée à l'école patronnée par Sa Majesté* (our emphasis)". This was a sumptuous, original costume that made her look imperial, Byzantine, and certainly not a "simple woman". But most of the ladies mentioned for their toilets that night did not wear such clothes, but western dresses and accessories, sophisticated and intensly coloured. Only a few of them had a white "Romanian cloth" costume (lady Radu Mihai), embroidered with fanciful motifs (Eufrosina Grădişteanu, the Queen's lady of honour) or at least "Romanian golden embroidery" on white satin (Miss Romalo) (see Claymoor s.a., 5-6).

[17] The photograph (made by Franz Duscheck) was identified in the Cabinet of stamps of the Bucharest Romanian Academy Library.

[18] A possible explanation for the portraits in national costumes might be the direct influence of painter Nicolae Grigorescu. About this, doctor Constantin Istrati noted in his memoirs: "Since 1871-1872, His Majesty posed. *Grigorescu gave, I believe, the idea of the national costume*. The thing is that at that time he orned with Romanian things and wine presses the pavilion in the old botanical garden directed by doctor Grecescu (our emphasis)" (Dumitrescu 2007, 58). It is even more likely that an influence was exerted by the official painter of the Court, Carol Pop de Szathmari, who was indexing since 1837-1840, characters in traditional costumes from the Romanian regions, a process he resumed systematically in the years 1866-1868 (Frunzetti 1991, 256-257, 273).

[19] A photo taken to the princess in the famous *Disdéri & Co. Phot* studio in Paris (probably in the years 1861-1862), shows her in a hybrid costume, boldly combining western and "national" elements: she wears a type of shawl on her head – letting her headdress and head ornaments visible – that goes down on her shoulders and on the wide sleeves, richly decorated with Romanian models, and over the crinoline a *catrinţa*-apron is suggested. The background is not folk-inspired, it has no reference to the rural environment (it includes a Doric column, partially hidden by a sumptuous curtain). The picture is part of the collections of Romania's National Museum of History in Bucharest (Ichim, Ciubotaru, Iftimi ed. 2001, 104)

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ostentatiously at the same time – a real tradition for the girl schools in the country: at the Girls Orphanage of Bucharest, she imposed as a main preoccupation of the students learning the national stitches[20]. It is actually said that "the first costume worn by Princess Elisabeta was made by the student girls of the Orphanage" (Grecu 2012, 84).

Unlike Elena Cuza, Elisabeta distinguished herself by the assiduity of her public apparitions wearing a national costume and by her obvious will to "contaminate" the ladies in the high society. "In most of the balls, tea parties, receptions, both at Bucharest and Sinaia, the formal dress was the expressive national costume", which had become "common thing" for the Court of Sinaia (Carandino-Platamona 1936, 54). Making a private collection was not, by itself, a very bizarre gesture. But Elisabeta did more, promoting by means of cultural and lucrative associations, schools or workshops, the art of the popular costume. She always offered a personal example[21], wearing items of folk inspiration, visiting exhibitions and school festivities where the "national" art and costume were central. At the Peleş castle, she even set up a workshop where the ladies surrounding here could work. She was weaving and spinning herself sometimes, not usual materials for the traditional costume, but "silk and fine wool" (Carandino-Platamona 1936, 54). Most of her "private" time, the queen always carried with her handiwork: a fine *frivolité* lace – which she was giving to others as a gift – or a rich embroidery, meant for a church donation[22]. Her image as a promoter of Romanian domestic industry was definitively established in the early 20th century, being accepted as such by those who saw in these approaches just a temporary "fashion" or soirée patriotism. The reasons for the promotion of Romanian domestic industry seem to have been rather charitable and economic, than aesthetic. For Elisabeta, the revival of "this folk art" was one more possibility to "contribute to the development of the country". Only as years passed by, she subscribed to the tendency of granting heritage status and encouraging ethnographic studies, which was manifest in other countries. This new interest, related to folk art, subsequently took the particular form of promoting Al. Tzigara-Samurcaş' activity, including the "national museum".

Elisabeta's concrete initiatives were also caused by the circumstances: the 1877-1878 war, the peasant insurrections, the terrible years of drought and economic crisis. Starting from the acute need of cloth during the war, she transformed the huts that had sheltered the Russian military hospital into "weaving workshops where the country girls [were working] the cloth of which soldier shirts, bed sheets and dresses for the [Bucharest Elena Doamna] Orphanage girls were made". It is true that "at the beginning, there were primitive weaving machines", but in 1882 she brought in advanced machines from Vienna and Belgium, then from Transylvania. She was therefore more interested in high standards, effectiveness and economic profit, than in perpetuating tradition. Her initiative was fully consonant with industrial and commercial protectionism specific to the period. In 1878, these first workshops transformed into a vocational school, where the girl students were learning "besides tailoring, *Romanian embroidering, manufacturing of national costumes*, cloth weaving and accepting commands for different authorities (our emphasis)"[23].

At the same time, she took charge of several societies, organized "with a view to helping the daughters of poor peasants, orienting them towards domestic industry, in order to make national products instead of foreign

[20] "The major occupation of the orphans were the *national hand-stitches* […]. The fabrics were mainly donated Lady Maria Catargiu was one of the first donators of Romanian fabric for the first costumes" (our emphasis) (see Grecu 2012, 55). The princess' vision was well-organized: the national costume was imposed as a festive school uniform, and the girls had to have a direct contribution in taking over the disseminating authentic models in the educated milieus. Form the very beginning, an appeal was made for the creation of a representative collection, and thus national costumes from all the country's districts were received – for the Elena Doamna Orphanage Museum – most of them from private donators. In less than a month, they had 15 costumes, besides other disparate items (Grecu 2012, 47).

[21] In fact, her little daughter too, the little princess Maria (1870-1874), posed in the national costume, as we can see in a photograph (Romania's National Archives, photo library, F1 6813, image published in *Copilărie regală* [Royal Childhood], Bucharest, Corint Books, 2014, p.83).

[22] Queen Elisabeta, the way she was seen by the people surrounding her, including her maid of honour, Zoe Bengescu or her daughters, was always working at an embroidery: "thread laces, embroidered with gemstones, of which she was making curtains for monasteries, chalice covering or the holy table cover. A meticulous, long work", but which was usually not specific to Romanian folk art (Cămărăşescu 2011, 193).

[23] It was then called "The Weaving School of Queen Elisabeta", being connected to the "Elena Doamna" Orphanage, that she took under her wing, thus continuing Elena Cuza's initiative of 1862. The department of vocational school was separated in 1896 from the general school of the Orphanage. Both of them had a successful activity in the inter-war period as well (Carandino-Platamona 1936, 51-52).

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manufacturing, and obtain thus even a source of gain". Thus, in 1882 she initiated "Furnica [The Ant]", a continuation of the "Concordia" society, established in 1877. The next ones were "Munca [Labour]" (1885), "Ţesătoarea [The female weaver]" (1905), "Albina [The Bee]". "Furnica" lasted the most, but "Ţesătoarea" also developed, establishing in 1907 a school and a workshop, under the *motto* that the queen appreciated so much, "the girl weaves the future of the country"[24]. She was not alone in these actions, especially that the high society ladies already had a local tradition of benefaction, encouraged by all kind of charity societies. "Furnica" is related, as we have seen, to Elena Cornescu's name, and "Albina"[25] was mainly Eliza Brătianu's creation. Furthermore, some of the ladies of high society could involve directly in their estates' businesses, giving peasant women work to do during winter[26] or "teaching" them national traditional hand-stitches[27].

Patronage was a family tradition, associated to a certain social status, but it also expressed the private option to protect the worthy underprivileged, to cultivate morality and beauty. It was, at the same time, a form of integration in wide social networks, of accumulation of a precious capital of "relationships". The participation of these associations in activities – moments scattered between "balls, receptions, concerts, representations with foreign artists, amateur theatre plays" – took pretty much of the time of "high society" members; but, "one could not circumvent it […], as this was a family obligation, if not for you, at least for the future of you children, for whom you absolutely had to keep relations with the 'world' " (Cămărăşescu 2011, 209).

The collection of funds depended to a great extent to the notoriousness of the persons getting directly involved and of their organizing abilities. All means were good, so that they resorted to the whole repertoire of fashionable sociability practices, finalized with a positive financial survey. In the events were called members of the royal family, of the foreign diplomatic body, of the Romanian political world, in a word of the "high society" and even honourable "foreigners passing by". This is how the major charitable societies operated in the early 20th century ("Obolul", "Materna", "Roiul", "Tibişoiul" etc.), therefore those dedicated to the promotion of the "Romanian domestic industry" as well. The stakes could be important: "by dedicating themselves to one of these charitable operations, those ladies from high society became personalities recognized by different state authorities as well" (Cămărăşescu 2011, 246).

Therefore, the societies provided a feminine interpretation of the political life, with pretty similar intrigues, ambitions and benefits. For instance, Maria Poenaru "had invented a charitable society" with the purpose to get closer to the Palace, appointing as a chairwoman Princess Elisabeta, the older daughter of Prince Ferdinand and Princess Maria. The society "Zânele" [The Fairies] had to baptize the poor children and donate useful things. Young women from the entourage of the Princess and of about the same age, who were gathering each Thursday "at the Poenăreşti's place" were solicited to contribute with their own skills. About those days, Zoe Cămărăşescu preserved mixed memories: "we were crocheting with a coarse, sad woollen thread dresses that our families home were finishing for us, pointed knit hats with pompoms on top […] and, after we were eating all right, we were playing in the rooms upstairs". The society went into bankruptcy after the initiator reached

[24] The author acknowledges the special merits of the "tireless president", who initiated bazaars and permanent exhibitions. The long life of the society was also due to the fact that it went under the patronage of queen Maria (Carandino-Platamona 1936, 52-53).

[25] The quoted biography includes it among queen Elisabeta's achievements, but the successors of the Brătianu family award the merit of creating it to Eliza: "in the eve of World War I, she had organized a workshop and a shop – 'Albina' – to encourage Romanian hand-stitching." We can find, among the souvenirs preserved by the family, the traditional photograph made in her youth, "in the national costume", by Eliza Ştirbey, born in 1870 (Brătianu, Brătianu 1999, 14, 17).

[26] Elisabeta Odobescu-Goga was talking about Mrs. Filipescu who, at her estate, "gave work" to the women in the village, being, on the other hand, very exigent: if one of them came with a "dirty work", she paid for it, and then "burnt the work in front of the others"; thus, she "humiliated terribly" and for good the offenders (Rostás 2002, 50-51). The complicity of the city inhabitants to "embellish" peasant folk art became explicit over time. The notes of the artist Cecilia Cuţescu-Storck, teacher at the School of Fine Arts of Bucharest, capture in a natural manner, such a situation, probably taking place in the aftermath of World War I: "[Ipolit] Strâmbulescu was happy to learn that I gave the benefactor Lia Brătianu, president of the society *Principele Mircea*, about 27 plates of the best that the pupils made, so that the peasant women on her estate would loom-weave them. This mutual influence between urban and rural decorative art will lead to a refreshment" (Cuţescu-Storck 2006, 303).

[27] Zoe Cămărăşescu mentioned that Felicia Racoviţă, married Golescu, whose uncles had been the famous patriots and revolutionaries Goleşti, of 1848: "around her still gathered all the old Goleşti family; around her gathered all the village, of whose inhabitants she took care as if they were her own children. *She had spread the taste of hand-stiches among the women*, a tradition that is still preserved, from grandmother to granddaughter (our emphasis)" (Cămărăşescu 2011, 150).

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her target, becoming the maid of honour of the queen (Cămărășescu 2011, 137-138)[28]. In spite of the shallowness and caprices of many of the people involved[29], these societies were actually working. For a longer or a shorter while, for all types of professional, denominational or local communities, they managed to produce, to collect and to distribute to the people assisted all kind of things "that were given on Christmas and at Easter", on the occasion of school festivities, or other festive occasions. The ideal was reached, in spite of a discouraging reality[30].

Queen Elisabeta took care especially of the promotion of the Romanian artisanal handicraft abroad, by the gifts she made to different princely courts[31] or by means of participations in international exhibitions. She also posed, demonstratively, wearing a national costume, on the presentation brochure of Romania in such an exhibition. Afterwards, in a different brochure, Princess Maria and her two sons also posed in folk costumes[32]. It was a form of national propaganda approved in the period, which stimulated the interest for Romanian products. In 1909, for instance, when Romania participated in the international exhibition of popular art at Berlin, "the 'Liberty' society from England ordered Romanian cloth items of over 20,000 lei", and the company Wertheim, which administrated the exhibition space, announced its intention to establish a permanent shop with Romanian products (Tzigara-Samurcaş 1999, I, 268). A new exhibition in Berlin in 1912 occasioned favourable appreciations for the personal works of the queen and of princess Maria, of other "society ladies" and, in general, for the objects presented by the societies of "Albina", "Munca" and "Furnica" (Tzigara-Samurcaş 1999, II, 26-27). These societies were always distinguishing themselves, obtaining medals and diplomas, receiving orders and considerably increasing the prestige and immediate profitability of the "traditional" items[33].

Since she arrived to Romania, Princess Maria was impressed by the Romanian traditional dress. The people who welcomed her in those cold days at the beginning of 1893, to her new and unknown country, enchanted her: "I couldn't take my eyes from this people in strange costumes, so different from anything I had seen before". Among the gifts she received on the occasion of her marriage, there were of course many "Romanian hand-stitches, woollen carpets, chests […] and other works specific to national industry". In a short period of time, the princess, together with Ferdinand, were wedding sponsors for 32 couples of peasants, chosen from the 32 counties of the

[28] Maria-Elena Poenaru, born Văleanu, was a maid of honour of queen Elisabeta between 1872-1878 and 1900-1916 (see Badea-Păun 2007, 139).

[29] About Maria Poenaru, queen Maria noted in 1922: "preoccupied by 'Vatra Luminoasă' and its plans, always energetic, active and content. A good soul, but with a tint of vulgarity" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 25).

[30] Queen Maria was frequently asked to mediate disputes between the ladies working for different societies. On 25 May 1921, she noted that she received in an audience C. Argetoianu because "the ladies of the Orphans' Society quarrel" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 179). The conflict continued, as on 11 February 1922 she wrote: "I had a tiring meeting with Lisette Greceanu, whom I called to inform me about a lamentable dispute, between Olga and Didina, at the Orphans' Organization. Such an unpleasant, humiliating thing, and each one is convinced the other one is wrong, and now they are involving politics in all this. It is disgusting! I spent the rest of the evening with a stupid business" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 67). In just three days she was visited by "the ladies of 'Materna' with complaints against ladies of 'Societatea Mircea', with whom they were supposed to work in peace, but this is not the case. Being ill-tempered, I did not feel like hearing all their petty disputes, but I smiled with bitterness and promised to help" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 70). When there were no arguments, the good intentions themselves led to problems when they were not well administered. In June 1919, the queen was solicited by "Lili Fălcoianu, together with several gentlemen, to be heard about some league she wants to establish for the assistance of peasant women, *the very type of activity I want to support*, but she was too unreliable and it was outside the law to convince the gentlemen she had brought with her. She started with the wish to distribute medicines in a completely illegal way, which embarrassed the men. It was a bad start. She did not obtain anything, but […] I am going to help her to do something (our emphasis)" (Maria, Regina României 2005, I, 214).

[31] The gifts were more or less "authentically" folk style. For instance, at the palace of her family in Neuwied "there was a room decorated with Romanian embroideries only", and at the wedding of the Queen of Netherlands, she gave her an embroidered lounge, with walls covered with fine line worked "in the national style by the 'Albina' society", but in a less traditional colour combination: blue and green (Carandino-Platamona 1936, 53).

[32] This is the brochure made for Romania's participation into a hunting and domestic industry exhibition at Vienna, sponsored by Austria's Emperor in 1910. The portrait was signed autographically *Carmen Sylva*, being accompanied by the same slogan of the "Țesătoarea" company. The model was repeated in the years to come as well; (see Tzigara-Samurcaş 1999, I, 284, 285 and Tzigara-Samurcaş 1999, II, 27).

[33] Since the international exhibition of Paris, in 1889, the products displayed by the "Furnica" society recorded an unexpected success. In 1900, the items received two golden medals and a silver medal (Vlad 2001, 69-70, 179). At the international exhibition of Ghent, in 1913, the "Munca" and "Țesătoarea" societies were awarded golden medals. About the former it was said that the products were "remarkable due to their finesse and resistance", and the 2,000 women and 150 men who were working here made a production amounting to about 1,365,000 francs, out of which 350,000 were made from exportation. "Țesătoarea" was established with the support of the Belgian capital, so it was from the beginning designed to bring profit to their investors (Vlad 2004, 102).

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country, a new occasion for a "real peasant parade" (Maria, Regina României 1991, II, 11, 19, 21).

Besides these first impressions, almost lost in the swirling new life of the 16-year old young woman, Maria did not show any strong interest in the Romanian artisanal handicraft. In her first photograph taken in Romania, she was already wearing the traditional "national" costume from the south of the country[34], as queen Elisabeta once had. But, according to her own accounts, at that time she considered much more spectacular the gypsies, who enchanted her, and Ferdinand, with "an incomprehensible charm". The princess got used to Romania pretty hard. Remembering those difficult years, Maria admitted that it took enough time for her to really cherish "the art and architecture of my country", becoming thus "the chief initiator of a movement that had this objective, the revival of a national style that should replace the ceaseless imitation of everything that was coming from the West" (Maria, Regina României 1991, II, 45-46, 216). The "Domniţa Maria" [Lady Maria] society, established in 1908, really tried to accomplish many things in this direction.

By then, the princess had had several limited initiatives, kindly guided by Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaş. Taking frequent walks to the monastery of Samurcăşeşti, at about 10 km away from the Cotroceni palace, Maria organised here a weaving workshop meant to "abolish the bad taste" (Tzigara-Samurcaş 1999, I, 193). With similar intentions, of "straightening" the people's bad habits, she had established at Iaşi, with private funding, a housework school[35]. "Lady Maria" started with opening in Bucharest a workshop "where the *most beautiful woollen carpets of the Museum were copied*, being then sold, for cost prices, in order to spread the best models instead of the ones from the black market that were everywhere in the capital (our emphasis)" (Tzigara-Samurcaş 1999, I, 264). The society also tried other means of persuasion, more adequate to those times, launching competitions with prizes for the most beautiful objects made in the folk style. Maybe these were too modern methods, that the modest artisans, probably illiterate, were not familiar with, as they lived in isolated communities, away from the aesthetes and the collectors of the capital. Consequently, the weaving competition received unexpectedly few objects, out of which ever fewer deserved being awarded.

As she became a queen, Maria intensified her activity of charitable patronage, because of the war, first of all, and because of its outcomes that were so difficult to repair. Sometimes, she considered that it was too much for her: "my days grow busier, more tormenting, also because of the eternal solicitations of charity, so that I really do not know any more where I go and if my possibilities will be enough. I am the central source which everyone drinks from, they are used to and they think they could do it for ever. While the prices, which increase instead of decreasing, make me be unable to give small amounts" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 400). Yet, she did not lose her interest in folk art, on the contrary. As part of her public duties, she continued the tradition of being present in charity sales[36], exhibitions and school festivities[37], or

[34] According to the identification made by Gabriel Badea-Păun, in the quoted volume we deal with "the first photograph of Princess Maria after her arrival to Romania, Sinaia, 1892, photographer Alfred Brand. Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy, Stamp Cabinet". Her marriage to Ferdinand took place on 10 January 1893 (new calendar), in Germany. Only a few days after this event, the young couple left to Romania. They crossed Austro-Hungary by train, stopping for a short curtesy visit to Emperor Franz-Joseph. They entered the country by Predeal. They only stopped here to greet the people that were present in the train station, continuing then their travel to Bucharest, where they arrived at the end of the day (Gauthier 2004, 46-52). It is therefore possible that the photograph in question might date from 1893.

[35] See *Decretul regal pentru aprobarea donaţiunei făcută de A.S. Regală Principesa Maria* [Royal Decree for the Approval of the Donation made by Her Royal Majesty Princess Maria], from 12 August 1903, and *Regulamentul pentru şcoala de menagiu principesa Maria* [Ruling for the School of Housework Princess Maria], from 14 August 1903, in Ministry of Public Education and Cults, *Colecţiunea legilor, regulamentelor şi a diferitelor decisiuni şi dispoziţiuni generale ale acestui departament de la ianuarie 1901-iulie 1904, adunată şi publicată sub îngrijirea d-lor C.Lascăr şi I. Bibiri* [Collection of Laws, Rulings and Different Decisions and General Provisions of this Department from January 1901-July 1904, collected and published by M C.Lascăr and I. Bibiri] (Lascăr, Bibiri 1904, 275).

[36] Her presence here was not simply formal. Usually she purchased some things, in order to show her concrete support, which was not always a proof of pragmatism: "I went to a bazaar […] and bought for a high price useless things" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 145). Besides the financial inconvenience, such activities also provided some pleasant moments: "the Mircea [Society] bazaar was full of nice ladies, in national costumes, who served us and were at our disposal" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 404).

[37] Visiting Iaşi, in November 1922, she also went to the vocational school of "Mrs. Mârzescu, at a big exhibition with things made by women". The same evening, she hurried to "a big school of girls, where there were good choruses and beautiful *national dances* (our emphasis)" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, p. 359). The second Christmas day, the

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artisan stands[38]. In particular, the queen declared a genuine passion for the rustic art[39], using this kind of objects for interior design[40] or as gifts for her close friends[41]. She was wearing herself the folk costume pretty often, with some fanciful insertions, especially in the holidays spent home or abroad[42]. Posing in a costume or giving interviews about this, the queen adopting with full responsibility the cause of national art[43], beyond he personal preference for certain decorative objects.

Schools, albums, exhibitions

The relationship between folk art and museum was, in the vision of "specialists" and patronage societies, a circular one, of mutual feeding with satisfactory models. The arbiters of this selection were from the very beginning adopting a standpoint far from the real, majority consumption of "national" handicraft, being equally mistrustful in the cheap and unqualified inventiveness of anonymous creators, and vigilant in relation to the reproduction and dissemination of authorized forms. For such types of censorship, school was a better instrument than competitions. Why?

The schools had the obligation to display annually the concrete results of the arts and crafts classes, submitted to public, aesthetic and financial homologation. In order to bring further incomes, they encouraged orders and organized occasional bazaars, especially associated with various festivities. The participation in the exhibitions *outside* the school context was much more praiseworthy, bringing forth undisputable prestige for the teaching staff and for the institution itself. The distinctions won in international competitions for more or less "traditional" items, were so more meritorious.

The schools defined themselves with all the "participations", medals and diplomas gathered over years. For instance, in the history of the Central School of Girls in Craiova, it was mentioned, among the remarkable achievements, that it sent objects worked by the students to international exhibitions in 1867 and 1873 (Manolache, Pârnuţă 1993, II, 297; or that "Miss Victoria Roşescu was awarded the golden medal in the Exhibition of the Regional Society of Craiova, in 1898, for the artistic laces she worked" (Râşcanu 1906, 66). In the 1900 exhibition, in Paris, in the Pavilion of arts and crafts was exhibited a "national costume from the county of Gorj", sent by the vocational school of girls from Târgul Jiu. On the same occasion, the "Academy of Tailoring and Model Creation" presented several items of floss silk and different parts of the national costume of Mehedinţi, Argeş, Muscel and Banat, and the objects sent by the "Elisabeta Doamna" vocational school was awarded the silver medal (Vlad 2001, 174-175, 179-180). Schools' participation in such events became a tradition. In 1937, Romania participated in a new exhibition in Paris, with items sent by the "Institute of Housework Arts Study" – a "1,500-motif carpet"! – or by the Industry School of "Tudosca Doamna" from Bucharest, which

same year, she wrote that she had managed to go to "a school of carpet works, to encourage a very respectable lady, who works particularly nice" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 399).

[38] On 28 June 1919, the queen noted down that she had visited the exhibition of the "Ţesătoarea" society, estimating that "they worked admirably, in spite of the difficulties related to the lack of raw materials" (Maria, Regina României 2005, I, 226).

[39] Visiting an industrial exhibition, in the Carol park, the queen noted, on 1 October 1922: "Everything interested me, but most of all I was attracted to the peasant art, this always fascinates me. I have a special affection for rustic and primitive things" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 304).

[40] At Bran, for instance, she had decorated her personal rooms, by using "two yellow Romanian carpets with bright dark blue margins" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 203). For Bran again, she was collecting "old, blue and white pots" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 358) or carpets from Bessarabia, which seemed to her very appropriate for other "simpler houses" as well (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 145) which she decorated in a rustic style.

[41] During the French holiday of August 1921, she met her sister, Great Duchess Kiril, for whom she bought "a Romanian costume that she wore, an orange one [!] that fitted her very well" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 244). In the summer of next year, she left together with her younger sister and with Elena, the new wife of the crown prince Carol, to see "the shops where they sell our Romanian hand-stitches", making of these "gifts for everywhere" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 207). For the birthday of King Ferdinand, in 1922 again, she offered him "some old carpets, for different hunting lodges" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 253). She herself received such gifts from servants, from peasants or even from her family (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 234, 324, 331).

[42] On the holiday spent in France in 1921, she wore several times the national costume on short trips or for informal visits (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 244, 253, 275). The next year, going to spas to Sovata, she stopped to Hodoş, to pay a visit to the old lady who had raised the "little servant girl" of princess Ileana. The queen made special preparations for this occasion: "I was wearing the national costume with blue, red and white, and with rich stitches, with a red turban around my kerchief and, of course, all smiling" (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 224).

[43] For instance, in October 1921, the queen received a journalist "sent by Corbescu for an interview about Romanian peasant art […], the interview being for America", which made her be very careful with the words she used (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 316).

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exhibited "*Dacian costumes* (our emphasis)" and "dolls in national costumes" (Vlad 2001, 174).

The creativity of students and teachers was disciplined by means of albums with "national models" and school collections of objects taken as landmarks during classes. The oldest album of the kind, identified by G.T. Niculescu-Varone at the Library of the Academy, dated from 1893 and had only 15 plates. These were models collected from the county of Muscel, then lithographed and published by I. Niculescu (Niculescu-Varone 1939, no. 1). As we have seen, the authorities showed early interest in the fate of the national albums, so it is not surprising that in 1904 the Ministry of Education was preoccupied by the "purchase for the vocational school of the album, [by] I. Niculescu photographer, of models of national embroideries and stiches" (ANR, Bucharest, collection of Ministry of Public Education and Cults, file 862/1904).

In the early 20th century, an important number of albums appeared, among which those already mentioned of Elena Cornescu, of Eliza Marghiloman and of D. Comşa, the last one being "made out of the conviction of the committee of the Romanian agricultural reunion of Sibiu" (Niculescu-Varone 1939, no. 3). Spiru Haret himself encouraged the publication of an album of "national stitches" by Margareta Myller Verghi (Dinu 1970, 120). But the most frequently used formula for the classes seems to be that of a simple notebook of "models with national hand-stitches for the School of girls", as the one printed by the Socec Library (Niculescu-Varone 1939, no. 7). or the works copied manually by the teachers or the class masters (ANR, file 1691/1907, 28)[44]. A new phase in the history of these albums takes place in the years 1930-1940, culminating with those signed by Eliza Brătianu, from 1943. From the very titles that were chosen, we can observe a more and more pronounced specialization and a competition between the authors, underlining excellence – *Scoarţe olteneşti premiate în 1929 şi 1930* [Woollen carpets from Oltenia, with awards in 1929 and 1930] – or successful meeting of official prescriptions – *Manual de cusături româneşti şi vopseli vegetale pentru şcoalele de fete şi şezători. În conformitate cu noua programă* [Manual of Romanian stitches and vegetal dyes for the girl schools and clubs. In accordance to the new curricula] (Niculescu-Varone 1939, no. 25, 27).

The albums were actually loose sheets that were supposed to get to the adults, to help them choose and reach the horizon of "genuine" traditions, underestimated or ignored by then. Like in the case of the objects of folk art, these were either luxury copied, for generous collectors or prestigious school institutions, or modest, cheap, accessible booklets for the "common people". The situation was captured by Eliza Brătianu as well, in 1943. She understood that the first volume of her album, massive, rich, with 180 colour plates, "could not get very easily in the country world. Something more adequate to this world seemed to be also necessary". Maybe she did not pay attention to this aspect from the very beginning, but the solicitation of the General Department of the National Institute of the Cooperative made her understand the difference. Consequently, she transformed the initial volume into an unpretentious booklet, "a work for the easy understanding and circulation in our villages". She thought that this way "it can get to anyone and it reaches the most decent little house, where our peasant woman, in her days of rest or night vigils, takes care of her so skilful needlework" (Brătianu 1943, 1). In a few words, she outlined here the idyllic tableau of a miniature-like, childish world, which through inattention ruined its beauty and innocence – so cherished by the "grown-ups" – and which had to be brought back, with gentleness, to the limits of propriety.

Authenticity, a not only aesthetic stake

Maria Mandrea, born in 1885 as a descendant of the Bălcescu family, remembered a festivity in her youth in which participated daughters of the villagers and of boyars. The young peasant girls started to dance a *hora* [circle dance] and "the queen [said] no, this is not a Romanian dance. The Romanian girl is noble! She dances calmly. Here is how it starts. Three boys start, then others come up to seven, when there are ten, the girls come, together, it starts like that and it becomes a large *hora*. But not like in the *căluşei* dance. No. When the women dance, it is a commendable dance" (Rostás 2002, 29). It was not much after 1900, and the charity society of "Tibişoiu" in Bucharest was preparing the festivity for the usual collections. Carmen Sylva [Queen Elisabeta] assisted the repetitions and, as a queen-poet, she wanted to correct the traditional choreography, to attenuate the too little urban rhythms. In fact she had assumed already for some time the generic and

[44] About the jubilee exhibition of 1906, where is mentioned a "source of old traditional hand-stitches, with many models in the format of an album, made by Mrs Anastasia Gafencu, teacher", from the school of Bucecea, Botoşani county, see page 28.

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eulogistic representation of the Romanian woman, interfering freely in the feminine "portrait" of the nation. The dances could not be imagined without the proper costumes, and the young men and women knew that meant a personal financial contribution, as "each costume had to be paid by us" (Rostás 2002, 30). They were, very likely, bought from the city, from the bazaars and shops of the specialized societies. Only if they were familiar with the real village they could realize that the festivity dress was pretty far from the invoked model.

After the fashion of the albums with national models, authenticity became a new stake for the amateurs and the specialists at the same time. A few years after the 1907 resurrection of the peasants, the young Zoe Bengescu and her friends were happy to dance at Easter together with the villagers "in the 'authentic' national costume, not caprices from the fairs". These were hard clothes, made of fabrics worked and died home, taken from old women who had preserved them for years; and who eventually sold them, because the young girls of the village did not want to wear a "too warm and old" blouse; they "wanted, alas, blouses of the new kind, sewed with lawn butterflies, embroidered in a modern manner with 'blue and mauve'" (Cămărăşescu 2011, 235).

The value of costumes stimulated also the need of authenticity of folk dances. In Bucharest was established the society of dances "Chindia", which aimed at teaching the young townspeople the "genuine" folk dance, "*not that fancy dance that one can see at the school festivities at the end of the schoolyear*, when, wearing national costumes, the boys with pipes and the girls with flowers in their hair leaped a 'ciobănaş' [type of dance] with no rhythm, a jumpy *hora*, and a 'Banu Mărăcine' [type of dance] with bells at their feet (our emphasis)" (Cămărăşescu 2011, 238). In the name of this purism, the dance society interfered, in its turn, to recalibrate tradition and looking purposely for "the primitive form, coming from the elderly". Furthermore, the dance masters were as preoccupied as the queen was, to avoid vulgarity. Dancers had to maintain a sober appearance, as Mrs Fanny Seculicz, the society's animator, "did not like the very dynamic dances for women […] nor the thin lawn blouses or the fancy *fotas*". The choreography was an urban reflex difficult to avoid, whichever the targets were. Eventually, all those who had lived long enough "in the country, brought in the genuine dancing style, the one the peasants in their region were dancing"[45]. But to combine rudimentary authenticity of the village with the "society" refinement was however a test of artistry that few could take.

Most of the folklore amateurs were happy with less pretentious forms, from the aesthetic and ethnographic standpoint, but animated by a manifest civicism and by the immediate joy of participation. They did not question what the students practiced with the teachers or with the gymnastic and dances masters for the school festivities and the charity balls. It was already a widely-spread conviction that the teachers were directly responsible for the revival of the "ancient traditions", starting from the axiom of a uniform past that had to be reactivated at the officials' sign[46].

The mission of the teachers animated by the Haret-inspired spirit of "developing the villages" started, as we have seen, with wearing the national costume. The example of the male teacher was, ideally, completed with that of the female teacher, who had to educate the women in the village, insistently urging them to wear and make "the beautiful Romanian costume". This ideal also got in the pages of Cezar Petrescu's novel, *Apostol* [Apostle]. The male teacher portrayed here was not able to understand his vocation from the beginning. The main character related his initial failure to communicate with the villagers with his weakness for expensive city clothes, which he gives up with difficulty, after defeating his own vanity, impatience, thoughtlessness: in other words, when he understood he had to live "the life of those he wants to enlighten" (Petrescu 1984, 167, 211). The adults, the real target of the teacher, were always difficult "pupils". Children could be more easily attracted in the teacher's effort to correct reality, "teaching them old, traditional songs […] carols and New Year's songs" (Petrescu 1984, 104). After the children, the women of the village should have been the

[45] The author also mentions, besides her and her daughters with whom she usually went to the estate of her sister at Ştorobăneasa, the "beautiful Lady Gărdăreanu and Titit Kapri", who knew "genuine" dances (Cămărăşescu 2011, 239).

[46] From her childhood in Bucharest, Zoe Cămărăşescu (born Bengescu, in 1895) remembered that the neighbours were scared by the Vicleim [Bethlehem] bands [bands signing Christmas carols from house to house], who had "a bad reputation". There appeared even "a habit not to receive the Steaua [Star – Christmas carols band] anymore, because people feared the 'scoundrels' ", so that "the poor boys […] were chased from all the yards and little by little *the old customs were lost, until the 'Officials' revived them* (our emphasis)" (Cămărăşescu 2011, 98).

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most vulnerable to the pedagogy of the time. In this novel of the desirable reality, the insistence of the female teacher, who "walked around from one house to the other", proved to be successful. This, "in the village the blouses with sleeve embroideries grew more and more numerous, replacing the ugly jersey or cheap cotton blouses". The moralist discourse of the novel needed negative characters as well, among whom we find the Jewish merchant-innkeeper, whose harmful trade – including the "ugly blouses" – was antithetic to the devotion and craftsmanship of the school "apostles" (Petrescu 1984, 246-247).

We can find here many ideas from the discourse of the ministry circulars, accompanied by the aura that was feeding the myth of the minister Spiru Haret as a "parent" and model of the teachers in the country. The second inter-war decade had established the glorious posterity of this model, "Haret-ism" being rediscovered for the use of the provinces that had returned, with so much difficulty, to the fatherland (Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania). The new citizens were asked to get familiar, as soon as possible, to their true identity, and to this purpose, the forms of persuasion established at the beginning of the 20th century were resorted to. Such diligence was first practiced in Dobruja and in the Cadrilater [Quadrilateral – southern region of Dobruja][47], and then extended to Bessarabia. Unlike in these province, in Bukovina, Transylvania and Banat, 'Romanianism' enjoyed institutionalised local support, which had displayed for several decades an identity-related repertoire in consonance with that of the Kingdom. The "national" costume, the "folk" dances and songs, the tricolour flags and the celebration of the country's heroes, were as many logos of the national programme assumed by schools, cultural societies, local publications and so on. The organisation spirit and voluntarism developing here were redirected with the help of the citizens of the Kingdom, towards the provinces with deficits. The social pedagogy of Haret-ism was accompanied by a passionate, claiming nationalism, which placed tradition in the service of change.

Since May 1917, Bessarabia made preparations for the "nationalization" of schools by Romanians, preparations in which the Transylvanian Onisifor Ghibu and Romulus Cioflec played a decisive role. Among the first and most urgent things to be done, there was the printing of new schoolbooks and the organization of summer courses for teachers of elementary and secondary education. Such courses took place in the summer of 1917 and of the next year: they teach summarized information of Romanian language and literature, national history and geography, "Moldavian songs and extra-curricular activities" (Livezeanu 1998, 125-127). Their finality was to teach the participants in the course a basic, but incisive Romanianism, which was going to get even more simplified when, in their turn, they would transmit it further. It seemed to be an ambitious identity programme, carried on in the extremely precarious conditions of the education in war times. And the extracurricular activity was expected to give in the shortest time results as material as possible. That is why the new school inspector and auditors paid much attention to this aspect, being also those who had in charge local cultural societies. They usually solicited the support of the "House of Schools" in Bucharest, asking for "books, national paintings, *traditional costumes, embroidery models*, tours of the artistic companies, postal cards and portraits of the royal family (our emphasis)". In Bessarabia, a Department of Extracurricular Activity was created as well, which published and disseminated for free to the villagers, by schools, hundreds of thousands of "brochures, calendars, periodicals, images and maps"[48]. Haret would have undoubtedly been content with the effort of his successors.

In Transylvania, the national costume had been for a long period already an explicit political manifesto, and at the same time a much more vivid reality than it was in the Kingdom. Before 1919, the young Romanians coming from their villages to high schools in the cities were brutally facing the despise of their fellows and of the teachers, who were all wearing "German" or

[47] The situation is briefly reminded by Yvonne Blondel, daughter of Camil Blondel, ambassador of France to Romania since 1907 to 1916. Married to Jean Cămărăşescu, the first Romanian prefect of Silistra (one of the two counties of Cadrilater), between 1913 and 1916, she dedicated enthusiastically to her adoption country and, in the few years of peace she enjoyed here, tried to do everything she was asked to: "in my field, I participated to the improvement of this province, to the *reestablishment of customs and traditions that the Bulgarian usurper had wished to wrest*, in spite of the majestic memory of [the Romanian prince] Mircea cel Bătrân, who never stopped floating here. I witnessed so many new creations, schools, roads churches, and I was present wherever where the blessing hand of the fatherland spread its abundance (our emphasis)" (Blondel 2005, 93).

[48] Ştefan Ciobanu, general director for education in Bessarabia, was in charge with the activity of this Department, established on 1 February 1919 (Livezeanu 1998, 127-128).

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"European" clothes. They were categorically asked to renounce the "peasant costume" and, full of resentments, they conceded[49]. In this war of clothes and nationalities, those who came to the Assembly of Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 wearing the national costume were those who also had something more to demonstrate[50].

The war, foreign occupation, the territorial losses or gains exacerbated even more the identity sensitiveness. In September 1917, when the country was exposed to so many threats, the political disputes touched, briefly, the promotion of the national costume by the Queen of Romania. An article of "Miss Sekulici (Bucura Dumbravă)", entitled *The Woman weaves the country's future* – after a well-known slogan of Queen Elisabeta – seriously disturbed the dynastic feeling of the Bucharest citizens: "everyone was offended, especially that [it was an] allusion to Queen Maria" (Rostás 2004, 279). A young woman who signed "a Romanian from Romania that will become Great" tried to give an answer to this article in C. Stere's newspaper. Her reply underlined the foreign origin of the incriminated author and questioned her loyalty to the suffering country. The conclusion was extremely acid: "*Patriotism does not mean to like the Romanian folk costume*, so beautiful, or to make hygienic walks in the mountains […] The woman weaves the country's future, you say Queen Elisabeta, but you forget that QE made the mistake to want to weave Germany's future in Romania (our emphasis)" (Rostás 2004, 280). The insinuations were exaggerated, unjust to other country fellows, but they were the perfect illustration of how much was invested in the symbolism of the "national costumes", especially by those who were not their natural, "common people", wearers. The aesthetical and personal reasons were much exceeded by the associative militancy of the period.

Being declared "national", the costume did not stop being a distinctive sign of the peasant world, which grew increasingly visible during the Great War. In fact, the triumphs and the disturbances, succeeding each other in an alert rhythm after 1917, asked more and more for the "Romanian costume". It turned into a political mark of the festivities of all kinds, to which both the dynasty, and the political parties or the local officials were resorting. After the war, Queen Maria continued to appear in public[51] and to pose in different "national costumes" from her personal collection[52], which grew consistently richer[53]. But there was a clear hierarchy of etiquette. In the great state ceremonies, the queen could not appear in a traditional costume, however expensive it was. Then, the "people" came in front of its leaders in the most beautiful "national costumes" they had, as a collective, affective homage that exceeded the "reason of state"[54].

[49] Onisifor Ghibu described in his memoirs what he himself lived in the Hungarian High School of Sibiu, where he arrived in 1893. Threatened with expulsion if he kept on coming to school in "peasant" clothes, he had to comply with it, like the other schoolmates; but as soon as he got home he put back on the "Romanian" clothes (Livezeanu 1998, 176).

[50] Even in the *ad-hoc* established service for order maintenance in Alba Iulia there were several companies of the Romanian Guard, wearing "national costumes", one from Zlatna and two from Abrud (Negrilă ed. 1988, 373).

[51] On the Christmas eve of 1918, the queen participated in a dinner at the Palace, with "all our house". Then, the sovereign remembered, "we all changed in Romanian costumes and left to a big party organized by the Chrissoloveni family, under my patronage, for the French, English and Romanian soldiers. It was a 'succes monstre', as *all the ladies wore national costumes* and almost all men were in uniform (our emphasis)". The queen noted that she wore her favourite costume, "the black and white *fota*, with the *ia* [traditional blouse] with sleeved embroidered with silver thread", to which she added "my blue turban around the forehead". Furthermore, she lent costumes of her collection "all around". On 24 January/6 February 1919, the queen noted that "*we had to put on the national costumes* and leave to the theatre quite early, as it is the 'Union' day, and some enthusiastic people are organizing demonstrations (our emphasis)" (Maria, Regina României 2005, I, 25-26, 50).

[52] She complained about the fatigue of the photo shoots and of the insistence of solicitations. In July 1921, she accepted however the demand of two Transylvanian women, for whom she posed only in the national costume, "categorically refusing" to wear "anything else". In October 1922, the queen was photographed again in traditional costumes from "different areas of the country", so that a certain society could sell the photos "for their profit" (Maria, Regina României 2005, III, 218, 305).

[53] Her collection of Romanian popular art was enriching with personal acquisitions and gifts. In the first trip to Transylvania, together with King Ferdinand, in May-June 1919, women overwhelmed her with flowers and hand-stitches works (Maria, Regina României 2005, I, 195, 196, 199, 203). In 1922, she was frequently buying beautiful and old carpets from the Bessarabians in trouble, reaching a "big amount" of items. To these she also added the clay pots, and even a "beautifully embedded" wooden door (Maria, Regina României 2005, IV, 145, 176, 197, 199, 215, 227, 395).

[54] During that first trip to Transylvania, the king and the queen were always welcomed by the population coming in large numbers, especially from the villages, wearing "wonderful costumes". Arrived at Oradea, the first visited city, the queen appeared in a national costume, which she changed for the banquet with the local officials. At the banquet in Bistrița, they were served by "young city ladies, wearing national costumes". Generally, people paraded tidily, grouped by villages, actually accompanying the military parade with a parade of the local costumes in their brightest variant, even with wedding processions (Maria, Regina României 2005, I, 186-204).

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The next generation was much more familiar to the real wearing of the folk costume. Compared to their parents, the young people of the inter-war period make a less important deal of the display of national feelings or of the social affiliation by these costumes. Remembering her adolescence, princess Ileana wrote: "while I was organizing or visiting different sports clubs or youth organization, I was travelling across the country wearing a uniform or the national costume of the region in question or simply modern clothes – which were the most comfortable ones" (Ileana, Princess of Romania, Archduchess of Austria 1999, 40)[55]. It was a fashion, not deprived of some elegance, associated in the cities to either the women involved in different social activities, or the children and teenagers of school age[56]. On the other hhandhand, the pupils and students hand, pupils and university students of rural origin were wearing the "national costume" being constrained by the limited financial resources[57] and maybe less due to that identity vanity speculated by the nationalist political movements[58].

Political orientation also marked the ethnographic investigation, but in spite of the divergent political options, the professionalization of those who investigated the rural world became increasingly evident. In front of the new specialist, Haret-ism seemed old-fashioned. Ethnography, museology, sociology or demography were more and more clearly differentiated from social activism, and the systematic study of rural realities gradually took the place of the enthusiastic amateurism from the beginning of the century[59]. This evolution was illustrated by the monographic movement initiated by Dimitrie Gusti, by a new generation of ethnographers and folklorists, who went beyond the general approaches of N. Iorga or Al. Tzigara-Samurcaş. The impetus of the simplistic revival of the "Romanian domestic industry", so strong around World War I, reoriented towards other forms of interest for the "folk art". A modern, commercial or avant-gardist perspective was gradually blurring the utilitarian and traditionalist conception, directing enthusiasm towards creative eclecticism.

Answering all the tastes, the production of "Romanian folk art" for the international market became in the 1930s a particular activity, with clear profit. Thus, in the international Exhibition of Barcelona in 1929-1930, Romania participated successfully, as usual, in the section dedicated to "domestic industries", where, "under the care of Miss H. Cosma and of Miss Florescu, were sold the so specific and charming woollen carpets, embroideries and other products made by the skilful hands of the Romanian peasant woman" (Tzigara-Samurcaş 1987, 347). For the Paris exhibition of 1937, under the patronage of Dimitrie Gusti were taken houses and furniture "made in the peasant style by the School of Arts and Crafts of Bucharest" (Stahl 1981, 342-343). The societies that had started as promoters of the authentic folk art were clearly exceeding their

[55] Ileana, the youngest of queen Maria's daughters, was born in 1909.

[56] In Amelia Pavel's memoirs (born in 1917) the "high society ladies" were wearing it especially when they organized charity bazaars, balls, soirées. In the bazaars, the "objects made by hand were offered to sale by these ladies wearing the national costume". "The ladies from the rich bourgeoisie with no boyar blazon" imitated them, organizing different charity events, but "they did not really wear the national costume – there was a polite reserve in violating small, but well-established social delimitations. But the children were wearing, in solemn contexts, such costumes" (Pavel 1997, 80-81). The "solemnity" of wearing such costumes by children and young people was firstly related to the virtues of good school pupils. Her father also insisted to take a photograph of her in such a costume, as a top student at the festivity at the end of the second grade (Pavel 1997, 81). Recollecting the trip organized for those who were awarded prizes in the competition organized annually by the society "Tinerimea Română" [Romanian Youth], another student described a "nicely decorated" train, where "almost all the young people, boys and girls, were wearing *national costumes*: a garden of flowers, filling the windows, the steps (our emphasis)". It was in May 1925 (Vesper 1999, 38).

[57] Iulian Vesper remembered how he first met, in Chernivtsi, the student Titus Cristureanu, "a tall young man, in a national costume". It was 1927 and he himself, as a fresh student of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the same city, had the problem of the costs, for the clothes too, as "the national costume, with shirt, *iţari* [traditional trousers], had to be changed at least weekly – what was to be done?" (Vesper 1999, 49-50). The young man therefore kept, rather unwittingly, the peasant costume. But when he was offered the position of assistant at the University of Bucharest, where he graduated, he had to refuse because he had not even one "city" costume, as presentable as possible; and he could not go in front of the students like that under no circumstances (Vesper 1999, 94).

[58] From one war world to the other, the period was generous in terms of "peasant-isms" of all kind, socialisms or political initiatives of the right wing, which involved, unlike in the previous period, a massive electoral public from the rural area. From Ion Mihalache to Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and then to the Ploughmen's Front, many leaders and political agitators appealed to the "costume" deemed equally "national" and "popular". The contemporaries captured pretty clearly this politicisation, which concerned especially the men's costume (Pavel 1997, 80).

[59] Henri H. Stahl, who worked in this period in the monographic teams of D. Gusti, called "Haret-ism" a "illusory hope" that society could be reformed by means of the "people's enlightenment", by the vocation of some "cultural missionaries". He reminded with condescendence of the times when ethnography was restrained to the manufacturing of dolls wearing "national" costumes or was the responsibility of teachers and of "ladies" who, according to a "fashion" launched by the Royal Court, were passionate about customs, painted eggs, embedded wood (Stahl 1981, 7-8, 178).

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initial intentions, adapting themselves to the spectacular and commercial needs of the time. "Furnica" [The Ant], "Domniţa Maria" [Lady Maria], "Arta Românească" [Romanian Art] introduced more and more modifications to the initial models. The "National League of Women from Gorj", run by Aretia Tătărescu [the wife of the prime-minister Gh. Tătărescu], gradually transformed the peasant carpets into modern tapestries, which ignored traditions even in terms of dimensions: the "Oltenian carpet" made for the Exhibition of New York in 1939 was 18x24 m (Thiesse 2000, 154-155)!

The school variant of the re-dissemination of "national tradition" remained a privileged instrument of the civic education, intensely solicited in the inter-war period and during the authoritarian regimes that followed. Only after the installation of communism, history took a different direction, the old symbols being reinvested with different accents, from ***national*** (Romanian) to ***popular*** (peasant), from ***authentic*** to ***authorised*** and so on.

History of an adoption

Over several generations, the costumes specific to some rural and peri-urban communities in the Romanian regions called not only the attention of the foreigners, but also of locals, used to distance themselves, out of social and political reasons, from the "common, village people". First, several ladies from the boyar and even princely families accepted a limited and aesthetically reorganised, civically or nationally, identification with such artefacts. The revolutionary movement of 1848 and then the unionist one the next decade, took over and developed this tendency, offering the "daughters of the fatherland" the chance to manifest, in a personal manner, their militancy and political convictions. The royal house of Romania adopted the message, providing it with the highest protection and resorting to institutions that were also under princely patronage (schools, cultural or charity institutions, exhibitions, etc.). This could be considered the second big change in the fashion and mentalities of the Romanian Principalities, after the change of the oriental clothes with the western ones. Actually, the discovery of the traditional costume is mainly due to the westernised look, which gained, step by step, the Romanian society as well.

But this return to the "national hand-stitches work" did not occur in the spectacular, contaminating rhythm with which the European fashion was borrowed. On the contrary, in the Romanian costume well-delimited situations were appealed to: on the international stage this was a national emblem, in the local environments (on the estate, in the private collections, in the family) it was a form of communication with the people around; or, again, a form of manifesting originality, an accepted, *chic* non-conformism. Like in the case of the passage to western clothes, women were the first to adopt the change, while men were more reticent to displaying a symbol associated, for centuries, with an inferior social status.

The contribution of ladies from the elite of the society modified radically the way rural costumes were seen, as well as their structure and dissemination. Dress items and decorative motifs of local use were dislocated from their very precise, quasi-autonomous context, being exhibited to an unusually wide public, with much more sophisticated tastes, such a public felt entitled to check and to change uses of "traditional" objects in the name of an ideal "Romanian costume".

The institutional co-options and stipends offered by different philanthropists led to other deviations from the norm. Usually, the peasants' clothes were made in the house, for the family only – except for some accessories (ornaments, hats) or for items that were more difficult to make, which were manufactured by specialised craftsmen (shoemakers, sheepskin coat makers, etc.). In the mid-1930s, Mircea Vulcănescu was confronted to this simple truth of the village. Wishing to wear himself the costume of the locals of Drăguş, where he participated in a monographic campaign, he discovered that the costumes had no price and no standard sizes: "Nobody had ever sold, bought or worked on order human clothes. They were all made in the village by the housewives, with raw materials from the village, with local technical means, for their husbands and the local children" (Stahl 1981, 145).

The school also had, in its turn, a duration impact on the "Romanian costume". The insistence with which the authorities asked for its adoption and re-dissemination in the rural environment, especially by the female teacher, led to a stereotyped re-traditionalisation and, over time, to a less inspired stylisation of prototypes. Storing idyllic qualities of the country's people, the costume finally conditioned behaviours (this could not have happened if it remained in the sphere of the high society ladies) and to ask for the association with

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other identity elements (dances, songs, games, village gatherings, etc.). The *costume* became *character's costume*, needing a certain pathos and being easily exhibited to activisms of all kinds, succeeding each other from one political regime to the other – even nowadays.

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THE SOLACOGLU BUILDING, BUCHAREST, CALEA MOŞILOR 134-134A: REMINISCENCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract: *The present study examines the plight of the Solacoglu Building, located in Bucharest, on Calea Moşilor no. 134-134 A. The importance of this building is primarily given by its historical significance, due to the fact that politician and writer Lyuben Caravelov, leader of the Bulgarian revolution, lived there (Fig. 1). Also, in the printing house which operated on the ground floor, Caravelov has written for the "Libertatea" newspaper between 1869-1872, and also for the "Independenţa" newspaper between 1873-1874, both journals supporting the struggle to achieve national ideals. Another element that gives great importance to the building is the use of a stylistically varied repertoire in the treatment of various architectural elements. Thus, the eclectic decoration of the main facade is strongly contrasted by the traditionalism of the architecture visible in the interior. The Solacoglu Inn is the perfect expression of the symbiosis between the East and the West. The building connects oriental ornaments to Western stylistic expressions, significant for early Romanian eclecticism. In addition, the same feature is also distinguished because of its function, the building overlapping the function of collective housing to the inn program, a traditional form of responding to the new needs of the nineteenth century. The mix between the West and the East is also expressed by the structural characteristics of the building - the traditional glass partition system supported on metal structure is combined with the characteristic Western system of a vella masonry vaults.*
The study aims to facilitate the understanding of the existing architectural testimonies by analyzing the context of the period in which they were built. Setting up a comprehensive picture of the identity of an urban pattern depends on the correlation of several categories of sources, requiring the analysis of official documents, descriptions of travelers arrived in Bucharest over time, as well as various requests of building owners or comparison of historical plans. By conducting a complex analysis, the Solacoglu Inn stands out as a landmark building for the urban development of the nineteenth century Bucharest. For the time being, Bucharest is confusingly managing its immense historical and architectural heritage, leaving it prey to a slow and uncertain degradation. Rigorous research can be the basis for the revitalization of protected areas. Understanding the architectural testimonies of the past can foster their integration into contemporary urban context, thus becoming landmarks for a new city, based on respect towards contemporary history.

Keywords: *Solacoglu Inn, Calea Mosilor, degradation, printing house, historical heritage, 1859*

General directions of architectural evolution from the mid-nineteenth century

The distant story of the nineteenth century is evoked today by several buildings that negotiate their fragile existence with the present times. The current context places the legacy of the past in a constant negotiation with current needs. Buildings constructed before World War I no longer identify with the aspirations of key local investors, being left to deteriorate without taking into account the real value they hold, depriving us as inhabitants of the importance they had in the evolution of this city.

Among the emblematic buildings of the evolution of Bucharest architecture, the Solacoglu Building, located in Bucharest on Calea Mosilor no. 134-134A is also included (Fig. 2). Built in 1859, the

building expresses through its configuration the attitude of an entire era. The characteristic contrast of this period is clearly evidenced by the paradoxical juxtaposition of Western and Oriental elements on its structure.

The mid-nineteenth century is a period of radical transformation marked by the adoption of the Organic Regulation in 1831. This fundamental act established de jure the Tsarist protectorate over the two Principalities, placing the Romanian space in the Western context for the first time, thus removing it from Oriental influence. Also, the provisions of the Regulation for Health State and Guarding of Good Organization in Bucharest

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Police, mentioned principles that will generate the entire urban effort visible in the specialized legislation in the near future.
The entire urban and architectural evolution of the nineteenth century is under the sign of juxtaposition of contrasting elements, as pointed out by many foreign travelers who visited the Romanian space. For example, James Oscar Noyes on his description of Bucharest in 1858 stated that: "I have never before seen in such obvious contrast luxury and basic needs, beauty and ugliness, pride and poverty [...] the weirdest blend of Asian costumes and European manners" (Bușă 2009, 212). Romanian countries struggled in that period with old and new, making an odd symbiosis. The contrast can be seen in all areas of life, literature, clothing, language and architecture. Mid nineteenth century was shaped into an exciting, dynamic period of radical change, an early Westernization, in which Bucharest transpires as a chaotic city where formal consistency is not a rule. It was during this tumultuous context, in 1859 that the request signed by A. Solacoglu was recorded by the Bucharest City Hall for the building that posterity will assign the eponym of *inn* (Fig. 3). The building can be considered symbolic for shaping the nationalist spirit of the time (on the ground floor periodicals such as "Libertatea" and "Independenţa" of Bulgarian revolutionary Lyuben Caravelov were printed).

Calea Mosilor as an architectural expression of urban legislative initiatives from the mid nineteenth century

An important pre-war commercial artery of Bucharest, Calea Mosilor slowly lost its brightness over time, leaving visible today only remnants of an impressive architectural development. The artery contains urban interventions from several historical periods, bringing together various compositional typologies and antagonistic stylistic elements. The street has changed simultaneously with the mentality of the inhabitants, losing its original meaning in the urban plan, with the contemporary context placing the evolution of buildings evoking the development of the nineteenth century Bucharest under unfavorable auspices. Through the urban interventions of the last decades, Calea Mosilor was periodically mutilated with decontextualized contemporary inserts or demolition of buildings that could provide authenticity for Bucharest. At the moment, valuable buildings of historical, architectural or urban importance are in an advanced stage of degradation and restoration interventions do not appear to be a priority for the occupants of buildings or authorized institutions.
Calea Mosilor, formerly known as Podul Târgului de Afară defines its existence by linking two major trading areas, the trade fair located inside the city and the trade fair from outside the city. The development of the Outside Trade Fair, later assimilated with Moşilor Trade Fair, was particularly important for the development of the bridge which has taken its name. If the "Inward Trade Fair" had a stable location, being held in the current St. Anthony market, the "Outside Trade Fair" gradually changed its location, the only constant aspect being its organization outside the town barrier. In the context of urban expansion, the barrier was moved along this bridge that linked the city center to the main roads of international trade, co-occurring the densification of the net that was adjacently built to the artery. Historiography recorded the foundation of the trade fair under Matei Basarab and its organization beyond the Saints Church (Biserica Sfinților), where the east barrier of the city lies. In terms of time there is the third "pazar" appeared in the area of Bucharest, the first being held in the northeastern Royal Court, and the second operated briefly on the present site of the National Bank, identified under Matei Basarab's reign as the "top Pazar" (Giurescu 2009, 162- 163). With time, the "Above Trade Fair" disappeared and the merchandise was moved to the trade fair near the Royal Court and the "Outside Trade Fair" where goods that could not enter the city - like cattle, grain or wood – were traded (Mucenic 2004, 16). In the mid-nineteenth century, the "Outside Trade Fair" which moved along with the expansion of urban areas began to identify itself with another much older trade fair, "Moşilor Trade Fair" organized in spring. Thus, the two trade fairs merge and the artery of the "Outside Trade Fair" begins to be known as Calea Moşilor (Mucenic 2004, 38).

On May 27th 1843, Gheorghe Bibescu formalizes the opening day of Mosilor Trade Fair as national holiday, promoting it by celebrating and participating in the Fair. He also encouraged his daughters and other officials to take part in this event, which has taken a larger scale the following year until the reign of Cuza, with the prince attending the opening every year (Parusi 2007, 222). In May 1844, Gheorghe Bibescu also

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attended the closing of the Moşilor Trade Fair, which was held as usual on the Colentina field. Folk games and dances were organized for this event that ended with fireworks (Parusi 2007, 224).

The importance of Calea Moşilor for the evolution of Bucharest is demonstrated by the fact that it was the first road paved with stone, during the reign of Grigore Ghica. The project architects were Freiwald and Hartl. Chronicler Ioan Dobrescu mentioned that on "September 30th 1825, the work on the stone bridge of the Outside Trade Fair was complete, namely from the upper gate of the Old Court to outside of Bucharest, where Moşii begin, at the fountain in Colentina" thus ending the work started in April 1824 (Giurescu 2009, 728). When they decided paving the four royal bridges with stone, the need for the hardest rocks in Romanian mountains was specified, "so that this pavement is better than the one at Brasov Fortress" (Giurescu 2009, 741). The pavement was made of stone brought from Prahova Valley, but, in time, because of its very rugged and non-durable pavement, it generated pits, imposing the need to replenish it (Giurescu 2009, 741). By adopting the Regulation for Health State and Guarding of Good Organization in Bucharest Police, the configuration of streets is rethought, settling the stone paving of streets and closure of "the unnecessary" ones (Lascu 2011, 41). Being an intensely crossed artery throughout the nineteenth century, by connecting with "the way to Focsani", which led to Moldova (Mucenic 2004, 17), Calea Moşilor retains its vital role for the community. Consequently, in July 1876, the auction for "settlement of slabs and curbs pressed on the sidewalk of Calea Moşilor" commenced (A.N.R., P.M.B., Tehnic, d. 11/1876, f. 2), auction that will be won by Jacques Herdan and C. Serghiad whose proposed price was lower than that of other competitors (4 lei and 25 bani / sqm flagstone and 3 lei and 30 bani / m curbs). "On those four large streets of the city, and in all the streets of the fair, they've added crossed lanterns, at fully distance of ten fathoms from each other, and lighted them at night with oil or fish oil and not with candles, and so they've counted on the grounds that the light will last 12 hours all night, in winter and summer" (A.N.R., P.M.B., Tehnic, d. 11/ 1876, f. 1-26) as stated in Article 33 of Section V, for "City Beautification" in the Regulation for Health State and Guarding of Good Organization in Bucharest Police. Therefore, in the same year they began placing lanterns on the four main streets of the city, next to the Bridge of the Outside Trade Fair, Mogosoaia Bridge, Calicilor Bridge and Beilicului Bridge (Vârtosu 1936, 6). The importance of the Outside Trade Fair Bridge is also underlined by the construction of the second sewer in Bucharest (began in 1840 and ended in 1875) with a length of 950 meters, built of stone, mortar and associated plants covered with iron slats (Parusi 2007, 183).

Over time, on Calea Mosilor, buildings with an important role for the community were constructed. For example, in 1840, at the edge of the bridge Heliade Ion Radulescu's printing press was installed, a place where numerous books and newspapers will be printed, having an important role in Romanian culture through the dissemination of forty-eighter ideas. Heliade Radulescu's typography had six printing presses, ten houses for letters, a lithography and a foundry for letters (Parusi 2007, 183). Another important factor in the development of community in the adjacent slums of the Outside Trade Fair Bridge is the striking representation of religious edifices. The proximity of Old St. George Church, New St. George Church, Răzvan Church, the Saints Church or the Olari Church caused increasing social cohesion and crystallization of the whole built texture as well as the streets constructed around these buildings. Spontaneously, around them, inns or buildings with a more important destination for residents were originally outlined, and later to achieve true public spaces. The New Saint George Church has generated the appearance of an inn built by Antonie Voda of Popeşti, subsequently increased by Constantin Brancoveanu, which was heavily damaged by fires in 1804 and 1847 (Parusi 2007, 183). In the eighteenth century, in its proximity, an inn of modest size was built by the Metropolitan Filaret on the stretch of land between Decebal street and Calea Mosilor, Hagi Dimitrache Papazoglu's inn, between 1784- 1789, identified by the Ernst plan as the Popazu Inn (Giurescu 2009, 602). Also on Calea Moşilor, the Saints Church cand be found, originally called the Sibyls Church because its exterior paintings depict the Sibyls, prophetess of antiquity (Giurescu 2009, 189). The frieze decoration presents nine men and ten women who were not saints, but philosophers and sibyls, names such as Thales, Hermes Trismegistus, Aristotle, Plato, Zeno, Persian Sibyl, Cumaean Sibyl, Delphic Sibyl (Isanos 2008, 94). Calea Mosilor was also noticeable for its leisure buildings, such as the Gherghiceanu Pub, "famous

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for its wines and whose master's particularity was that he no longer served the drunkards" (Giurescu 2009, 632) that can be identified on the 1911 plan at the intersection with Oltarului street at number 239 or through craft activities. Near the Outside Trade Fair Bridge was Frânge Fieru street, the current Jaques Elias street, on which there were the only shops in the country in which iron imported into "bales" was cut into bigger pieces (Giurescu 2009, 585).

A building is inextricably linked to the space in which it is designed. The spirit of the place, that *genius loci*, is the one that determines the lifetime of a building. Consequently, the importance of the building constructed by the Solacoglu family is also defined by its location. In the mid-nineteenth century, Calea Mosilor was dominated by constructions with shops on the ground floor and living quarters on the first floor. This can be explained by the commercial character of this segment. In addition, given the uncontrolled expansion of the city, a considerable dilatation of parceling to limit can be observed, balancing the increased densification of the downtown area. In this way, the appearance of isolated housing can be explained, real urban villas, as is the case of Bercovici building, located on Calea Moşilor no. 128.

The Solacoglu building in the context of architectural evolution from the mid nineteenth century

The building at numbers 134-134A bears the Solacolu (originating Solacoglu) family history in its walls. According to the building permit issued in 1859 for the two brothers, it is provided the construction of a "double dwelling with all conveniences" (Tutunea-Costin 2000) in the Mântuleasa slum, Black Color District, on the Outside Trade Fair way (Figs. 3-4). The inn was built on the land belonging to Dr. Țucăr, owner of a sugar factory, according to the Borroczyn plan in 1847 and 1852. In the mid-nineteenth century, A. Solacoglu built three shops on his ground, later buying a plot from his neighbor Anghel Hagi Iordache. Consequently, in 1859 the construction of the double dwellings atop the shops begins. In response to the request made by A. Solacoglu, architect Burelli specifies: "He is allowed to build the wall in a brick and a half tiled wall of a brick rooms above his three shops in front of Mosilor street, cover them in metal sheet, and in the surroundings he will raise a turbot wall; as well as changing the old door frames and windows [...] and the facade of the new building will meet the current facade of the three shops" (Buzila 2007, 64-65).

The Solacoglu building was frequently assigned the function of an inn because of the similarities to other buildings that fulfill this role on the urban plan. In reality, it wouldn't be wrong to classify it as a pseudo-inn. Under the guise of mass objects specifically devoted to the oriental culture, inside this building various functions succeeded. In 1878, at the ground floor of the inn, the first pasta factory was running, described in a local paper as "the provider of the Royal House", gold medalist in Paris and Vienna. Another important element in shaping the building's identity is the period in which there functioned a printing press.

The term "inn" has entered the Romanian space on the eastern branch, originating from the Persian "khan" which meant "house hosting and feasting travelers on a surcharge" (Mortu 2011, 25). The idea of an inn develops in the context of intensifying the relations of dependence with the Ottoman Empire and hence of trade relations, reaching to define since the eighteenth century as "premises and buildings where those who practiced commerce, travelers and small traders could find shelter, resting spaces and meals; multiple functions that will diversify over time" (Mortu 2011, 26).

Although it is usually considered that this architectural program falls under the influence of Ottoman architecture, the opinions expressed by certain foreign travelers placed the emergence of the Romanian inn under the tutelage of Catholic monasteries or Venetian Fondacos. The first theory is formulated by the Florentine Anton Maria Del Chiaro and can be explained by the author's reference to well-known architectural solutions which he was familiar with (Mortu 2011, 28). The other theory developed in the spirit of the influence of the West on the volumetry of inns is formulated by Ionescu-Gion and requires an obvious reporting of Serban Cantacuzino's Venetian models when he built the first important inn in Bucharest.

This architectural program can find echoes and scope of Oriental influence in the spatial organization formulas devoted to the *caravanserai*, the *bezistan* or the specific Ottoman inn. The caravenserai belongs to the extra urban

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areas, serving to protect travelers on the main trade routes, being generally located at a distance of approximately 30 to 40 km. The bezistans and inns were positioned as close to the so-called *çarşı*, the center of the Ottoman localities where the main economic activity and manufacturing took place. While the bezistan was a building that only belonged to large cities, the inn was a constant presence in urban areas. In the context of unsafe commercial roads, Bucharest inns multiply, ensuring the safety of merchants in their premises. The architectural expression of this program derives strictly from the functions which the edifice had to answer, namely the need to ensure animal shelter, storage of goods, and temporary accommodation of passengers. Consequently, the volumetry of inns will be oriented inwards, with very thick exterior walls, generating true fortified precincts. The masonry will dominate the facades facing the street, while the interior environment will be complemented by wide open columns. Access to the courtyard is generally achieved through the vaulted corridors, closed with strong gates, able to protect the people staying in the house. Consequently, the commercial function of the inns was conducted primarily on site, in generous columns or patios.

Inns built in Bucharest during the late nineteenth century are characterized by an altered relationship between volumetry and function. Inns do not appear to meet the same needs for defense. Thus, inns begin to open up to the outside, with the ground floor facing the street, allowing easy access to the interior space and using the ground floor as a commercial area. The volumetry devoted to functions of temporary shelter begins to acquire new meanings. In the context of the abolition of the Ottoman commercial monopoly following the Peace of Adrianople in 1829 and economic recovery, trade is starting to be increasingly active and traders are able to open their own inns. Some were even placed in commercial centers, while others were found on less important streets, but equally participating in the vivid commercial life. Inns built after 1850 are different from the previous ones by renting rooms per day, not per month or year, thus increasing revenues. They increasingly begin to resemble more and more to Western hotels, sometimes even cumulating specific functions, thus transforming into hotels (Potra 1985, 145).

Recently emerging hotels can be considered true catalysts of the architectural evolution of Bucharest in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. They are the perfect expression of this constantly changing world, of a society rapidly espousing progress, denying everything that the previous period had built, rallying to the "European fashion".

In these circumstances, the Solacoglu building is distinguished by its unusual fulfilled function suggested by its planimetric configuration. From this point of view, the project provided in the building permit was configured as an "E", bringing together two identical buildings, each benefiting from one enclosure and an underground cellar with both a refuge and storage role (Figs. 5-6). Shops and workshops were provided downstairs, while upstairs homesteads were allocated (Tutunea-Costin 2000). In 1859 the construction site was off to make one organized U-shaped building with a courtyard of considerable size. At the time being, a comb-shaped arrangement can be observed, but the median body was later built without following the directions outlined in the initial draft, having no connection with the initial construction or structural aesthetics. Part of the median body of the building was built between 1888 and 1899 to which a further portion was added after 1940.

By analyzing the compiled plan for obtaining construction permits, it can be clearly seen that there are two apartments on the floor of each house, for collective housing. In other words, under the traditional title of inn, the building was *de facto* an apartment building, 35 years before the term was formally introduced in the specialized language by the architect F.D. Xenopol in 1894, when referring to the building that belonged to Max Aziel (Tutunea-Costin 2000). It was what Constantin Buzilă called a *pseudo-inn* or *inn-house*, that is a form of integration into the frameworks of a planimetric typology devoted to new functions, such as collective housing (Buzilă 2007, 64-65). The entire building is separated into four clearly defined areas, for the functioning of each apartment, access being made separately by individual stairways. Also, each apartment benefitted from a bathroom located at the end of the upper column, showing concern for the health of the inhabitants. The increasing interest for hygiene is simultaneously performed with the westernization of society. In this regard, in August 1878, the *Regulation on Sanitation and Housing Construction* was drafted. Under Articles 9 and

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10, the rules state the following: "each storey of the houses will have at least one (private) latrine. In the houses of several families, each family apartment will have a latrine [...] private sewers must be completely walled on bottom, walls and vaults." Under article 20, "no sewer can be built or repaired without the consent of the City Hall. The owner or the entrepreneur (in the owner's name) is obliged to make a statement at City Hall, showing the works that need to be done. In case of construction or reconstruction, the plan and cutting of the sewer and upper storey must be attached to this statement."

Access inside the inn can be gained in two ways - it can be accessed directly from the street shops on the ground floor and from the patio leading to the upper level. Although the Rules of Construction and Alignments in 1878 prohibited the exit outside the alignment with steps or marquis, in this case a situation before the year of promulgation of this regulation can be seen: the Solacoglu inn was built in 1859 with steps of the access doors to the building placed in the street. Access to the courtyard is through two generously sized gates, which close the two passages of the building. Because the entire building is thought of as having an important component of defense, gates are fitted with collars so that the access of persons inside the building can be controlled. Thus the space becomes semi-private, strangers being unable to enter. Consequently, the building respects the typical planimetric typology of the inn - its premises could not be approached except by permission of those inside. Access to the upper level is achieved via stairs at the intersection of the building's bodies, now badly damaged. The building has three independent basements: the access to the side ones is through two stone stairways, while the access to the central basement is done on a wooden ladder closed with a hatch. The basement organization is made in the traditional manner, thus contrasting the specific freedom of the ground floor and regarding these rooms as semi-public spaces.

The synthetic character of the building is also expressed through the plastics of the facades (Fig. 7). The Solacoglu Inn has a decoration specific to Early Eclecticism, the sobriety of the main façade being attenuated by the window frames on the ground floor and first floor. Although the building was designed as a double dwelling, there are no technically constructive joints between the two buildings. The same unity and volumes coherence can be observed at a decorative level, as the street façade was unitary designed. Three decorative registers can be seen and clearly defined: the lower register of the ground floor, the middle register, corresponding to the storey, and the cornice register. The significant difference in height between the ground and first floor regards the storey as a *piano noble*. According to the building permit and a photo from the early twentieth century, an ornament of the attic above the cornice can be seen, which is not present anymore because of serious degradation (Fig. 8). The whole building is organized symmetrically. Downstairs the organization of goals is visible, the base being heightened in the windows area. The frames on the ground floor show a bas-relief with vegetal motifs of Caucasian-Armeno invoice made of stucco. By analyzing photographs from 2007 that captured the inn in a slightly full form, prior to vandalism in the past 7 years, hardware details can be seen above the openings on the ground floor and details of vents to the basements. Wrought iron lace captures within the limits of a well defined geometric decor oriental-inspired vegetable ornaments. Also, on the ground floor, we can see closed gates with railings demarcating the public space of the street from the private vaulted corridors with access to the patio. This architectural gesture underlines the Oriental reminiscences of residents who wanted a protected, closed space, thus respecting the typology of the inn.

The register of the ground floor is separated from the upper floor by horizontal profiles of rods-type, with rectangular frames placed above them, decorated with stucco reinterpreting the ivy leaf motif. Upstairs, renaissance window frames finished with small consoles are decorated with animal and plant motifs supporting the protruding gutters. Between the gutter and lowered arches of the windows, there is the lintel decorated with heads of Madonnas flanked by a braid of acanthus leaves. The existence of pilasters with Corinthian capital grooves can still be observed. According to a photography taken in the early twentieth century, above frames on the upper floor were bumble caps with flowers and garlands that counterbalanced the stucco form downstairs. The cornice is decorated with multilobal moldings and flower bulbs.

The eclectic decoration of the main facade is strongly contrasted by the traditional architecture visible inside. Significant for the building's

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configuration is especially the interior glass partition column. At the moment it is a rarity, yet it may also be seen at the property on Calea Moşilor no. 82 and at Neculescului Inn, located at no. 84. A typical Romanian solution to generate a half-open space, but protected from weather, the glass partition porch was not commonly used due to the ban to stop using wood in the central area following the fire on March 23rd 1847. Thus, these occurrences are isolated and will be exclusively used at the closing of simple structures in the backyard (Buzilă 2007, 54). At the moment, this traditional wooden decoration was preserved only in some places, those portions demonstrating the discrepancy between the vernacular resolve of the interior and the eclectic one from the exterior. Constantin Joja integrates this solution into the typology of galleries with cantilevered floors (Joja 1980, 8). Another feature that emphasizes the vernacular of this construction is the use of massive stone inside, roughened by horizontal grooves, clearly differentiating from the sophistication of the exterior facade. Inside, the decoration is simplified and traces of frescoes with vegetal motifs can still be seen (Fig. 9).

The advanced degradation of the building. Prerequisites for revitalizing the architectural heritage

At the moment the building shows considerable degradation caused mainly by inadequate housing in the 1992- 2007 period, the year the property was returned, and due to the history of seismic activity (Fig. 10). The roof is almost completely destroyed, favoring the infiltration of rainwater in the masonry. From a structural viewpoint, the building shows significant degradation and is framed in class I of seismic risk (SR I), with the potential of collapsing at a major earthquake. Urgent attention is needed on structural elements, anchoring the vaults with tensioned cables arranged at the top and restoring the masonry with the same type of brick and mortar.

The massive degradation of the building is also observed on the facades, the decorations being almost totally destroyed. It is necessary to make some molds of the existing parts, casting them in plaster or cement mortar in the positive pattern, fixing parts made in bas-relief on walls by sticking plaster or cement paste with the addition of glue. Fixation by interlocking and cementing large parts exposed to bad weather with plaster or cement mortar is also indicated, and also completing these structures by clearly marking contemporary interventions. The disappearance of the rainwater draining system caused a degradation of the masonry, while leaving the salts from the concrete at the surface of the plaster.

The integration of old buildings in the contemporary urban context is at present an almost utopian goal. Although protecting historical buildings is a natural act for developed countries, for the Romanian space can be a real problem, as the collective mentality does not aknowledge the real value of these buildings. They are perceived as harmful to the urban landscape because of their unhealthy appearance, mostly generated by abandoning these spaces or by inadequate housing. Consequently, due to structural problems and lack of consolidating interventions they become dangerous to people. The urban community perceives these buildings as unnecessary and believes that the potential investment would be unfeasible.

On the opposite side, there are some voices that advocate for the importance of historical and architectural heritage, considering it the defining element that gives the authenticity of a city. There are people who appreciate history, who want to see these buildings restored in order to enjoy an authentic city and valuable public spaces.

The main problem in the discussion of buildings built before World War I is actually how their integration in the contemporary circuit can be managed, their integration in the existing urban context as well as the manner in which this urban scale operation can be funded.

Protected construction areas can be revitalized by various means, by boosting the activity of cultural and economic development. First, it is necessary to support an information campaign by which people come into contact with urban history. Information can be shared through panels and information points located in strategic, visible places, and by organizing cultural routes on streets with pedestrian traffic only. Stopping car traffic on certain arteries is possible by redesigning and redistributing traffic flows on streets that can bear traffic emphasis. Turning them into pedestrian areas may open the way to the arrangement of planted green spaces, areas destined for artistic events or exhibition spaces. There is also the possibility of using holograms,

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through which the urban image of a certain period would be restored. Even if all these proposals will require a substantial funding in the first phase, they will attract many revenues due to tourism development. Transforming Calea Mosilor into a pedestrian area is a necessity because car traffic endangers the integrity of the buildings. In this way, the artery could be used as an exhibition space and will take on a new significance in the urban plan. Through a special pavement treatment information about the area's history or about the evolution of Bucharest could be provided. The street could become a place of culture, a heavily transited area for tourists and residents in which they can carry out artistic or commercial activities. Calea Mosilor could thus regain its place on the urban plan, with the adjacent buildings being put in value. The Solacoglu building shows an impressive architectural potential, with discrete galleries hiding behind the façade, which can be exploited by scenic effects, thus leading the visitor to a courtyard used as exhibition space or for projections.

A prerequisite through which architecture can retain its meaning over time is the fulfilled function. The importance of the utility of an architectural form was expressed by Vitruvius since the first century BC in the paper *De Arhitectura Libri Decem*, stating that a building must meet three conditions: *firmitas*, the structural frame, *venustas*, the aesthetic criterion and *utilitas*, the function. Over time, the concept has evolved, being treated in Leon Battista Alberti's 1452 paper *De Re Aedificatoria*, in which the Renaissaintist aimed to create harmony through reason. Alberti takes and develops the same principles expressed by Vitruvius, *utilitas* occupying an important place.

Over time, the concept of *utilitas* begins to be rethought in the context of the Modern Movement crisis and the changes in political, economic and social sphere. The dynamism of the twentieth century has given the function predominant duties in the role of designing a building, and the idea that "Forms follow function" was first put forward by architect Louis Sullivan in 1896. The need for reporting architecture to the new context of the twentieth century led to the crisis of buildings previously built, which no longer met the spirit of the age. The devaluation of architectural heritage was caused primarily by the loss of function that these buildings owned. Ceasing housing and abandoning buildings or housing deficit, deindustrialisation (in the case of buildings belonging to industrial heritage), the disappearance of some occupations or social needs, are all matters that require the functional conversion to all these buildings and the grant of new meanings.

As a conclusion, the importance of maintaining the cultural history of a place is being supported by the fact that every city is defined by its growth, by all the items that evolved in time. The nineteenth century is kept alive in our memory due to all the remaining buildings of that era, especially by the ones that revolutionized the architectural evolution. The Solacoglu Building could be considered as a statement of the profound process of modernization occurred in the Romanian society, therefore its preservation is essential in order to evoke this unique transitional era. The architectural heritage highlights the charm of an urban space through its originality, while the past is seen as a possibility of innovation for the future.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Comemorative plaque. Image source: prof. Petre Mortu's personal archive.

Fig. 2. Solacoglu Building. Image source: U.A.U.I.M. archive.

Figs. 3-4. Request made by A. Solacoglu. Image source: A.N.R. P.M.B., Fond General, d. 98/1859.

Figs. 5-6. Plan and sections – Solacoglu Building. Image source: A.N. R. P.M.B., Fond General, d. 98/1859.

Fig. 7. Elevation – Solacoglu Building. Image source: A.N.R. P.M.B., Fond General, d. 98/1859.

Fig. 8. Solacoglu Building – street view, Calea Moșilor, 20th century. Image source: http://www.celokupnabulgaria.eu/wpcontent/uploads.

Figs. 9-10. Solacoglu Building – interior. Image source: personal archive.

Fig. 11. Solacoglu Building. Image source: prof. Petre Mortu's archive.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

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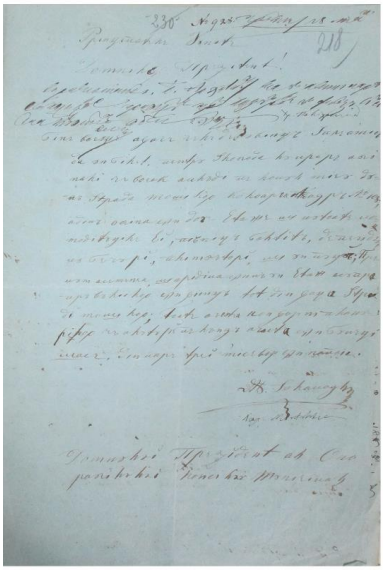
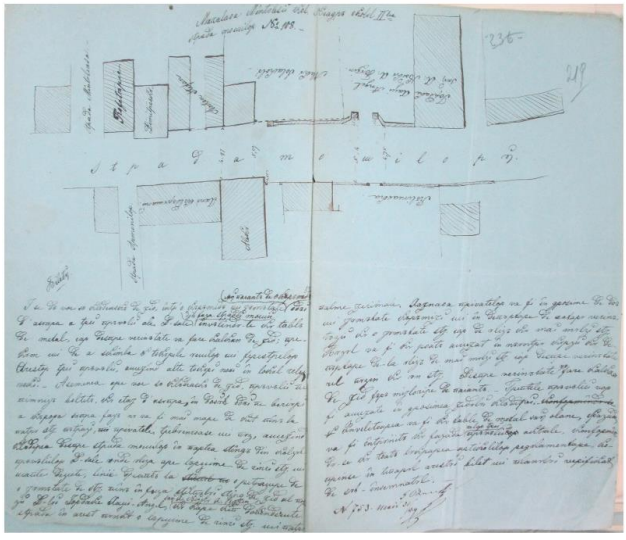
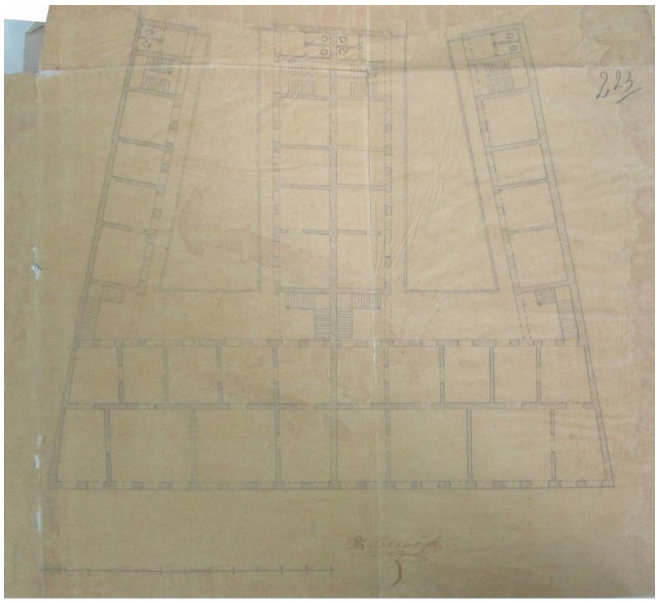
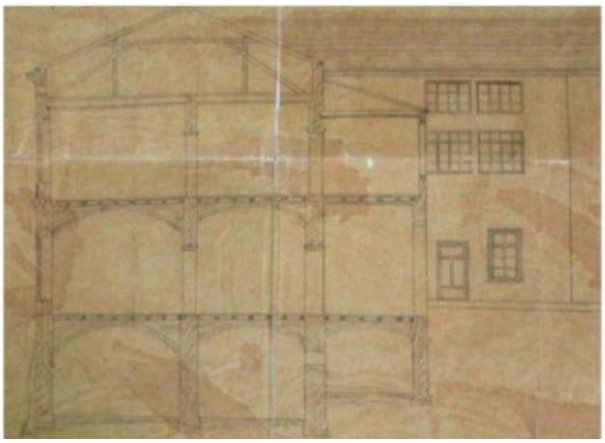




Figs. 3-4. Request made by A. Solacoglu. Image source: A.N.R. P.M.B., Fond General, d. 98/1859.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro





Figs. 5-6. Plan and sections – Solacoglu Building. Image source: A.N. R. P.M.B., Fond General, d. 98/1859.

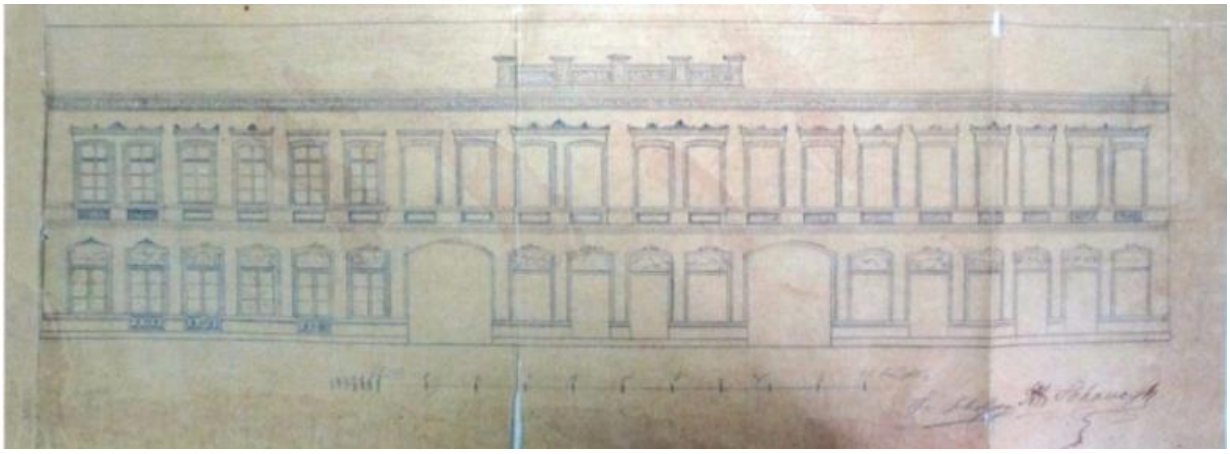


Fig. 7. Elevation – Solacoglu Building. Image source: A.N.R. P.M.B., Fond General, d. 98/1859.

Fig. 8. Solacoglu Building – street view, Calea Moșilor, 20th century. Image source: http://www.celokupnabulgaria.eu/wpcontent/uploads.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

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ECONOMIC STAKES AND SYMBOLIC CONFRONTATIONS IN LATE 19TH - CENTURY ROMANIAN MUSEOLOGY

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Abstract: *In the 19th century, Romanians made inventories of anything they found, without being aware of the history that would be likely to integrate those artefacts. As the criteria for making these typologies were not clearly defined, all kinds of beginnings and origins were identified, while diachronic or staging analyses were not particularly looked after. But the so-called "curiosities" had their public, the exceptions to the rule and the bizarre objects being still strongly promoted. A thing that amazes us seems thus to be instructive by itself, and there is no more need to include it into a temporal succession, into a causal chain.*
Later, including the exhibit into a typology grew more interesting, as it confirmed a species, an evolution, and an epoch. This was a typical attitude for late antiquaries. Their researches did not illustrate an already formulated meta-narrative, they only gathered its premises. Step by step, they passed from the mere fascination with facts, characters and vestiges coming from illo tempore, to the intention of remaking the history of an exhibit, starting from its present and going back, following its story. The inventories betray the way in which history is perceived at one point, the way in which given samples are included in one sort of sources or another. For instance, changing the status of an object from "curiosity" to "source" – contributing to the reconstruction of a past – supposes progress in the adjacent sciences and the appearance of new information, allowing a real capitalization of an otherwise picturesque object.
The transition was not an easy one, the objects brought in the museum standing there for effigies of lost worlds, while not offering much information about them. Initially too few and too disparate, the exhibits were moving with difficulty from the phase of reminding of a given epoch to that where they could actually participate in the completion of a collective biography, of a narrative puzzle. The taste for something was one thing, the curiosity about it was something else and its systematic investigation was a completely different thing. Only at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the positivist school operated a separation between the "monument" and the "document", providing the latter with a rather textual than material connotation.

Keywords: *Romanian museology, 19th century, positivist school, reconstruction of the past, curiosity, archaeological trips*

In a report of the manager Alexandru Russo, dated 22 June 1870, the inventory of the Antiquities National Museum was divided into four categories: an antiquity one, an ecclesiastic one, a numismatic one, and a last one of rarities and curiosities (ANRB, file 140/1870, 280 recto). One should notice that it was organized neither chronologically nor thematically, but according to the nature or utility that the exhibits had once had. If we draw a typology of the acquisitions made in the second half of the 19th century, as it results from the documents that mention them, we find out that there were: 1) items found by mistake, particularly on the occasion of railway works; 2) those discovered by treasure hunters; 3) acquisitions determined by archaeological trips; 4) private donations; 5) notifications by benevolent persons to the ministry (objects without owner); 6) the propositions of some members of the archaeological Committee; 7) antiquaries and "connoisseurs" who had started their activity for a long time, by their own, with no State support; 8) investments policy for the completion of the museum inventory; 9) the ex officio interventions of the authorities to save endangered objectives; 10) some officials' desire to help a poor collector, a friend, a political client, buying from him with budget money.

Besides the interest for history, there were also material stakes, which played an important role as well. One could therefore easily notice a slightly contentious succession of persons that tried to get an at least temporary monopoly on the inventorying and the acquiring of the future exhibits. More precisely, this person, claiming a new talent, invoked a higher professional training, attacking thus the preferential regime that the rival had in exploiting historical vestiges. For instance, under Al. I. Cuza, the topic was somehow

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dominated by Dimitrie Pappasoglu, who explained his pretensions by the fact that his travels as a military had favoured a detailed understanding of worthy objectives. One can especially notice his desire to obtain a certain primacy in the field, on the grounds that he was the only one who knew patrimonial topography. He will be rivalled by Cezar Bolliac, and Bolliac will be contested, in his turn, by Odobescu (Odobescu 1955, 107-118). The latter had had many enemies because of his lecture on the history of archaeology, delivered at the University of Bucharest in 1874. Trying to make a separation between antiquaries and archaeologists, he used to talk to the students about the "fantasies of the antiquarilo-explorers, who have no other reason than a childish curiosity, whitewashed with fake erudition, acquired after having browsed some dictionary" (Odobescu 1961, 143)[1].

For us to understand in what precise phase the establishment of this museum is, we should make a distinction between the curious, the antiquaries and the collectors: 1) the curious, eager to accumulate objects as diverse as possible, made of the *difference* and of the variety a mini-show, transforming the collection into a menagerie, a carousel, a circus; they were greedy for rarity and uniqueness, looking rather for the unusual than for the beautiful (Rheims 1959, 5); 2) the antiquaries were easily fascinated of the age of monuments, being preoccupied to save their memory at a descriptive and graphic level; we owe them the first field researches and the first attempts to catalogue and to classify; 3) the collectors preferred specialized, thematic accumulations, the catalogues made by them lying at the origin of some museum conceptions; for them, the acquisition of a whole series of items, up to the last one, was in a way a reason to live (Rheims 1959, 3-4). Unlike the classical collector, the *self-educated* one fed the illusion that he would contribute to the formation or preservation of the historical or artistic heritage of the country (Pety 2001, 80). He actually boasted it, opening a small museum home for those who were interested by his explorations (Pety 2001, 80)[2].

For the western area, a differentiation is important between the well-developed culture or practices of collection, on the one hand, and the institutional development that was not perfect there either, on the other hand. In France, the National Antiquity Museum had been established in March 1862, and opened for real in 1867. The 4 March 1874 Decree, on the organization of the national museums, did not stipulate either anything special about the storage of items. But the French museums knew how to create competition between the donators, tempting them with special honours: commemorative plaques, busts, portraits, special rooms, the possibility to associate, as co-donator, a close relative (Long 2001, 52-53). As Véronique Long noticed, the museum could become the mausoleum of a family, perpetuating somehow its memory (Long 2001, 53). The very acceptance of the donation, after the report made by the specialists in the field, granted the donator a significant degree of notoriousness, explaining why the number of donations during one's lifetime (containing few objects) exceeded that of posthumous ones (much more significant from a quantitative point of view). The historians of the field show that the year 1870 would be an important benchmark at the European level: especially in the West, the *collectionism* transformed from an elitist hobby into a social vogue (Pety 2001, 74-75). Furthermore, Gustave Flaubert mocked this kind of Bovarysme by means of his heroes, Bouvard and Pécuchet, suddenly passionate about Celtic archaeology and firmly convinced that they had discovered a druidic pot in a nettle shrub (Flaubert 1997, 108-109).

The discourse by which private persons offered their collections to sale contained several arguments, by which they hoped to raise awareness of the authorities: the personal effort on the long run; the increase of the national wealth; the danger for the objects to be dispersed or even taken out of the country; the privations and difficulties of their daily lives. This kind of pleas contained a significant self-laudatory segment. They were counting upon the identity between the donator and the donated things, the qualities of the collection being symbolically transferred on the collector[3]. We are not interested in how the immediate *addressee* (the minister of Cults) received these words. It is important how the *receiver* – that is the current researcher of these documents – understands to "translate" these little pleas; it is important to be aware, more precisely, of how was created the confusion between the *probity* of the person who made donations, the

[1] The book appeared in 1877. Comparing the antiquary to the archaeologist, Odobescu said that the difference between them was actually that between a house painter and an artist (Odobescu 1961, 63).

[2] Part of the category of the "self-educated" are most of the persons we talk about in this study.

[3] The relations between donator and donations are analysed in Văduva 1997, 97.

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authenticity of the thing on sale and the *truth* of the museum reconstructions that the object in question was part of.

Yet, the donations did not involve the gratuity they involve today. They were negotiated in two forms: sometimes, the supplier said he donated some objects out of patriotism, willingly decreasing a price – supposedly much higher if he was to sell his earnings to foreigners; other times, the plea suggested that the acceptance of the donation by the ministry would have been a charitable (compensatory) gesture towards the poor donator. The fact that the passion to collect was a possibility to get both money and posterity can be inferred from a letter of Dimitrie Pappasoglu, dated 27 September 1875, perfectly compatible to our assertions: "…During forty-five years, collecting all kinds of antiques that I could find in the districts of Romania, I respectfully propose to sell them to You, for the enrichment of the State museum, and I am honoured to note down in the enclosed catalogue the separations, the kind and number of those antiques. So if you, Minister, condescended to agree to buy them, I promise to ask You the most moderate prices, as I want to offer them for the use of my natal country, *kindly asking You to order for my name to be recorded in the register of the museum*" (RNAB, file 120/1875, 218 recto-verso). If that collection was that important, why did he not sell it to a better price? The civic spirit offered a covering discourse, as many of the collected objects, though very old, were not of aesthetic, but only of historical relevance, limited anyway to the Romanian area. Pappasoglu is somewhere between the specialist collector, the provincial collector and the occasional collector. Guy de Maupassant used to be ironic with this kind of people, who collected everything they came upon ("everything that is old, everything that is rare, everything that is ugly"), transforming their home into a bazaar or a deposit of ceramics (Pety 2001, 78). The collections of this kind did not legitimate the social ascension of the owner, getting him another type of respectability, a scientific one (Pety 2001, 78). Anyway, he was not looking for the beautiful, but for the old, he was not writing history, but only comments upon its material traces (Pety 2001, 78).

In May 1888, Pappasoglu wrote again to Minister Titu Maiorescu, proposing him to buy a collection with "8 separations" (ANRB, file 11/1888, 35)[4]. The memoir brings forth nothing new, as it were somehow typified and resembled the previous offers. Resuming, we can find out in the texts some subterfuges by which the one who makes the offer looks after his interest: 1) a so-called complexity of the collection – "any kind of antiques" as he said – which makes us believe that randomness played a first rank role in its construction; in fact, the "collection" was rather a cabinet of curiosities, with vaguely or not at all ordered things; 2) according to him, his rarities defended us from the enemies abroad, Pappasoglu prophesying in the letter dated 2 January 1867, that those objects "will enlighten those writers who are enemies of our nationality, who often told the world that we are slaves" (Mihai, Bichis 1984, 262)[5]; a proof that the *so-called danger of alienating some antiques was a bluff* – by means of which the collector hoped to receive from the Romanian State the prices he requested – can be found in the same letter, where Pappasoglu asks Odobescu to sell in Paris 180 of his exhibits (Mihai, Bichis 1984, 262)[6]; 3) he says he had collected those exhibits "buying them from the labourers of the land *who had preserved them for us for twenty centuries*"; this is the myth of a progressive countryside, who had always defended the timeless features of the Romanian nation; as if the only occupation of the peasant was to preserve artefacts, so that the modernity could grant them later an identity meaning; 4) the assimilation of the traces of the past with some "sacred monuments of our glorious ancestors", confers the small vestiges a semi-cultural value; 5) the Salvationist myth: by his labour, the patriot collector chased the agents of the foreign antiquaries, remaking his people owners of relics that they would have otherwise lost: "historical objects that the inhabitants usually sell to the foreigners and alienate them"; he avoids however to attack his compatriots who collaborated with the agents because, as "special men of the Ministry", they threatened too that they would sell their fortune abroad if the State had not bought it in due time; 6) the idea that acquiring a

[4] Titu Maiorescu's apostil recommended for this demand to be simply archived, as "there are no fund provided in the budget". The purchase of the Pappasoglu collection was tergiversated for a long time. Girgore Tocilescu, the manager of the National Antiques Museum solved the problem only in 1906, after the death of the owner. See Ștefan 1984, 117.

[5] This is a letter of Dimitrie Pappasoglu to Alexandru Odobescu, from the time when the latter was charged with the organization of the Romanian participation in the Universal Exhibition of Paris. See Mihai, Bichis 1984, 262.

[6] The wish to sell ancient objects abroad was already expressed then, in 1867, and only after decades of pressures, when impatience would have seemed naturally justified. The famous "foreign agent" who buys anything at any price was from the very beginning a discourse trick.

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well-structured collection would involve saving the sums of money that are usually spent on "trips and per diems at places where the workers find them", the allusion to the "rivals" being obvious; 7) the construction of the personal merit: a) he pretended to believe in the significance of those objects, the national conscience existed only in his mind, while the contemporaries woke up much later; b) he always sold a "half a century old" collection, suggesting that he had willingly dedicated himself to a great ideal and that he had thus the right to a civic and cultural posterity (ANRB, file 11/1888, 35 recto); 8) he criticized the previous minister of Instruction and eulogized the current one, showing that the destiny of a big collection depended only upon the patriotism of the one who held, at that moment, the portfolio of Culture; for instance, although Alexandru Odobescu had hardly been installed as minister of Culture and Instruction on 26 May 1863 – and stayed there for only 5 months –, Pappasoglu conveniently compared him with the reproachful predecessor, Christian Tell; 9) he repeatedly announced the intention to donate something, in order only to test the authorities' availability, but he rejected the financial offer the Ministry made, thinking to try later, when the minister would be replaced or when the need for money would become quite pressing; when he saw he had no other variants, he accepted the money he had initially refused, suggesting that he gave up for the sake of his beloved country.

We wonder: to what extent the criteria of the donator were perpetuated in the structure of the Museum of antiquities? Did the collections bought from private persons partially determine the organization of the national museum, somehow forced to adopt the former owner's principles of coherence? Francis Haskell says that in the 19th century, the small collectors were the ones who set the pace for the great trends (Haskell 1986 & 1993, 133). And thinking about our antiquaries, who wanted to sell the State everything they had collected during a lifetime, we realize that acquiring such a collection involved buying other, somehow related ones. This was the only way to render the inventory items thematically or at least chronologically compatible. A new exhibit could open a new field of interest, obliging the curators to look for similar objects, as precedents or descendents of the prototype. Thus, the initial collection remained isolated, as its exhibition was not justified by anything. The time when the presence of an object in a museum was legitimated by its very status of "rarity" was gone.

Dimitrie Pappasoglu had tried his luck with several ministers of Instruction, and we invoke his arguments to the extent to which they are relevant for the present research. In this line, on 19 January 1870, he wrote to George Mârzescu about his intention to donate his collection of antiques and numismatics. In exchange, he asked for a supplement to the pension (ANRB, file 140/1870, 18 recto)[7]. With this intention, in October 1869, Pappasoglu had sent to the ministry the catalogue of his collection, being subsequently visited by Alexandru Odobescu and Cesar Bolliac, the chairman of the Archaeological Committee (ANRB, file 140/1870, 18 recto-verso). But they came without the catalogue in question, for a courtesy visit, promising to return. As two months passed and the two did not come back, Odobescu was considered the guilty one. According to Pappasoglu, he would have resisted the operation "…for details that should not be mentioned when it comes about one's country, as such an important collection of historical antiques that I have collected myself in Romania for 40 years, should not be lost or left to dissipate…" (ANRB, file 140/1870, 310 recto-verso). Pappasoglu urged therefore the minister to obtain from Bolliac an evaluation of the collection, so that the minister could afterwards intervene in the Parliament. Furthermore, he resorts to a little but effective blackmail, saying that he could sell the exhibits to "foreign amateurs who incessantly come to ask me to sell these monuments of our ancestors, collected from Romania exclusively…" (ANRB, file 140/1870, 18 verso). We do not know how real or how fictive these rivals were, but this feeling of guilt was a way to attract the authorities. On 3 February 1870, Bolliac promised he would go again to Pappasoglu, to finally classify his collection (ANRB, file 140/1870, 29 recto). Anyway, Pappasoglu and Bolliac were rivals, continually proposing to the ministry exhibits in exchange for which they hoped to receive money. We can see one of these situations in the letter that Pappasoglu sent to the minister of Culture, Titu Maiorescu, on 10 July 1874, offering the Museum Dacian and Roman pots for 1,500 francs, "…a much better price than what I have learnt that M. Cesar Bolliac asked for his pottery! Collected by him with all the facilities that Your ministry ensured him!" Pappasoglu wrote, indignant (ANRB, file 139/1874, 263 recto-verso).

[7] He says that the former minister of Culture, Alexandru Crețescu, had advised him to sell his collection for a pension supplement.

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In November 1872, August Treboniu Laurian asked for the help of the ministry of the Interior for the collection of "antique monuments", as he called the objects likely to be exhibited in the National Antiquities Museum. He wanted to do that for free, "…while the persons that would come to help me with the indication of places and the collection of monuments should be remunerated by the Government *in accordance to the value of the objects discovered*" (ANRB, file 132/1872, 183 recto). The ministry was informed by Laurian's demand, but it invoked financial problems (ANRB, file 132/1872, 181 recto-verso). Certainly, to price each old object was a proof of effectiveness and pragmatism. The State was thus diminishing the informal trade with antiquities, noting that the payments made "in accordance to the value of the discovery" – as stipulated in the Regulation of April 1874 – increased the importance of the relations that the discoverer had with the members of the archaeological Committee. Many times, indeed, privileged purchases were made from the collaborators and employees of the Ministry of Culture. They were trying to capitalize different personal objects, some of them of museum interest, but not all of them. The most famous case is that Cezar Bolliac. On 14 January 1874, he tried to sell to the National Antiquities Museum the complete collections of "Buciumul" and "Trompeta Carpaţilor", his own political newspapers, used to attack real or imaginary enemies (ANRB, file 132/1872, 23verso).

On 7 February 1874, the minister rejected the proposition, motivating this with the lack of money (ANRB, file 139/1874, 25 recto). On that occasion, Bolliac had also asked for money for some "Dacian pottery, unique in the world", freshly returned from the exhibition of Vienna. Although the word "donation" was used, this did not involve the gratuity that we infer today. In the meaning of the time, the donation was the pretext of a stipend, masked under the word "compensation": "…the *compensation* that the committee will consider to be the proper one for the expenses and efforts made to find, dig up and organize this vast collection…" (ANRB, file 139/1874, 23 recto-verso). These are the words of Cezar Bolliac, chairman of the Archaeological Committee: a body that had to guarantee the quality of the objects that the State purchased (Potra 1944, 246)[8]. In this capacity, he asked the minister of Culture to appoint a committee – made of the members of the ministry in question – to attest his application. And this is quite clear that the word "efforts" hid other financial claims, but for objects found during other trips paid from the budget as well! He often made trips of archaeological prospecting, all of these journeys and per diems being covered by the Ministry of Culture. And although many inventories were made, many of the objects that were discovered were subsequently part of those private collections that he proposed the museum to buy. Bolliac was a member of the archaeological Committee and, at the same time, a soliciting-client in relation to it. Actually, the ambiguities of the "Regulation for the exploration and purchase of antique objects" from 1874, allowing this, stimulated the archaeological enthusiasm (ANRB, file 139/1874, 99)[9]. Theoretically, the objects belonged to the person who had paid for their research and discovery. When the explorer was subsidized by the Ministry of Culture (transportation, digging, per diem), the antiquities were the property of the National Antiquities Museum (ANRB, file 139/1874, 97 verso). But if the audacious tripper funded his own "excursions", the vestiges he found remained, according to article XII, his property (ANRB, file 139/1874, 97 verso). Out of the many personal donations that the "special men" proposed to the Museum, under the pretext that they had collected them over their life, with many sacrifices and expenses, we deduce the impossibility to stop the transformation of the official person into a private one. Especially that some of the exhibits were given up to the researchers by the authorities: "…as a souvenir and a sign of gratitude for his service…" (ANRB, file 139/1874, 97 verso). Thus, in a document from 21 December 1876, we find out an inventory made according to the notes of the curator A. Russo: several objects, collected and taken by Bolliac during the campaign of 1869, were missing. The ministry was asked to intervene in order to recuperate: a pot, a bust, a Bacchus with a satyr and "Ampelos" (ANRB, file 128/1877, 1 recto). The same demand for restitution was sent to Bolliac himself (ANRB, file 128/1877, 2 recto). On another occasion, Bolliac proposed for sale 208 Dacian pots, but, discontent with the price established by the committee, on 24 March 1874 (ANRB, file 139/1874, 113 recto)[10], he withdrew the offer

[8] These trades took place either in accordance to the catalogues that indicated the prices of the latest sales in Paris, or "by mutual agreement".

[9] The regulation in question had been debated in the meeting of the Council of Ministers on 3 April 1874, following the report of the Ministry of Culture and Public Instruction. It was said to be enforced after the Prince's approval.

[10] The Committee offered him 3,600 lei.

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(ANRB, file 120/1875, 224 recto). Like in other occasions, his refusal was a method to play for high stakes and to negotiate, unsuccessfully this time. That is why, the next year, he was however ready to give up some of his conditions. He accepted the sum of money offered by Titu Maiorescu on 1 October 1875. But another problem appears, a more serious one: Bolliac came back with several objects (240 instead of 208), but the important items, recorded by the committee at the moment of the evaluation of 1874, were missing. In other words, the new proposal was quantitatively bigger, but obviously smaller from a qualitative point of view. Bolliac had "adapted" a new list of objects according to the dissatisfactory sum of money he had been offered. Titu Maiorescu asked Alexandru Odobescu to verify whether the pots brought now were the same as those brought the previous year (ANRB, file 120/1875, 224 recto). In case there were no differences, the minister of Culture offered, on 1 October 1875, 2,200 francs in the shortest time, and other 1,600 francs from the budget of the next year (ANRB, file 120/1875, 224 recto). But the small investigation required by Maiorescu was not favourable to the supplier, Odobescu noticing, on 6 October 1875, that "…in the collection from last year, the Manager of the Museum numbered, when I was there, 62 pots of 50-52 centimetre high, out of which almost no one was broken. In this collection today, there are only 14 of this size and almost all of them are mutilated…" (ANRB, file 120/1875, 249 recto). In an embarrassing position now, Bolliac asserted, on 7 October 1875, that Odobescu did not know what he had seen and that he mistook the items for sale with those he had seen in his private collection, home: "…I affirm, Minister, that these pots were not measured in any way, and, therefore, the indication of twenty five or fifty centimetres has no basis and that this idea could not be justified, even if all the pots dug up from all over the Dacian land were measured. My pot with Dacian serpent, etc., is not clear to have been among these pots a year ago. M. Odobescu must have seen it at my house. And as for the others, as far as I have seen in a document that the Manager of the Museum showed me, as they were all confused there I understood nothing, I cannot answer…" (ANRB, file 120/1875, 247 recto-verso). But the report made by the manager A. Russo confirmed the accusations; he sent to the ministry "…the declaration of M. A. Odobescu, member of the Archaeological Committee, in which he shows that although the number of objects brought now is overwhelmingly bigger than the one last year, yet, they were not the same, as most and the most important of the 62 big pots were missing. When M. C. Bolliac was immediately announced about that, he declared that the evaluation M. A. Odobescu made would be inexact, as he would not owe other pots of the size M. A. Odobescu spoke about, and, consequently, he does not want to sell them any more, but only offers the museum a number of 220 items of this collection, while taking back the rest of it…" (ANRB, file 120/1875, 248 recto). Trying to obtain an honourable solution for this affair, Bolliac gave up all claims and gave the museum most of the things. Obviously, he took back about 20 of the big pots (ANRB, file 120/1875, 247 recto). Such stratagems were frequent, the collectors cheating each other many times. Bolliac, for instance, had been the victim of such a prank: exchanging objects with M. A. Sturdza himself, he received from M. Mitiţă some antiques bought from Germany, but which the owner presented as coming from Romania (Tudor 1961, 23).

Although the specialists had an up-to-dated scientific language, their practice proved that it was rather difficult for them to leave the classicist paradigm. Detailed historical reconstructions were expected, but only pasts that could make the subject of an epic poem were worthy to evoke. Hence there are numerous references to the Dacians and the Romans, as well as to the medieval pantheon. The discourses accompanying the genesis of the National Antiquities Museum highlighted a phase of transition of the modern historical culture, when the rivals of the topic oscillated among several options: 1) the fascination with the idea of *precedence* as a synonym for age; something that existed long before us, and gives us a complex because of this; 2) the taste for *evanescence*, with moralizing accents, meant disapproving the vanities, always ridiculed; 3) the receptivity of ethnographic nature towards *difference*, discovered after the passion of the Enlightenment for exotic civilizations, for their mores, institutions and thought; 4) the "heraldic" and ahistorical type of interest for the origins, for Arcadian epochs, ignoring centuries of evolution, in order to fix oneself into one moment, one symbol, or one fact; this functions as a totem, as all the history of those who claim themselves from it, originates there; it insists on events of origin, which are not direct causes, but "irradiate" some precedents as one chooses, out of which the modernity prefers one or another, imposing a model-past, worthy to be continued; it is materialized in the passion to collect monument-objects, like medals, coins and portraits of

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important people; 5) affiliations of "genealogical" type, with "arborescent" evolutions, but not prolonged to the present; emphasis is put on fragmentary determinisms, established between periods associated from a causal point of view, under the pretext that they would be ideationally close (for instance, Mihai Viteazul [Michael the Brave] continued Ştefan cel Mare's [Stephen the Great's] pan-Romanian "programme", while the 1848 generation took over Mihai Viteazul's "project"); one does not accept one single narrative line, but due to the very specific ramifications of genealogy, more and more characters are included in the great story of the nation and, above all, in its pantheon; 6) the "history of the present", which went back in time step by step, different epochs seeming to "collaborate" with the "purpose" to become actual; this is a defence reaction in front of the reality that the modern collective identities are not atemporal, but have a stringent historicity.

In the mid-19th century, the interest for museums had suddenly risen, but not necessarily because of the need to have more historical knowledge. The confusion between museumification and thesaurusification had less expected results, leading either to the taking away of valuable exhibits, or to the intensification of the illegal trade with old objects. In April 1863, Dimitrie Pappasoglu asked prince Al.I.Cuza to authorize him to collect all the old objects dissipated in the ruins of cities. The antiquary thought that in this way were inventoried the relics that "are destroyed by the workers who find plenty of them and sell them in different fairs" (ANRB, file 219/1863, 73 verso). But we can easily see that neither the vandals nor the savours cared very much about the identifications *in situ*. Consequently, although the classification of vestiges was frequently mentioned, the following decades brought forth especially quantitative increases, that transformed the National Antiquities Museum into a "deposit" (Popescu 1964, 347)[11]. The museology of the 19th century has a long history, modernity remembering only the *utility* of science, but not its *semiotics*. The "archaeological trips" described by Bolliac amuse us today, but they are, however, the echo of a very old cognitive exercise: people once thought that they can find out new things if they discovered analogies between texts and objects, *correspondences* in general (Choay 1998, 43). Hence the effort of many "curious" individuals to find, in concrete terms, a place mentioned in documents, chronicles, legends. At that stage, the travels stimulated rather the empathy with the past than its understanding. The fact of bringing it out to light and making it visible created, in their opinion, the obligation to re-contextualize it, by necessarily correlating it to the present (Schnapp 1993, 233). The direct contact with remote periods was looked for, and particularly an *antiquité vivante*, that the imagination of the explorer should revive with the help of samples he had found himself (Schnapp 1993, 220-221). Initially, the antiquaries thought that the artefacts aimed at confirming the written sources, subsequently reaching the conclusion that they offered more information than the chronicles. As the latter ones were susceptible of falsification, it was a further motivation for those vestiges, talking by themselves, without the mediation of any text, to be searched for. Aiming at the credibility that physics or biology enjoyed, the antiquaries had found a method that could have been deemed experimental: going there, having contact with the object of knowledge, drawing the artefact in the context of its discovering (Schnapp 1993, 291-292). Drawing was the same with recomposing that thing and defining it. In this tradition, our connoisseurs went on trip, accompanied by painters. For instance, Alexandru Odobescu's trip with the Swiss painter H. Trenk in the counties of Argeş and Vâlcea is well known (Odobescu 1967, 361-408)[12]. But, as he was not going to excel in these preoccupations, Odobescu criticized one of his rivals of the time, Cezar Bolliac. In his lecture at the Ateneu, on 17 December 1872, he said: "This is not in a few hours walks, with some people that the bailiff of the village has quickly brought together, for a tip and some brandy; this is not in the hurry of a summer pleasure trip, that a mound should be studied, for the results to be useful to science…" (Odobescu 1955, 93). The museum concepts were then identified with the opinion of one individual or another, being not associated with institutions, reviews and trends of thought, with famous methodologies. We can understand this from the report on the treasure trove of Pietroasa, which Alexandru Odobescu had presented to the Academy two years before, on 22 March 1887. Reprimanding the antiquaries, in order to oppose someone, Odobescu underlined their attitude towards artefacts: "… the position of the antiquary is totally different. […] he didn't even

[11] To be more precise, the "deposit of the College of Sfântul Sava of Bucharest" is mentioned in the fragmentary quotations of an older article, belonging to Samarian 1944, 287.

[12] It starts on 18 June 1860.

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try to find out the time when and the place where it was made or the people who might have made them" (AAR 1887, series II, IX, 414-415).

At a more pragmatic level, the "archaeological trip" was one of the modalities by which the State was attracted in inventorying some "antiquities" whose discovery was however hypothetical. The custom was to ask for a bigger sum of money, hoping that the minister would eventually grant a satisfactory one. Everything was made at the risk of the ministry: sometimes, the archaeologists by chance saved valuable pieces that provoked the establishment of new sections of the museum; other times, their amateurism led to the destruction of Roman camps in Oltenia and Muntenia (Popescu 1964, 346). There is no point to criticize today their failures, it would be much more useful to reconstruct the circumstances in which they made some errors. Reading the reports of the prefectures, we notice that the attitude towards an old object, a Dacian pot let us say, has its own history. First of all, the farmer who discovers it might empty this of mud and use it, quite serenely, in his household. The gesture characterizes, according to Ph Ariès, the premodern epochs, dominated by the indifference towards time or by the feeling of temporal continuity with very remote periods. In order to identify the possible vestiges, the Ministry employees resorted, however, to the locals, who were used to treat them rather as topographic marks, as component parts of the landscape. For them, the historical monument had no age, being counted among the "there since always" aspects (ANRB, file 140/1870, 292). Not accidentally, the questionnaires and all the interventions of Bucharest provoked the collective memory, urging the villagers to become aware of the pasts which they had cohabitated with. In the same spirit of the appeal to the collective memory, about a mound in the commune of Mărăşeşti "old people say that at the time when Costin Catargiu was the owner of these lands, some locals, hoping to find some treasure in this mound, started to dig, and digging in the middle of it they found two pistols, about the preservation of which nothing is said" (ANRB, file 244/1874, 18 verso). Losing familiarity with these relics was a first symptom of modernization: the things found by accident were regarded, later, as "curiosities" (something that was irreducible, hard to translate in self-referential terms), good to sell in a fair, because they were looked for by the "town boyars". This passage from home utilization to financial capitalization was another sign of the cultural distance from remote ages, as well as of the increasing fear of the authorities. As for the possible clients, the old things were souvenirs, collectables, and, rarely, sources of information. The treasure hunters are, them too, the sign of a period when the *old* starts to be a good business, because it is not at hand any more. For the moment, the remains were regarded as strange objects (not commonly used any more) and not as "sources". In time, only the "curiosities" remain completely out of place and non-upgradeable.

The treasure hunters had created, unwillingly, a new sensibility, attracting the authorities into a "he who finds the first" competition. And, looking for a modus vivendi, the treasure hunters asked the minister of Culture to give them a specialist who should be there when they dug, so that they could not be accused of endangering what was left of that historical site. In order to please them and to defend the monument from other aggressions, Bolliac went there and took stones out from the basement, for the approximately 200 persons coming from different cities "in chariots, with pastrami and bags of corn flour" to be convinced that the ruins hid no treasure (Bolliac 1871, 1). The signs of a change of mentality appeared very slowly, with some indices: until 1892, those who asked for the permission to explore certain areas were very rare; after that year, when a new regulation concerning the digging appeared, their number increased significantly (Ştefan 1984, 117-122)[13].

Naturally, the hunters of the …treasure hunters were authorized by the State to recuperate from the locals, by financial counteroffer, the future museum exhibits. One of them was D. Pappasoglu who, in a memoir to the Ministry of Culture, in August 1863, exposed the situation: "…stopping the damage of selling them to the agents of the foreign amateurs, or to the museums of other states…" (ANRB, file 219/1863, 72 recto). Considering that this phenomenon was often invoked, we could assume two things: first, that it was extended enough, secondly that it legitimated the reactions of those with apparently contrary interests. Were those agents so numerous and so dangerous? Or were they just used as a scarecrow in the discourse strategies of the Salvationists? It seems that they wanted to get the support and

[13] For more details, see *Legea pentru descoperirea monumentelor şi obiectelor antice*, approved by King Carol I on 17 November 1892 and published in *Monitorul Oficial*, 187 (24 November/6 December 1892), 5490-5491. This is also signed by Take Ionescu, as minister of Culture, accompanied by Alexandru Marghiloman, as minister of Justice. Also available in *Colecţiunea legilor* 1901, 49-51.

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subsidies of the State, exaggerating the stakes of their activity. Later, those who acquire the discourse of museology will appear, benevolently giving back the found objects. On 21 December 1872, A.T. Laurian proposed for some farmers to be awarded 200 lei, for having collected antique coins and offered them to the State (ANRB, file 132/1872, 202 recto). He also asked that in the future, the written media would announce that the presentation of such vestiges would be rewarded with financial compensations, after verifications made by specialists (ANRB, file 132/1872, 202 verso). Discouraging the private investigations, that destroyed the spatial and temporal context in which the exhibits could be identified, the authorities offered 40 lei to some peasants from Horezu, the county of Vâlcea, in exchange for 200 Roman coins. This was a situation that Alexandru Odobescu underlined in the same conference at the Ateneu mentioned above: "[…] There is a country, gentlemen, where the cult of archaeology is part of ordinary people's customs. This country is Denmark. There, whenever a farmer, while ploughing, came across an old pot, a stone hammer or a bronze knife, he takes it, proudly, to the national museum of Copenhagen, where his discovery is deposited with great honour near the donator's name. […] I wish we could arouse such a feeling among our people" (Odobescu 1955, 93).

The ruling of 1874 had been, of course, a step forward, which reflected, if not relevant progress, at least consistent preoccupations. We should not feed on the illusion that such a decision modified over night the field in question. Observing the relation between the centre and the province could reflect the extent to which an intention of reform was applied or not at a real level. Even at the end of the 19th century, the civic and patrimonial education was problematic in the Romanian society, still haunted by an imagery of the treasure. In 1893, the authorities of Iaşi were forced to start an investigation in the village of Focuri, where the peasants had dug, looking for the so-called treasure-troves. But the officials realized that the only "discoveries" were an old pot and some pieces of fired clay. Yet, on 3 August 1893, the sub-prefecture of Bahlui justified its intervention, saying that the diggings had been made "…in the presence of several inhabitants of that village, on the assumption that there were money, as some people said that a fire had been seen burning in that place…" (ANRI, file 39/1893, 30 recto-verso). This was not an exclusively rural vice, the urban area exemplifying itself the taste for such "investigations". For instance, on 14 July 1900, the Ministry of Culture and Public Instruction sent a report to the prefecture of Iaşi, invoking the complaint of a pensioner woman of Bucharest who held a land in the city: "the neighbours of her plot made, stealthily, diggings on her property, with no permission from her or the Ministry, and discovered old, valuable objects. I would kindly ask you to investigate whether diggings were really made in order to discover valuable antiques, and in case this is true, to proceed in accordance to the law for the discovery of antique monuments and objects" (ANRI, file 48/1900, 1 recto). The researches did not confirm any treasure discovery (ANRI, file 48/1900, 2 recto). *We will see that, often, a long period of time passed since the promulgation of a statute to its application*. Thus, a report of the manager of the National Antiquities Museum from 23 May 1888 informed the minister of Culture that the local administration of the county of Romanaţi had taken no measure of protection in the case of the ruins outside the villages. Aiming at a rapid, reparatory reaction, the manager Grigore Tocilescu was granted 200 de lei to purchase, in the name of the Museum, several antique objects found by farmers (art. 8 of the budget; ANRB, file11/1888, 40 recto). A useless action.

Just like the collections, the value of a museum was so much higher as the visitors were more numerous. So it needed a theatricalization of the legitimating discourses. And the more theatrical it was, the faster it acquired an aura of "public utility asset". Thus, the theft of the "hen with chicks" was rather a success than a prejudice. It brought the Antiquities National Museum to the attention of the public, deceiving the people that it sheltered really extraordinary things. So, summarizing the policy of acquisitions of the Antiquities National Museum in the span of 1870-1900, we can notice an oscillation between two contradictory tendencies: the former would be the redundancy of the selected items, the high frequency with which some of them are mentioned; the latter, on the contrary, demonstrates the interest for the singularity of the artefact. We initially observe aspects of *repetitive* nature, i.e. a *topicalization* of knowledge (resulting from the similitude of the items taken into consideration and from the spontaneity of their recovery). Much later, as years went by, some elements of *progressive* nature grew clearer, some people making them, by a semantic abuse, serve the idea of historical *continuity*. As the identity motivations prevailed, "moments" rapidly

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transformed into "monuments". Then, the assiduity with which some discoveries return in question could suggest several things: 1) the *typologization*, the retroactive construction of some "species" of exhibits; 2) the *continuity* of a former civilization, its long-lasting existence; 3) the great *relevance* that an object, found and refound, had had in a remote period. Afterwards, the difference between the *rareness* of an ancient object and its *uniqueness* emerged. Rareness recommended it as an exception to the rule, as a very particular case, that temporarily encumbered the academic definitions: briefly, it was fortuitous and atypical. Uniqueness, on the other hand, resulted from the certainty that a given exhibit was like no other in the world. Even so, it was possible that it were the starting point for long series of imitations, remaining the model of several generations of related items.

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CULTURAL INTERFERENCES OF THE MODERN FUNERARY ART. CASE STUDY: THE MUNICIPAL CEMETERY OF SIBIU*

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Abstract: *Our study offers a perspective on the municipal cemetery of Sibiu/Hermannstadt from a historical cultural perspective, taking into account the cultural interferences and borrowings of religious symbols of the modern funerary art. The Transylvanian case of "necropolises", with a particular interest in the Sibiu municipal cemetery that opened in 1907, is presented within the larger background of the twisted phenomenon of modernization and urbanization during the communist period. The specificity of municipal cemetery of Sibiu mirrors the multiethnic and confessional diversity of community, separating the cemetery in several areas for: Orthodox, Greek-Catholic, Roman-Catholic, Lutheran, and other Protestant confessions, as well as the Judaism. All these areas share some common traits due to a phenomenon that we consider a cultural contamination, but at the same time every area has some specific features reflected in the choice of the funerary monument, with its religious symbols, epitaphs, family vaults and tombs either of cultural personalities, bishops, or manufacturers or merchants. A brief history of Sibiu cemeteries and the peculiarity of the communist policy concerning the old cemeteries amidst the urbanization process is followed by a thorough analysis of the typology of funerary monuments based on the variety of representations. Statues, bas-reliefs, reliefs, obelisks are as many variations of the funerary art, with their specificity depending on the religious area of the cemetery. The cult of forefathers and family are striking especially in the German area of the cemetery, where one may find great architectonic ensembles for extended families, in some cases tombstones and remains of the deceased were brought from older cemeteries. Our lengthy field investigation points out the fact that religious symbols on the tombs lost their relevance during the communist period, along with the artistic value, as a result of secularization and mimetic character of the funerary practices, following rather a dated fashion and a multiplication of funerary devoid symbols.*

Keywords: *Sibiu/Hermannstadt, modernity, municipal cemetery, funerary art, cultural interferences*

A short history of Sibiu cemeteries. Effects of modernization on old necropolises

Ceaușescu's regime in Romania didn't preserve the historical patrimony despite promoting national communism. Moreover, the system destroyed a great part of it, a fact that is well-known. The cemeteries were affected by policies of the so-called "administrative-territorial systematizations" so that the liquidation of urban necropolises became a practice. The "decommissions" were "justified" through the manifestation of some phenomenon as overcrowding of cemeteries that affected the interment necessities and imposed giving up at some older sections of the cemetery for making place for new space. Unfortunately, this solution is being practiced nowadays, too – see the way in which within the municipal cemetery of Sibiu[1] the Lutheran and Catholic sections of the cemetery are stinted so that the Orthodox section would be extended, this leading to the destruction of some monuments of patrimonial value. Among other motives to "decommission" cemeteries during communism the most popular was the hygienic

* This study resumes and develops concerns manifested in Grancea 2005a, 239-303; Grancea 2005b, 150-161; Grancea 2007, 571-581; Grancea 2008, 147-156; Grancea 2010a, 485-503; Grancea 2010b, 82-93; Grancea 2014, 57-107.

[1] Opened in 1907, the cemetery has approx. 100.000 burial places. The municipal cemetery of Sibiu is structured in six areas depending on the religions and confessions of the city: Evangelical, Roman-Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Orthodox, neo-Protestant, mosaic (the most delineated space). From the communist period, but especially after 1989 there are interferences between these areas and there is an extension of the Orthodox burial spaces (as a result of the emigration process, the Evangelical and Catholic areas have gradually reduced). After WWII some other areas appeared: the cemetery of the Romanian heroes and German soldiers, the cemetery of the war veterans, the cemetery of the Soviet soldiers, the cemetery of the anti-communist political prisoners (see the crypt of Dabija group and the resting places of those who were part of the anti-communist resistance and still alive), as well as the cemetery of those who died in December 1989.

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one, as well as the crisis for plots to build civil constructions.
Two Evangelical cemeteries were eliminated before the communist period in Sibiu of the 18th century – the old necropolis from Huet Square (Marcu Istrate *et al.* 2007; Luca *et al.* 2003, Avram, Bucur 1999) and the cemetery from the Azilului Street. According to the archeological diggings and historical sources, the origin of the Sibiu necropolises is medieval (Grancea 2008, 147-156), premodern[2] and contemporary.[3]

A cemetery was opened in the 16th century and was active until the 19th century; it was opened at the southern border of the fortress, with an entrance through the "Gate of Bodies" ("Leichentor")[4]. It is here the inhabitants of Sibiu fortress and Josefin district were buried. Its opening was closely related to the dramatic outcome of plague in 1554 (3.200 victims) and other epidemics of cholera and plague, the high mortality have resulted in the overcrowding of this burial space until the 19th century. The issue of another municipal cemetery originates in this period, and the conception of this new cemetery is of Victorian nature, including sections for all confessions, *extramuros*, as any modern cemetery. Interments were made rarely in the old cemetery, especially in family vaults. Until the '50s when the cemetery was closed definitively, this necropolis was a visibly demarcated one. It had an exceptional patrimonial value, but unfortunately in the '70s the area began to be excavated, starting the construction of the hospital in 1978. A part of the tombs ended up at the cesspit, while only a part of them were moved to the municipal cemetery. Some funerary stones from the 18th century, mostly of various crafts are in the custody of the Museum of History, along with the funerary inventory. This cemetery may be considered the most exciting of the "lost cemeteries of Sibiu".

Hospitals, parks, houses and especially blocks of apartments are built on the place of the old cemeteries. Few of the funeral tombs are housed in museums. Under the pretext of social modernization such patrimonial values were liquidated so that inestimable sources of historical and cultural information are lost.

The typology of monuments from the municipal cemetery of Sibiu

Taking into account the religious beliefs that regarded the preservation of the body as an essential aspect, with the perspective of a future reunion with the soul, in some cultural spaces an impressive funerary culture had developed based on the culture of forefathers. Thus, one of the oldest functions of the interment spaces (where it was practiced) becomes the memorial place, spaces of commemoration. The functionality of the funerary monument (social, religious, cultural, even "pedagogical", the latter being especially developed from Premodernity) is dedicated to ensuring the earthly dimension of survival of the deceased image.

It was considered (and it is still the case) that the perpetuation of the memory of the deceased for

[2] In 1790 in Sibiu there were several cemeteries: a Catholic cemetery (later, when Saxons became Lutherans, the cemetery became Evangelical; it was however given to Greek-Catholics in 1945, being place beyond Cibin), and an Evangelical one "in front of the Gate of the Theatre" (the place where the county hospital was built), a cemetery for Catholic orphans "near the Orphanage in Theresianum" (situated near the river Cibin, not far from the Roman-Catholic Church built at the middle of the 18th century; today the exact place isn't known, given the small space it covered), the so-called "Wallachian cemetery" situated "beyond the Saghtor Gate" (the cemetery belongs today to the "Church from the pit"), and two other military cemeteries situated in the lower part of the city (Hochmeister 2006). The interments were allowed in the parochial cemetery, built around the "Church from the pit" until 1917; after that year the deceased must be brought to the municipal cemetery. The oldest grave from the cemetery dates back to 1813 and it belongs to Iliade Manazsi, a former priest of the church.

[3] See the opening of the central cemetery in 1907 and the cemetery of heroes in Poplaca in 1925.

[4] The third belt of fortification was broken to open the access to the newly opened cemetery as a result of the black plague in 1554. Building the Gate of Bodies was related to the construction of other fortifications during the 16th century that were later incorporated in the defensive belts: round towers for the artillery such as the Thick Tower (1540) and Haller Bastion (1551). The Gate of the Bodies broke the fortification in the space between the two military objectives. In 1677, the bridge of the gate crumbled under the weight of the inhabitants who returned home from the drowning of a witch in the so-called "lake of cobblers". We have certain information about an access gate to necropolis built due to hygienic reasons only in 1787 when other changes were made for the fortification of the city. Thus, the military engineers created through breaking the fortification wall a gate officially known as Neutor Gate to differentiate it from the older Gate of Bodies. Nevertheless, the powerful tradition transferred the usual name of the gate to the new one, which remained in the collective memory of Romanians as the Gate of the Dead. The appearance of the gate may be reconstructed with the help of drawings, as well as by analyzing the conserved fortifications in front of the present municipal hospital of Sibiu. Representations of this gate are in the painting of the guildmaster of baker Johann Böbel (1824-1887) who painted Sibiu's monuments in his album *Die vormals bestanndenen Stadtthore von Hermannstadt nach Natur gezeichnet von Johann Böbel*, 1885. About the Neutor Gate see also Niedermaier 1979, 238-239.

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the relatives and macro-community (in case of heroes and public personalities) made necessary the usage of stone (in its diverse forms of manifestation and adaptation) for funerary monuments. Stone offered the impression of permanence and durability and it is not random that the symbolism of the stone had a significant impact in the religious imaginary. Stone is related to sacred, being a kratophany (Eliade 1992, 207).

Practicing religious beliefs and the seduction exerted by the aesthetics of the funerary monument leads to adopting identity symbols of other confessions. Therefore, the specific symbols of Protestant or Catholic funerary cultures – the willow, the torch of the eternal life, the laurel, the cut off column symbolizing the Tree of Life as a paradisiac symbol, Catholic and Protestant columns (rendered as vegetation coming through the cut off tree as a symbol of the Resurrection), the lamp (an artistic motif partaken from the Roman funerary culture in Renaissance seems now only a stand for the light at the deceased head), the pigeon, the guardian angel, the crown of Life/eternity[5], the book of Life[6], the chalice, the heart, medallions with Christ and Mary executed in the bas-relief technique.

All these identity signs appear frequently in the 20th century even on funerary stones from Orthodox cemeteries. This is a clear case of cultural borrowings, cultural contaminations with no acculturating effects or cultural transfers within the municipal and multiconfessional cemeteries in Sibiu, Timișoara, in Orthodox cemeteries in Orăştie or in two Orthodox cemeteries in Ocna Sibiului. Only the funerary stones of Orthodox priests remind of traditions and vegetal symbolism of Orthodox funerary art. An interesting phenomenon that proves our statements is the manner in which the floral motif of the rose breaks the barriers of time and confessions, being found frequently as Mary's symbol and representation of hope in the Resurrection after being a mere funerary flower (we refer to its integration as a decorative element in the structure of the funerary monuments). The rose gains the status of a memorial flower. This complex phenomenon of transfer and simplification of symbols of funerary culture, which became in Transylvania and Banat an almost over-confessional culture, may be perceived not only as an expression of victory of the practicing religious beliefs, but also as a secularization and effect of the way in which municipal cemeteries had evolved around the necropolises *extramuros* belonging to Catholic and Protestant communities.

The choice of a certain type of funerary monument was/is dependent on the material resources and preferences, the existing offer, motives and symbolical representations in circulation at a certain moment. As for the epitaph or plastic representations on the funerary stone, they are closely connected to the deceased so that the occupation or the social status is referred to in graphic representations. The professional identity is often inserted in the monuments of artists, architects, militaries, builders, and teachers.

The representations concerning the After Life deal with the subject of the soul journey after the death of the body. The rites of passage to the Other World present a series of techniques determined by symbolical geographies, locating the Other World in this system of representations and its topographical features. This type of imaginary of interference that stimulates and challenges the geographical representations with the religious ones (specifically the funeral ones) justifies the resemblance from the mundane world in post-existence through a unique journey; hence the preoccupation with preparing the deceased for his last journey (van Gennep 1996, 137). A series of motives (cults) from the imaginary of antiquity enters the cultural circuit of the next centuries through specific cultural channels[7] after a process of *interpretation moderna*, a simplification and application of representations to the sensitivities of the era. Thus, we find survival of some themes of the antique funerary imaginary as cultural reflections and not exerting some archaic beliefs.

Our demarche is focused on representations from the municipal cemetery of Sibiu, as it corresponds to the modern concept of cemetery, with sections dedicated to Christian confessions and Judaism even from 1907. The concept was accepted in

[5] This is a Catholic symbol of *agapia*, but also the derived symbol from the hagiographic legend of St. Dominic, a saint to whom the Virgin offered prayers with rose crowns, roses symbolizing the three cycles of mysteries: those of Christ's passions, the joys and the glory of the crown. This crown of Life is a warrant of salvation and eternity, as it is also suggested in the neo-Protestant epitaph that lost its origin of representation; it is rather tied to the crown of Christ's glory received by the believer together with eternity.

[6] A biblical motif often represented in European funerary art; in Transylvania it appears in the Catholic space and then at the Reformed Church in the 18th-19th centuries first on the priests' and teachers' graves.

[7] We have to add here the role of the classical studies within the education frame of the 18th-19th centuries.

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Sibiu with no disputes and polemics[8], while in Braşov (Szegedi 2009, 157-203) despite the discussions regarding the reform of the central cemetery, there were reluctances, which seems paradoxical bearing in mind the multicultural past of the city.

The cemetery of Sibiu is remarkable among other cemeteries of Transylvania due to funerary monuments of extended families (especially elite) as architectural ensembles of big dimensions. Such constructions appeared in west and in the United States as a topo-geographical solution and as an expression of the wish to keep the deceased together and close to the living relatives. The initial finality of building an elaborated monument seems to be constituted by the concern for preserving and marking the place where the dead were resting awaiting for the Great Inquest. This is specific to the west, especially Central-European space. In modern period, specifically during the Victorian age, the funeral monument has a special significance within the cult of the dead. The crypt[9] and the tomb[10] became a constant presence, while the epitaph gained individuality, although the tomb registered an evolution as a specific element of the funeral architecture, as an effect of the cult of family and exceptional social status. Many funeral architectonical complexes from cemeteries that belong to Germans in Transylvania are inspired by the Victorian cult and their Saxon tradition[11]. This cult of family determined manifestations of the funeral art, dimensions of the funeral monuments, massive edifices[12] or, on the contrary, modest funerary stones, surrounded by a vegetal fence that created an intimate space for that family[13]. There are also some austere monuments that have the function of maintaining the memory of the buried ones in common crypts or individual tombs placed in a relatively small area. All these ways of placing and commemoration reunite the deceased ones and ensure the task of commemoration for the living. Many of these exclusivist monuments are the expression of an elitist ego, as they belong to some families of manufacturers and merchants[14], bureaucrats and noblemen[15], great intellectuals of Sibiu history[16].

[8] Overcrowding of the existent cemeteries (parochial cemeteries) required the opening of a municipal cemetery. On the ground destined for interment remains and funeral stones were transferred from other cemeteries (see Bologa crypt that houses remains from the 19th century). The magistrate proclaimed the decision of the assembly of municipal representatives from the 24th of October 1907 that the central cemetery from the "free imperial city Nagyszeben opens on the 1st of December". The distribution of burial places was attributed to the municipal magistrate (Fleischergasse no. 2, referent dr. Wilhelm Goritz). See *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt* 1907, 7. The same source offered details about the cost of the burial places, the funeral taxes: "the price of tombs and burial places could have been paid in five yearly successive installments with no interest" (*Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt* 1907, 5).

[9] In the municipal cemetery of Sibiu Lutherans, Reformed and Roman Catholics preferred the crypt. There are though some Romanians of Catholic and Orthodox religion who adopted the system of integrated crypts in an architectonic ensemble (see the crypt of Boiu family).

[10] In the analyzed Sibiu cemetery some Orthodox believers had monumental crypts; see the case of merchandiser Ilie Folaşiu (see Fig. 1). Unfortunately, in communism, crypts became insignificant for the funerary art.

[11] Lutheran cemeteries in Braşov, Râşnov, Ghimbav, Codlea, Sibiu and Orăştie shelter in a massive architectonic complex representative families for the community as a particularity of Premodernity, as well as 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. See Fig. 2 for Sibiu cemetery.

[12] See the monument of Theil family (manufacturer Josef Theil† 1932, Fig. 3). The most impressive funerary monument from the Lutheran section, an ensemble that manages to combine the austerity of Victorian style and monumentality and "domestication" of the space of Death specific to funerary art of French inspiration (see also the stone benches) is the 15 members of Vogelsang family (Ilse† 1926, Fig. 4). During the communist period such monuments may be found in the case of Orthodox Romanians who obtained an interment space in the Lutheran area. On the other hand, they are devoid by any artistic value.

[13] See the "parc" of Czekelius, Graber and Conrad-Wagner families (Georg Conrad† 1873), related families that moved their monuments and remains from other cemeteries. See the space of Hann family, better conserved in Figs. 5 and 6.

[14] See the mentioned monuments as Vogelsang and Theil families. See the monument of Viktor Hess (he owned a factory where scales were produced), the crypt of the Rieger family (who had a factory of cars in Transylvania), and monument of the manufacturer W. Müller. The most interesting monument belongs to Adolf Gündisch († 1942) due to its massive appearance and eclectic columns that support the frontispiece of the funeral monument, where the name is engraved with golden letters (a merchandiser who was the manager of the hotel "Emperor of Romans"), Fig. 7. We notice that usually the rich inhabitants of Sibiu, Braşov, and even Alba used local funerary specialists, while those from Cluj and Timişoara imported funerary monuments from Pesta and Vienna (see the inquiries made in 2005-2008). It is obvious that in Sibiu cemetery there are other massive monuments, especially those that belong to manufacturers, but we presented only those that seemed of interest from the architectonic perspective.

[15] We present here the ones that are better conserved, as sculptured coats of arms are masterpieces of funeral art. See especially the tombs of Hefner family v. Kevevara, Fig. 8.

[16] In the Lutheran section there are also tombs with modest funerary stones, resembling those from the Protestant German space. Austerity of funeral monuments of this category may be explained due to a particularity of the cultural Saxon elite of Sibiu, as many professors, artists, doctors and pharmacists were descendants of clerical families, and in some cases the bishops were also great people of culture (see especially the tombs of Teutsch family, and among them bishop, professor, historian and politician Georg Daniel Teutsch (†1893), as well as the bishop and historian Friedrich Teutsch (†1933). Another modest funeral

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Statues, bas-reliefs and reliefs are situated mostly in the Lutheran area of the cemetery. The most famous is the statue for Lotte Binder (1880-1930)[17]. These are expressions of the art of suffering, as the image of the suffering girl has nothing to do with the deceased, but rather to metamorphoses of Thanatos in funerary art. Thus, the vigorous old man with the hourglass, and sometimes with a scythe that suggests the "scything of death"[18] in the 19th century, the Angel of Death transforms into a beautiful androgynous who "steals" souls[19]. Such a sculptural representation is situated usually on the deceased tombs; we consider that they were done following some specialized catalogues, a sort of modern symbols.

More frequent are bas-reliefs and reliefs that represent Christ's image especially at Catholics and Orthodox believers, while in the case of Protestants and then Orthodox the image of the suffering young woman, sometimes in a pose of a repressed prayer (it is a transition between Thanatos and the protective angel). Most of the sculptural representations are integrated, as we already mentioned, in the art of suffering. Such statues and bas-reliefs that represent women suffering derive from the Western and Central-European experience (we met them in case of monuments at the beginning of the 19th century in Timișoara, moved monuments from Catholic parochial cemeteries to the municipal cemetery from the Lipovei Street). We are inclined to consider that the representations are a product of cultural synthesis and that Thanatos loses its consecrated functionality in time.

Classic obelisks or shorter ones are usually situated on the family vault or on the tomb of a single person. An exception from this typology is the funeral monument of the extended family Spek-Pilder (first deceased date back before the opening of the cemetery, and the monument is a later work). The monument is made of a pedestal, four turtles that support on their shell a simple and short obelisk. The image is from 2005; whereas nowadays the turtles, symbols of longevity, are gone[20].

The obelisk as a monument is specific to the Lutheran space, but it had spread to other sections of the cemetery as well, as a cultural contamination. In most cases it is done out of black marble or granite, rarely of white marble. The obelisk (lat. *Obeliscus* – "column with a sharp point" is a vertical stone column, with a stacked top; this is the classic obelisk, of Egyptian origin). It was brought in the attention of the western world rediscovering Egypt; consecrated by Frenchmen as an expression of political omnipotence, the obelisk became popular in the Victorian cemetery, being considered that it made the link between the mundane and divine worlds. The obelisk ensured the mediation, but it also satisfied the ego, as it also signified the glorious existence; and this is also evident in the funeral art fascinated with the Egyptian Revival architecture[21], and the family vaults that imitated the Greek temple, with Doric and Ionic columns.

The funeral stones express religious symbolic representations and are emblems of the socio-professional status. The symbolism of the funerary art is relevant for the personality of the deceased and/or for the background of his/her death. The symbolic reading offers data about the circumstances of death, the gender, civil status, spiritual options etc. Resurrection is frequently represented and offers particular details, being the epitome of the Christian hope, Victory over Death.

Symbols of death and renaissance

As we have already mentioned, rose has the most complex symbolic functionality: it symbolizes love of the Virgin Mary and its perennation (in case of monuments that belong to traditional churches); Glory of life in case of Protestant churches. The rose is frequently present as an opened flower or in a bouquet, as a crown; the rose with a broken stem signifies premature death. The neoclassical column with no top has the same symbolic value. The funerary drapes (present in the municipal cemetery in the '80s in the Orthodox section), usually associated with the shorter column are an effect of iconographic contamination and it signifies the headdress of St. Veronica, where Jesus' face was imprinted. The urn became a symbolic object from the 18th and

monument belongs to Schullerus family: Adolf Schullerus (†1928), probably the greatest Saxon intellectual, an encyclopedic spirit, and his wife Hilde, as their daughter, the famous painter Trude Schullerus (†1981). Other intellectuals had massive imposing rectangular funerary stones.

[17] See Fig. 9 – Margarete Depner's creation (1885-1970). Similar representations of the same artist are to be found in the Evangelic cemetery of Brașov.

[18] See the monumental cemetery in Milano.

[19] See in Brașov, in the same Evangelic cemetery four representations of a classic Thanatos, androginous and suffering as a Romantic hero.

[20] Figs. 10-11.

[21] See Egyptian Avenue Highgate Cemetery.

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19th centuries; it is found especially in the cemetery of Victorian inspiration, in a decorative context together with the funerary drapes and/or a fruit as a symbolic perspective of Life beyond Death. Amphora contained essential oils in antiquity, but on tombs it symbolizes the body that shelters the soul. In time the urn and the amphora lose their symbolic functionality and may be confused in representations. During the communist period, they became insipid stands of stone, fixed elements on the horizontal funerary stone that covered the tomb, sometimes symmetrically placed at both sides of the monument as containers for the flowers.

The willow is another symbol from mosaic iconography that evokes the suffering of the living people. The symbol is profound in the popular Christianity, where the capacity of an offshoot to revive gains importance. The same source offered another symbol – the Book of Life, a frequent symbol in the Sibiu cemetery, especially during the Communist and Post-communist period. The heart, the cross and the anchor[22] are representations with a theological value and they symbolize hope, charity and faith; they are especially found in Catholic iconography, but still partaken and conserved by Lutherans[23].

The angel appears constantly as a messenger of divine will, as well as a mediator. The angel usually is praying humbly, implores divine grace, and asks for protection for the deceased. Sometimes the angel brings flowers to the grave, especially roses. Angel's prayer invites the passenger to imitation (an image that is persistent in time and it is generalized in the Transylvanian space). While in the 19th century the angel was an image of suffering, grievance and despair, reflecting the state of the surviving family or the moment of "kidnapping" the deceased, in the 20th century this androgynous and winged entity marks the transfiguration of the dead (small angels on the tombs of children as their transfiguration). Angels also remind of the possibility of the soul to ascend.

Conclusion

Even though the cemetery has evolved as a social space, it still remains unchanged regarding its

traditional functionalities. Thus, the ceremonial of burial and cemetery as the space of preparation for eternity have the same religious and symbolic meaning. They are manifestations of social fundamental reports/interactions of society's cohesion and actual forms of relating to the sacred that protects the space where the bodies "rest" awaiting for the Resurrection. The cemetery facilitates the configuration of the space where "material" relations set in order the commemoration process, eases the transition of the soul, making obvious the postulate according to which death is the necessary state for being saved. The cemetery ensures the interaction between the two dimensions: the mundane world and the post-existence, communication with the divine (as a quasi-cosmic relationship), accomplished communication by the language of epitaph, symbolism of the funerary stone, reflections provoked by visits. The cemetery nowadays has more than in other times a therapeutic dimension, favouring the serene feeling of certainty and acceptance of the necessity of renewal; it diminishes the social and familial conflicts by participation at memorial practices within its borders. However, the tomb may be a potential reason for conflicts and tensions[24] between the surviving family and other social factors as the administration of the cemetery, community, state etc.

Being a plurality of roles and representations, the cemetery materializes the paradoxes of discourses about death perceived as a separation from the mundane world and as a cause of fashioning other spaces and norms – the "city of the dead" as a material space, but also as a sacred passage, releasing the soul, yet conserving the memory of the deceased, presence of Death as the limit of the earthly existence, yet a gate towards Eternity[25].

[22] See the uniqueness of the "ceramic angel" of Wilhelm family (Margarete Wilhelm † 1909); a restored monument in the Lutheran section. See Fig. 12.
[23] See the signs of the "ceramic angel".
[24] This situation is analyzed in Antiquity and Middle Ages by Brown 1996, 33 sq.
[25] See Jackson 1989 for a transdisciplinary synthesis that approaches the "architecture of death", functions of cemetery, attitudes toward death as a "mirror of the social structure and wat of life", a study with an impressive documentation after investigating 300 parochial, rural, urban, military and "ethnic" cemeteries, including the famous "Père-Lachaise" from Paris and "Arlington National" from Washington.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Fig. 1. Tomb of merchandiser Ilie Floaşiu.

Fig. 2. Architectonic complex.

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Fig. 3. Tomb of manufacturer Josef Theil.

Fig. 4. Tomb of Vogelsang family.

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Fig. 5. Tomb of Georg Conrad.

Fig. 6. Tomb of prof. Julius Hann von Hannenheim.

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Fig. 7. Tomb of merchandiser Adolf Gündisch.

Fig. 8. Tombs of family Hefner v. Kevevara.

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Fig. 9. Tomb of Lotte Binder.

Fig. 10. Funerary monument of Spek-Pilder family (1).

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Fig. 11. Monument of Spek-Pilder family (2).

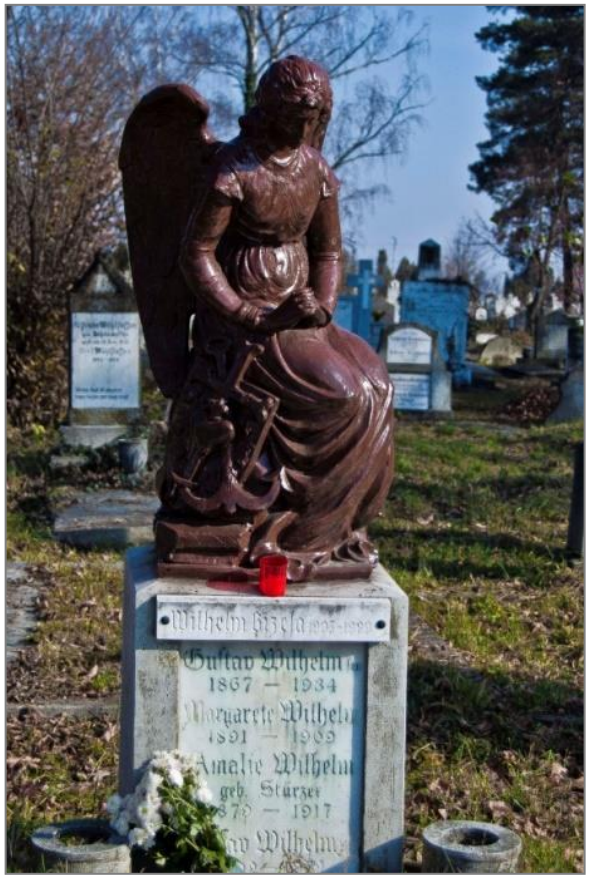

Fig. 12. Monument of Wilhelm family.

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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM FOR AN EXEMPLARY COMMUNITY IN SĂLIȘTEA SIBIULUI

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Abstract: *The ethnographic museum had been since its first establishment under the aegis of the Association the most representative way of demonstrating the ability of the Romanian community to have valuable popular culture and civilization, which could have been continued at another level in the urban environment. The exhibition inaugurated in 1905, a year after the establishment of the Museum of Association in Sibiu, constituted a proof of the fact that Romanian peasants had a sincere desire of being known and appreciated, alongside other communities within the Transylvanian space, due to the huge number of donated exhibits.*
We have chosen to present in this study the genesis of the ethnographic museum from Sălişte that had almost the same stages of development as the ethnographic museum from Sibiu. The reason for choosing this particular museum is constituted by the fact that Sălişte is a well-known Romanian village of the Southern Transylvania. The exhibits of the ethnographic museum of Sibiu had known an unfortunate fate after the fall of Astra in 1948. However, they were displayed later in the Collection of Popular Art of Brukenthal Museum (1956) and then within the nowadays Astra Museum.
The museum of Sălişte was mentioned in laudatory terms in the inter-war period and it has been highlighted recently together with another museum due to their role in giving proof of the importance of Romanian spiritual and material culture. The Museum of Sălişte's Personalities and the Museum of the Orthodox Deanery have thus saved the identity of an exemplary community.

Keywords: *village, Astra Association, Orthodox Deanery, peasant, Romanian material culture*

The need for legitimization of the Romanian people in Transylvania included the necessity to prove the capacity of economic, political and cultural development, a process that lasted a long period of time, with its due results. Established in 1861 by remarkable members of Romanian nation at the middle of the 19th century, the Astra Transylvanian Association for the Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People was focused on a real emancipation of the Romanian nation, predominantly rural at that time. This was done during the first stage through culture, and it was followed by a demonstration of capacities of a modern nation. The discourse of the Association regarding the image of the nation was part of the basic idea of organizing a central museum of a historical-ethnographical type; this type of museum was to be implemented in all branches of the Astra Association.

Ethnography appeared as a science later than the museums of ethnographic type, fact that pointed out that ethnographic features became a mandatory basis for any type of humanistic museum. This was also the case of Astra Association with its focus on the representation component of the museum.
It is no wonder then that shortly after Cornel Diaconovici's definition in his Encyclopedia, according to which "ethnography as a science that is dealing with describing peoples that reached their development lately", the Museum of the Association in Sibiu was organized as a cultural-historical and ethnographical museum. This was also proved by the inaugural exhibition in 1905, which represented the Romanians in an image mostly linked to the rural space with the help of popular art. However, we must not forget the existence of some categories of exhibits that made the link from village to city, and especially the national elite of a modern type (Banks or Agriculture Reunions, for example) (Diaconovici 1900, 338; Vâlsan 1927, 14)[1].

Greater chances were offered to ethnographic museum, organized under the aegis of Astra, especially after the Great Unification due to the

[1] References to the necessity of valuing the traditional culture that must be promoted are made in Grecu 1987, as well as Hanzu 2009; Irimie 1964; Georgescu 1930.

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support of the new authorities of the Romanian State and the royal family that became honorary presidents of the Association. Thus, during the spring 1922, through the Foundation Prince Carol, the commission for establishing the Ethnographic Museum in Cluj was named – Romulus Vuia was responsible and the museum was set up during the next year (Netoliczka 1931, 245-254).

The reorganization of another museum in Cluj was desired – the Transylvanian Museum, *Erdélyi Múzeum*, adding a section of Romanian ethnography in Matei Corvin Memorial House. Authorities wanted to transform it into a museum of Transylvania, regardless of nationality, under the aegis of Astra, but the issue of funds came up (*Transylvania* 1921, no. 3, 215).

From 1920 on, Astra wanted to establish the basis of a network of national museums or museums of Transylvanian civilization, and this was due to several reasons; unfortunately mostly due to financial impediments the museums were reduced to the level of ethnographic collections (Moga 2003, 435). Astra proposed in 1921 the organization of some regional museums that were supposed to function based on a special regulation. The first example was a museum from Apuseni Mountains, Haţeg, the section of natural sciences was already in place. Another project was the museum from Târgu-Mureş (*Transylvania* 1920, no. 2, 237, 240-241).

The Ministry of Arts and Cultures approved the Astra request to open a regional museum in Hunedoara, within the grounds of the Hunedoara Castle, while the Inspectorate of museums asked the Association to communictae the list of objects sent to Budapest during the war. The museum Avraam Iancu was to be opened in his native house in Vidra, although some asked for opening one in Abrud (Câmpeni); the initial theme of the museum had to be dedicated entirely to the Revolution 1848-1849.

The museum in Vidra occupied a special place for Astra; it was inaugurated in 1924, marking 100 years from the birth of Avram Iancu, great Romanian personality. The journal of the Association – *Transylvania* – published in 1922 a call for all Romanians for the necessary help for a historical museum of the years 1848-1849. Opened in 1924, in the presence of the royal family, the museum had the following components: Avraam Iancu's old house and the so-called national house, built around the memorial house, organized as a museum with four sections: one dedicated to Revolution of 1848-1849, an ethnographic section, a church section, and personal belongings from the house where Iancu was born (*Transylvania* 1924, no.1-2, 64, no. 10-11, 388).

The reports of the central committee of Astra of the next years mentioned the existing conditions for their organization in Sighetul Maramureşului, Cluj, Târgu-Mureş, Arad and Hunedoara, while in 1925 some of the museums received subsidies: 4.000 lei for the regional museum of Vidra and the one from Hunedoara Castel, 4.000 lei for the Sighet museum and 1.000 lei for the Sălişte museum. It was also mentioned the fact that although the Vidra museum was 20 km away from the railway station, it had 280 visitors (*Transylvania* 1921, no.7-8, 537, 1925, no. 9-10, 358).

During the General Assembly at Zalău in 1926 it was specified that "it is in our cultural interest to save the treasures of our traditional art" so that conserving the objects involved their study as well. A year earlier the museums of Ţebea, Vidra, Hunedoara, Sighet and Sălişte were endowed with furniture for the sum of 91.019 lei (*Transylvania* 1925,no.9-10,358).The museum of Vidra received subsidies in 1928 from the money given to Ţebea cultural circle; some money were used to take care of the national house, the memorial house and the cemetery of Vidra, as well as paying the ensurance. A library is also mentioned, while in 1929 the museum dedicated to Iancu received the sum of 300.000 lei from the Foundation King Ferdinand I (*Transylvania* 1928, no. 12, 989; *Transylvania* 1929, no.10-11, 759-760).

From Astra's report of the artistic director who was in charge with the museums, we understand that some partnerships were developped with the National Military Museum of Bucharest and the Museum of Unification of Alba-Iulia. Thus, in 1929, according to the General Report of Astra committee, many objects from the museum of Vidra were transferred to the Museum of Unification of Alba-Iulia, and only several sections of ethnography and a part of the objecst of the period 1848-1849 remained (*Transylvania* 1929, no. 10-11,759-760).

According to the information published in *Transylvania* journal, there were no funds for the

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regional museums in the '30s of the last century. Nevertheless, Ilie Ruşmir's article *Muzeul regional şi tehnica lui* (*The Regional Museum and Its Technique*) appeared in 1934 in *Transylvania*, dealing with the following subjects: on the necessity of a regional museum, what is its aim, how this aim is pursued. The main ideas may be resumed in several sentences: the museum is organized for a certain region; it has the sections prehistory, history, Romanian language and literature, geography, ethnography, natural sciences, artistical and demographical sections; its organization is done on scientific grounds; the museum may be used as a foundation for research, while its objects are gathered by scientific personnel and Astra members. Some other aspects of the artcile highlight the fact that the financial means are ensured by Astra branch and local authorities, and the placement of the museum is done after constructing a propper building in the national houses of Astra branches (*Ruşmir,*1934).

Between 1935-1947, the only change fom all Astra museums took place in Braşov branch, where on the 1st of December 1937 the first 3 halls of the regional museum of Ţara Bârsei were inaugurated, in the former Baiulescu house due to the donation of 600.000 of Dumitru Z. Furnică, a trader from the same region.

The museum of Făgăraş got more objects gathered by the president of the branch Valeriu Literat. The main impulse was given by the fact that he managed to get a subsidy from the Ministry of Culture in 1926 of 10.000 lei to establish the Museum of Ţara Oltului. His first supporters were pupils of the highschool "Radu Negru", where the first exhibits were gathered from Făgăraş, Beclean, Mândra, Dridrif, Bruiu, Rucăr, Şinca Nouă. Moreover, he convinced the Reunion of the Romanian Women of Făgăraş to donate over 270 pieces for the museum, considered a great ethnographic museum, although it had no headquarters yet (*Transylvania* 1937-1938, no. 3-4, 162).

This introduction was necessary to understand the importance of the ethnographic museum as the first form of representing the Romanian community. We would like to establish the evolution of the ethnographic museum of a special community in Transylvania, the one from Sălişte, as Nicolae Iorga saw as "one of the most beautiful images of our people in the village" (Lupaş 1903, 1).

Here the Astra branch was founded in 1894, one of the 33 others in those times. The first years of activity were the most difficult ones, as there were many misunderstandings regarding the leading forum; Partenie Cosma was sent from Sibiu on the behalf of the central committee to solve the issue. The situation was saved and that troubled period ended in 1898. in 1903 another branch is settled in Miercurea, with 104 members. The festivities of the Sălişte branch in 1912 prove the importance and capacity of this branch of the Association, where Aurel Vlaicu participated.

Urged by the archbishop dr. Ioan Lupaş, the Library "Şaguna" is established in order to popularize the Romanian culture; constant efforts were made so that the branch would remain representative for Astra, the first discussions concerning the organization of a historical-ethnographic museum were held in 1906. Later on, it was decided to settle a national house, and both projects were accomplished during the '20s of the last centuries (Grecu 1990, 245).

The teacher's conference in 1931 discussed the museum project, as ethnographic museums were considered an important cultural factor with an unexplored potential and "the most wonderful school of nationality" (Soroştineanu 2007, 65). The ethnographic museum of Sălişte was initiated by the Reunion of Romanian Orthodox Women from the same locality, in tow of Astra and Orthodox Church. It should also be mentioned that the archpriest of Sălişte between 1909-1920 – dr. Ioan Lupaş – was also president of the mentioned Reunion, while its secretary was dr. Dumitru Borcia, director of Astra branch. In Aurelia Cozma's relevant study concerning the evolution of Sălişte branch in 1918-1949 the ethnographic museum is mentioned starting with 1920 as one of the important accomplishments (*Telegraful Român*, 1915; Cozma 2001-2002, 599-602; Moga 2003, 435).

Before contributing to the establishment of Sălişte ethnographic museum, the community helped opening the Museum of the Association. Donations were mentioned in *Transylvania* journal in 1904, partly from the elite: Dumitru Banciu, Ioan Banciu (pharmacist) and Ioan Chirca (notary) bought the greeting cards for the New Year with 5 crowns and Ioan Chirca contributed to the Fund of the historical an ethnographic museum (*Analele* 1904, no. 1, 12).

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The opening of the museum of the Association in 1905 a delegation from Sălişte participated; it was formed of Ioan Pop, Iacob Şteflea, Ioan Lupaş and Onisifor Ghibu. The best proof was provided by the great contributions for the "ethnographic collection of the Association".

The ethnographic part:
A. The geographical position, communal life and houses of the Romanian people in the village: Ioan Chirca donated 5 old documents from 1722, photographs from Sălişte: firemen from Sălişte, public buildings, entrance to the village, general view; Nicolae Ţintea – more photographs of the village.
B. Objects of the Romanian people in the village: peasants' furniture, cups, pots, jugs, platters, rack, bench in front of the bed. Maria Comşa brought a traditional costume of a woman, a hat 150 years old, a rack, webbing, a bed from 1861, 12 spoons, a silver ring, a hatchet and several other old objects. The Romanian Reunion of Agriculture of Sibiu donated a doll with traditional female costume from Sălişte. The Romanian Reunion of Women of Sibiu donated a traditional costume of Sălişte, a bridal and groom dresses, a bed and 3 chairs. Veturia Stroia brought to the museum a child's skirt and a traditional costume for a girl.
C. Home industry: a tablecloth, 3 towels, a traditional blouse of 32 years old, a bridal dress. Astra contributed with a traditional blouse from Sălişte, an embroidered towel, a towel of a groom of 55 years old and a bridal belt, a distaff.
D. Agricultural occupations: Ioan Chirca donated a fork, a saddle, a basket for the sickle, collections for beehive, a miniature glen, mounted ladder, a harrow, a whip, a garden knife, a hook, a picking machine, a distaff with a wheel, a wheel for twisting, a shuttle, a tail, an anvil, a rake, a fan. A wooden clock, made by a peasant from Rod and used in the church of Sălişte, a sculptured bat, a shepherd's pipe, and several other old objects were brought to the collection of the museum.

The historical-cultural part:
E. Historical exhibition: 4 Romanian seals from 1871, a scimitar, a pistol from 1848.
F. Romanian Churches. The Orthodox Church: a cross, verses for God's holidays, manuscripts from Picu Procopie Pătruţ and rosary, the photo of the bishop Dionisie Romano, a silver cross, a cover for the chalice, weaved by 4 women, an icon from 1770. Onisifor Ghibu contributed with the biography of the bishop Dionisie Romano, Lamentations of Silvaş monastery, manuscript by Picu Procopie Pătruţ, a floodgate sculptured 100 years ago, 5 photographs with the school of Sălişte, while the school itself brought a notebook with round writing, 4 yearbooks, 9 free drawings, a photograph of Mihail Stoica, the first principle of the school, a manuscript by Teodor Milea.
G. Fine arts and artistic industry: Virginia Măcelariu donated an embroidery and the photograph of the painter Ioan Morariu.
H. Bank exhibition: the safety deposit of Sălişte brought a painting with the directors (*Analele* 1905, no. 5, 257-258; Grecu 1990, 245).

We have to bear in mind that the exhibition from the museum of the Association was the one that consecrated the traditional costume of Sălişte (Matei, 1986, 297).Besides, in the report concerning the activity of the Sălişte branch for the years 1920-1921 it is specified that the Romanian Society of Orthodox Women, under the aegis of Astra established an ethnographic museum there (Borcia 1921). The Sălişte ethnographic museum received subventions from the state around the year 1930, along with other museums from Transylvania – Vidra, Hunedoara and Sighet (*Transylvania*, 1931, no. 1-8, 9).

The same year was fruitful and full of significance for the Sălişte community, including the Astra branch here, with 15 agencies in all 15 villages, as well as 15 libraries. The village received the royal visit and the French delegation visit, conducted by the generals Berthelot and Petain. A cooperative was founded to ease the living of the villagers, as well as a library and publishing house. In all these events the activity of the former director dr. Nicolae Calefariu (1909-1918) was pointed out, followed by dr. Dumitru Borcia (*Transylvania*, 1925, no. 9-10, 358; *Transylvania* 1927, no. 10-11, 429).

After the reorganization of the branches in 1928, the Sălişte branch continued to be active as one of the 5 branches from the central Sibiu branch. (*Transylvania* 1928, no.1-8) For the period between the Astra dissolution and 1948, we don't have much mentioning of museums in the Romanian cultural space, especially the Sălişte case so that we could be able to track down the exhibits of the museum to another museum opened nowadays. There are only two roads that would lead someone eager to know more about the life of the community of Sălişte: the Parish Museum of Sălişte and the Museum of Culture or of Sălişte personalities (highlighting the 9

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academicians born in the village).We may speculate that the ethnographical pieces remained in one of the two museums, but due to the fact that the latter was founded in 1978, the only hypothesis left remains the parish museum of Sălişte, being known the great support of the archpriests Ioan Stroia and Ioan Lupaş in Astra activities.

Parish museum Sălişte was described as having a specific interior for peasants with all the necessary objects, old furniture, including two local traditional costumes, to which we add two other traditional costumes in the Museum of Culture in Sălişte. It is well-known that in the latter case the great input was given by the teacher Ana Petruţiu, the initiator of a school museum, included later in the mentioned museum.[2]According to nowadays classifications, the Parish Museum of Sălişte is a clerical museum, subordinated to the Sălişte deanery and Orthodox Archiepiscopate of Sibiu, while the latter has a profile of ethnography and local history, under the patronage of the Sălişte hall.

We should mention another teacher from the area called Mărginimea Sibiului who initiated a local museum in 1968 – Maria Costăchescu in the village Galeş. Another worth mentioning museum from the same area would be the Museum of Icons in Sibiel (Grecu 1990, 257).

We may conclude our presentation of various ethnographic museums in Transylvania as markers of Romanian identity and cultural centers with the idea that even if the Sălişte ethnographic museum was closed in 1949, it was continually regarded as a cultural benchmark by the community.

[2] Parish Museum Sălişte: http://ghidulmuzeelor.cimec.ro/id.asp?k=1724, Museum of Culture in Sălişte: http://ghidulmuzeelor.cimec.ro/id.asp?k=556, accessed on 1 November 2016.

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HISTORY OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN CROATIA: THE CITY OF DUBROVNIK IN THE 1930S

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Abstract: *Rich cultural and historic heritage of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the uniqueness of the atmosphere of its old town, its importance in fashioning both Croatian and European art, science and literature enabled Dubrovnik to become one of the top European tourist destinations. Cultural tourism has a particularly long tradition in the Croatian South, but it is was only in the beginning of the 21st century that it became the essential part in the strategy of development of tourism-oriented Croatia. The authors explore the roots of the successful development of cultural tourism in Dubrovnik. Using archival materials, relevant literature and documents printed in that time, this paper analyses the development of cultural tourism of Dubrovnik in the times when Yugoslavia was first formed.*

Keywords: *history of tourism, cultural tourism, cultural heritage, Dubrovnik, 1930s*

Introduction

Cultural tourism is a selective form of tourism that attracts visitors motivated by interest in history, art, heritage, culture and way of life in a local remote place away from their places of residence. It is one of the oldest forms of special interest tourism which has many definitions and approaches. (du Cros, McKercher 2014, 4). Cultural tourists are drawn by various attractions: from cultural-historical heritage and cultural-religious institutions, to manifestations and cultural monuments.

Travelling motivated by culture has been present in the Mediterranean since the old ages. The appearance of tourism is associated with the arrival of the Grand Tourist, the first organized travelling for the purpose of full grounding in classical education (Inglis 2005). Only when tourism becomes massive in the 1950s does it cease to be a privilege of the rich and becomes every man's necessity. Advancements in technology, better salaries and having more free time brought touristic travelling closer to the middle layer of the society to whom culture, in the beginning, was not a motive for travelling as was relaxation and recreation.

Dubrovnik received the status of tangible cultural heritage in 1979 when the old town centre was placed under the protection of UNESCO, while the Festivity of Saint Blaise the patron of Dubrovnik has been protected as intangible cultural heritage since 2009 (World Heritage Centre 2015).

Dubrovnik is the most recognizable Croatian tourist product (*Strategija razvoja kulturnog turizma* 2003, 10). With its extremely rich historical and cultural heritage, it attracts hundreds of thousands of tourists annually and regularly and appears on lists of the world's most prestigious top-destination.

With such an image, Dubrovnik got the opportunity to strengthen its brand as a city placing the responsibility on the preservation of its cultural and historical heritage, but a historical analysis of the development of its success in tourism is also required. In this paper, using documentation from the Archives for Tourism in Dubrovnik and the relevant literature and documents printed in that time, the authors investigate cultural tourism of Dubrovnik in the 1930s.

Researching the history of cultural tourism in Croatia

Although the beginning of the 21st century signalled a new era in the history of tourism research, there were still a relatively small number of papers analysing the beginnings of cultural tourism on Croatian territories. Assembling materials which deal with the history of tourism

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for the purpose of synthesis of the development of tourism began in the 1960s and was finally realized in 2005 with the completion of the project *The History of Croatian Tourism* (Vukonić 2005). The other studies were mainly restricted to the history of certain tourist activities, a shorter period or of only a part of Croatia's territory.

Probably the main reason for discrepancies in research is a variable intensity in tourist experiences; i.e. different representation of historical sources in various parts of Croatia. Bearing in mind that it is the amount of collected material and literature reference that shapes the research, it does not surprise that there was a bigger number of smaller studies of respective tourist micro-regions in the past, such as the Opatija Riviera (Jordan 1998).

There are numerous works by researchers from the region covering the cultural history of 1960s in socialist Yugoslavia with the growing trend of better communication and collaboration among scientists working on close socialist and post-socialist themes. In the trend of a rising interest in exploring the Socialist period, the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism was established in Pula in 2012. However, in comparison with the rest of Europe, the history of tourism in Southeast Europe remains relatively under-researched (Tchoukarine *et al*. 2014).

The role and importance of cultural tourism in the tourism industry is recognized because particularly cultural tourism is the main tourist produce of Croatia (*Godišnji program rada i financijski plan* 2014, 19). Research has intensified in the past 20 years, through extensive studies (Jelinčić 2008) in numerous works from all areas of social sciences (Demonja 2013) ranging from economy to ethnology and cultural anthropology (Petrović Leš 2006). Nevertheless, the growing wave of research in cultural tourism requires a comparative historical dimension.

The universities in Croatia, as regional centres of scientific and research excellence, have recognized the need for education in the areas of culture and tourism, and merged them inside their interdisciplinary studies as *Culture and Tourism* (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta Republike Hrvatske 2015). The undergraduate program *History of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean* at the University of Dubrovnik anticipates the study of the history of cultural tourism within the courses: History of Croatian tourism, History of leisure in the Middle and early Modern Ages, and Pilgrimages on the Mediterranean (*Elaborat o studijskom programu preddiplomskog studija Povijest Jadrana i Mediterana* 2014, 10-12).

Cultural tourism in Dubrovnik in the 1930s

Two leading Rivieras on Croatia's territory from the 19th century – the Opatija and Dubrovnik Riviera, left the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I. At the same time, Opatija became a part of the Kingdom of Italy, and tourism in Opatija Riviera continued its historical development within a different economic framework separated from other parts of Croatia which had entered the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Dubrovnik became the leading centre of cultural tourism on the coastal area when Yugoslavia was first formed.

When the German writer Ida von Düringsfeld travelled along the Adriatic coast in the mid-19th century, she stayed in Dubrovnik. Later, in her book of travels *Aus Dalmatien*, she described Dubrovnik as a city *that has not fallen but has ceased to be ... with no more foes, it rests in the silence of its walls, as if never to wake again ... it lies forever as a relic covered by the crystal blue bell of the sky* (von Düringsfeld 1857, 9-10). The author's impression of how dull Dubrovnik was then compared to its glory in the times of the Republic of Dubrovnik was deepened by her personal tragedy when she lost and buried her daughter during their long stay in the city. (von Düringsfeld 1857, 223-224).

This dull and sleeping Dubrovnik arose from the 19th century saturated in electricity and a wave of change brought by the 'traffic of foreigners' – as tourism was called then. Technological advances in everyday life and in tourism were adopted with incredible speed. At the beginning of the 20th century the citizens of Dubrovnik, unaccustomed to modern electric lights, quickly adjusted to the lavish glitter and the refinement of the Art Nouveau architecture of the new luxury hotel *Imperial*. The first electric light bulb in Dubrovnik shone at *The Imperial*, which was also equipped with the first electric elevator in the Austrian province of Dalmatia. Tourists arrived to Dubrovnik by steamships, narrow-gauge railways across the Bosnian-Herzegovinian hinterland, planes, buses and motor boats. Apart from daily flights to Belgrade and Sarajevo, Dubrovnik was connected by airways to Zagreb, Vienna, Brno, Prague and Tirana during the summer season at the end of the 1930s. Likewise, Dubrovnik had

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airways to Bucharest, Ljubljana, Milan, Sofia, and Venice (*Dubrovački informator* 1938, 17, 55).

At the beginning of the 20th century the increasing numbers of tourists provoked curiosity and amazement of the local population whose usual daily routine they disrupted. The unusual clothing of the tourists as well as their behaviour was a novelty to the majority of its citizens. The local population adapted, their earnings from tourism in the 1930s eased the discomfort that crowds, disquiet and shortages of water and food brought along. The city gradually became one with the tourists who become an indispensable part of the image of Dubrovnik.

The main event during the winter months in the 1930s became the Festivity of Saint Blaise, the patron of Dubrovnik – which is today an intangible world heritage (*UNESCO* 2015). This religious festival that has been continuously celebrated with a rich cultural program from the year 972, got an amusing component in 1842 — *Dubrovačka tombula*, a type of raffle for entertaining its citizens and their visitors (Bersa 2002, 134).

After a picturesque procession with the powers of the Saints framed in silver and gold from the rich treasury of Dubrovnik, escorted with a multitude of banners, representatives of the Church, the authorities and institutions and the inhabitants of the town and its surroundings, the Tombula would be held in the afternoon. It was followed by traditional dances in festively decorated folk costumes of the inhabitants from the vicinity of Dubrovnik. Evening come, upon returning to their homes, the bannermen would fire shots and shout their farewells (*Dubrovački informator* 1938, 7).

In March 1931, the district of Dubrovnik had only 18,765 inhabitants (*Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva* 1937, 81, 117) while it recorded a total of 40,157 tourists in 1930, the majority of which were attracted by the historical and cultural heritage of Dubrovnik, and the possibility of getting acquainted with the cultural historical inheritance of the city (*Dubrovački turizam V* 1940, 22). By comparison, eighty years later, in 2011, Dubrovnik with its 42,615 recorded citizens (Državni zavod za statistiku Republike Hrvatske 2015) was visited by 606,000 tourists (*Turizam u brojkama* 2012, 27).

In the 1930s, the occupation of the bulk of the population in Dubrovnik and the rest of Dalmatia was agriculture and fishing. The traditional orientation towards the sea and trading was complemented by the tourism industry; it was more pronounced in the city of Dubrovnik and its vicinity than in the rest of Dalmatia. What was specific for cultural tourism as a new economic activity was a big share of human labour which opened the possibility for employment of both the female and male population as no other preceding activity. Gradually, tourism with its cultural form, initiated other activities in Dubrovnik.

Although in 1931 a quarter of the population (26.5%) of the Dubrovnik district aged over 11 years of age was illiterate, tourism workers in Dubrovnik were the top professionals in their time (*Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva* 1938, 122). For example, the famous Dubrovnik photographer, Erna Gozze Bayer, a graduate of Höhere Graphische Bundes-Lehr-und Versuchsanstalt in Vienna and at the time a rare woman photographer, offered jewellery and fashion accessories to tourists in the old city centre.

Erna's photos show the life of Dubrovnik; they indicate the liveliness of this tourist town, its commotion of diverse and foreign crowds and its beauty of living in the 1930s (TV documentary *Fotografija u Hrvatskoj: Erna Gozze Bayer, 1911-2013*, by Ganza Habjan). The smoke from the steamships' chimneys (Fig. 2) often depicted in the sky of the city's port are a kind of a symbol of Dubrovnik tourism which started through steamships.

In the years of crisis, Dubrovnik was a destination favoured by writers and intellectuals George Bernard Shaw, Enoch, Arnold Benett, Miroslav Krleža etc. George Bernard Shaw visited Dubrovnik on two occasions in the 1930s. From the time of Shaw's first visit in 1929 dates the famous recommendation to those coming to Dubrovnik where they shall see Heaven on Earth which, as a tourist promotion of the beauty of Dubrovnik, is present to this day (Turistička zajednica grada Dubrovnika 2015). Shaw was particularly impressed by the hospitality and effort of its citizens to comply with the needs of the tourism industry in those early 1930s. Namely, after insisting that he would pay for his expenses for his stay at the Imperial, Shaw was bestowed a valuable folk costume. He was riveted by the atmosphere of tourism and the beauty of the city. (*Dubrovačka tribuna* 1929).

The Great Depression did not jeopardise the progress of cultural tourism in Dubrovnik;

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although the traffic declined in the years 1931 and 1932, the number of overnight stays realised in 1933 exceeded the total indicators in all previous years. Dubrovnik attracted writers and intellectuals with its cultural offer, and in the late 1930s members of the Royal courts of Europe and politicians — both domestic and foreign, among which were Wayland Young, 2nd Baron Kennet, the notorious Hermann Wilhelm Göring, and Edward VIII with Mrs. Simpson. After 1933, tourist traffic in Dubrovnik grew and reached its peak in 1938 (473, 551 nights). The pre-war 1939 had 47,098 visits, but only 333,042 overnight stays (*Dubrovački turizam V* 1940, 22).

The fact that Dubrovnik was detached from the main roads was convenient to the political elites, Dubrovnik thus proved to be an excellent tourist destination for business meetings in the rich cultural ambience of the city. Therefore, it wasn't surprising that in the 1930s Dubrovnik hosted a dozen international meetings and many more assemblies, meetings and negotiations whose participants were from different parts of Yugoslavia; it was a place where political, intellectual and cultural elites of the time often gathered. Nevertheless, domestic visits accounted for a minor share of the total number of arrivals – the traffic detachment restricted domestic tourists' arrivals, so it was the foreign tourists who were the cultural tourists in Dubrovnik in the interwar period. It is therefore not surprising that Dubrovnik had even seven consulates in 1937 — Belgian, British, Danish, French, Greek, Italian and Spanish (*Dubrovački informator* 1938, 57)

Tourist Institutions in Dubrovnik in the 1930s

Dubrovnik achieved its success in tourism in times of political and economic insecurity in Croatia. The difficult political and economic situation of Croats within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and their requirements for a redesign of the State on equal principles intensified at the end of the 1920s. The changes started when King Alexander Karađorđević abolished the Constitution in 1929, prorogued the Parliament and introduced a personal dictatorship. He also changed the name of the country to Kingdom of Yugoslavia and introduced new administrative divisions placing Dubrovnik under Zeta Banovina where it was separated from the rest of the Croatian territory and oriented towards the administrative centre of Cetinje, a city which is today a part of the neighbouring Montenegro. At the same time, the Great Depression which started in 1929 with the breakdown of the stock market in New York and became worldwide, had severe consequences on the already backward Yugoslav economy, heavily dependent on the European West.

The world's first institute for the study of tourism *Forschungsinstitut für Fremdenverkehr* was founded in Berlin in 1929. Professor Robert Glucksmann's project, together with his collaboration with Adolf Grünthal, formed a scientific reflection on tourism within the Alliance for the promotion of tourism in Dubrovnik. The aptitude at which the editions of Glucksmann's *Archive* were purchased and completed as well as numerous other recent works in the field of tourism in Dubrovnik at the time was surprising. Using only four-year long activity of the Berlin Institute as a role model, a professional fund research on the organization and development of tourism, culture, tourism and education, the historical development of tourism, service industries, tourism propaganda, guiding, and informational services was established; it was meticulously filled up in the 1930s.

The tourist information and propaganda department was placed on the ground floor of the palace Sponza in the mid-1930s. When the Archive for Tourism was moved into this late Gothic and Renaissance 16th century settings, the palace was named *Tourist home* for a short period until the beginning of World War II. Numerous cultural events and art exhibitions that recorded excellent attendance rates were held in the Tourist home. Just to name one of them, the Department of Tourism at the Ministry of Trade and Industry of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the agency *Putnik* organized a photo exhibition of the tourist areas of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. One of the eminent visitors to the exhibition in the Tourist Home in August 1936 in Dubrovnik was King Edward VIII (*Turistički dom u Palači Sponza* 1936, 8). Edwarda VIII accompanied by Mrs. Simson stayed in Dubrovnik for three days. Apart from the Museum of Tourism, the first such museum in the region, tourists visited the Archaeological museum of Dubrovnik, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Museum of Ivo Vojnović on Mihajlo (*Izvještaj o radu* 1934, 9-11).

Unfortunately, numerous projects, such as *Dubrovnik – a tourist centre of Yugoslavia*, were not realized due to the onset of World War II, yet printing of propaganda information materials continued – brochures, leaflets, posters and other small print. For example, a brochure about

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Dubrovnik offered information about Dubrovnik and its surroundings in Serbo-Croatian, German, Czech, English and French; it was printed with a map of Dubrovnik and was created by the Ministry of Army and Navy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia just before World War II.

Hotels and restaurants in Dubrovnik in the 1930s

One of the basic requirements for thriving tourism is an increasing number of hotels and restaurants, because tourism cannot exist without these facilities. Good examples are hotel Petka, owned by the Vjeresijska Bank in Dubrovnik, and the City Tavern; both were renovated in 1924 with investment from the Dubrovnik municipality. In the 1930s Serbian Bank from Zagreb was one of the dominant factors of tourism in Dubrovnik. The Bank managed two leading Dubrovnik hotels: *Grand Hotel Imperial* and *Grand Hotel Lapad*.

The analysis of the accommodation capacities in 1930s was done by the Tourist Association in Dubrovnik in 1938 (*Dubrovački turizam V* 1940, 90). According to the analysis there were 60 hotels and pensions and several taverns, restaurants and bars with the total capacity of 2,000 rooms without private accommodation. Tourism in Dubrovnik was marked both by the growth of accommodation capacities which was almost doubled and by the rise in tourist flow which was more than doubled, while the number of international tourists in 1938 by comparison to 1925 was ten times higher (*Hoteli i svratišta na jugoslavenskom primorju* 1925). The number of beds during those 9 years increased by 89,1%.

An example of a small successful family hotel was *Penzion Dalmacija* in Lapad. After the end of the war *Penzion Dalmacija* became the property of Stjepan Miličić, a migrant from the island of Hvar at the beginning of the century. The family Miličić were engaged in viticulture, seasonal fishing and trading in wine. Stjepan Miličić served in the First World War in the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; after the war ended, with the support of his family, he took over *Dalmacija* which was an inn at the time. In the beginning, his business had a negative balance, but with a successful cooperation with Mr. Fiebiger, the owner of travel agency ILF from Dresden, he acquired German tourists and expanded into a hotel in 1928 (Centre for tourist information and documentation, Dubrovnik, Životopis vlasnika hotela Dalmacije, 1936). Stjepan Miličić later became President of the Association of restaurant owners in Dubrovnik.

Tourism completely altered the city life in the mid-1930s; Mr Marko Brijaško, an outraged salesman from Ston, argued that traders behaved like peddlers: *butchers deal the least with meat as they are busy buying Pyrethrum and selling wine and oil while sugar and other food products are sold in coffee shops* (State Archive Dubrovnik, Trgovačko-obrtnička komora Dubrovnik, 1936, box. 2001-2437. Žalba, 28.VII.1936.). This peddling was completely contrasted to the family restaurants and shops from the times of the Austrian rule which the city of Dubrovnik was famous for. A new generation of restaurateurs appeared in these modified market situations of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia while adapting to the new market challenges which conflicted with the traditional trading essence of the Austrian administration. The structure of the service differed significantly in Dubrovnik from that in the outskirts of the city because it adapted to the needs and preferences of tourists. Specialized shops survived in Dubrovnik in the times of the Great Depression (Medini 1930, 102-105). As an example, during the Depression, one shop selling toys was closed, the remaining three endured (State Archive Dubrovnik 1935, box. 1001-1608, No. 1368/35).

According to the documentation found in the State archives in Dubrovnik, Dubrovnik's restaurateurs weren't satisfied with the meals on the restaurant menus since food from the Mediterranean region wasn't available. The association of restaurateurs addressed the Trading and Craftsmanship Chamber in Dubrovnik, demanding a ban on serving hot food and drinks particularly 'ćevapčići' and 'ražnjići' – kebabs and fried meat on skewers – in the inns and café bars in tourist cities (State Archive Dubrovnik, Trgovačko-obrtnička komora Dubrovnik, box. 1939, No. 2123. Žalba, 19.VII.1939).

Conclusion

The Croatian Museum of Tourism in Opatija, founded in 2007 explores tourism in the Croatian region in the past (Croatian Museum of Tourism 2015) but the first Croatian Museum of Tourism was opened almost seventy years ago in pre-war Dubrovnik. Orientation towards tourism that Dubrovnik had – a pearl in Croatian tourism, did not come about by chance; it was the result of centuries of pondering over tourism and of work

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by its citizens and institutions in the development of tourism. The First Archive and Museum of Tourism in Croatia and its surrounding regions has enabled the present orientation of south Croatia towards better quality tourism, thus attracting wealthy guests and creating cultural tourism.

Conducted research has shown that cultural tourism started to develop in Dubrovnik in the 1930s. A survey of the visitors' to Dubrovnik country of origin confirmed a continuous decline in numbers of domestic tourists, while the number of tourists from foreign countries gradually grew. Tourism enabled employment of women as no other industry before. Even though there was a lot of peddling in catering and trading compared to the times of the Austrian administration rule, in the third decade of the 20th century Dubrovnik started building its recognizable image of a *must visit city* that it has at present. Almost a century before filming T*he Game of Thrones* and before its famous glamorous weddings in the old part of the town (Vogue 2015), Dubrovnik attracted with its culture, history and tradition.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Fig. 1. A tourist in front of the Palace Sponza in 1938. Source: *Photo Collection* of the family Baban.

Fig. 2. Erna Gozze Bayer, Steamship chimney, 1932. Source: Maković 2007, 142.

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Fig. 3. Marshal Mustafa Fevzi Çakmak visiting the old town of Dubrovnik in 1937.
Source: *Photo Collection*, Centre for tourist information and documentation. Dubrovnik.

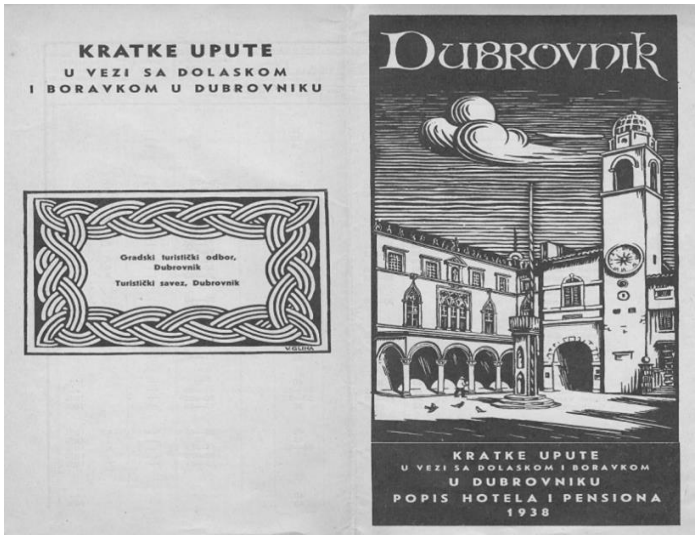

Fig. 4. Cover of the brochure with Tourist Home on the front.
Source: *Kratke upute u vezi s dolaskom u Dubrovnik* 1938.

Fig. 5. The terrace of the Villa Argentina, 1937.
Source: *Photo Collection*, Centre for tourist information and documentation. Dubrovnik.

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RESURRECTED ABATTOIR: BANGABANDHU MEMORIAL MUSEUM IN BANGLADESH

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Abstract: *The Bengali nation has a long history of struggle and bloodshed for independence. The National Museum and other cultural museums in Bangladesh are usually reservoirs of the nation's political history. Bangabandhu Memorial Museum, at plot 10, road 32, Dhanmondi, Dhaka, holds a special position in the nation's cultural consciousness because the building in which it is situated was the residence of the father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Sheikh Mujib was endowed with the title Bangabandhu (friend of the Banga or Bangladesh or Bengali nation) on 23 February 1969 in a gathering of about one million people for his tremendous effort and sacrifice for the liberation of the nation. He took major decisions regarding the war of independence in 1971 while he was living in this residence in Dhaka and later in this very house he was assassinated by a group of outlawed army officers on 15 August in 1975 with his whole family except his two daughters. The building premises carry the memory of the murder with bloodstains, marks of bullet shots on the walls, stairs, etc. of the main house. The leader's eldest daughter Sheikh Hasina, the present prime minister of the country, was handed over the family home after her return from exile (in England) in 1981 and she was determined to preserve the bullet stains and other marks to keep Sheikh Mujib's memory alive. The residence was transformed into the memorial museum in 1994. It preserves photographs of many important international events that witness how the nation progressed in the initial years under Bangabandhu's leadership, but at the same time it carries an overwhelming aura of the bloody night when the great leader was brutally killed. The museum has become a place for revisiting the history of the war of independence and it can also be considered a treatise of the founding history of the new republic. The paper intends to examine the museum building with the items it has on display and analyze what political and cultural significance they may carry for a new generation of Bangladeshi youth.*

Keywords: *abattoir, Bangabandhu, memory, resurrection*

In 1975 after Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had been brutally murdered, Bryan Baron, a British journalist, wrote in *The Listener* (August 28, 1975) that Bangabandhu would remain seated in a high position in the hearts of the common people of Bangladesh, and the bullet stained house would become an important memoir for the nation (Rahman 2004, 134). In 1993 the Bengali nation witnessed the realization of that prediction when official procedures of turning the house in which the father of the nation had been killed into a museum were taking place. The resurrection of the abattoir as a memorial museum waited for official recognition, but long before that the house became a centre of public attraction. Bangabandhu became a legend and people's inquisitiveness to know him and his house was always there. The resurrection has allowed the general public to know the private life of the great leader from close quarters and thus rumours and misgivings about him and his family could be solved. Moreover, the young people born long after the great leader's death could learn about the birth of Bangladesh and see important documents related to the new state. This house with its numerous exhibits is a treasure of the nation in many ways. This paper is divided into two major sections, each comprising a few subsections. The first section describes a brief history of how it was built and resurrected. The second section delineates its cultural and political significance.

History of construction. Procurement of land

The building of the house has a long history. Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (17 March, 1920 - 15 August, 2016), the founder of Bangladesh, had been a leader at all stages of his life. He was a student leader at All India Muslim Students Federation in the 1940s when he was studying at Islamia College (now Maulana Azad College) in Kolkata. After the partition in 1947 he enrolled at Dhaka University, East Pakistan (now

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Bangladesh), and founded the East Pakistan Muslim Students' League. During his student years he joined the major political party of the would be East Pakistan, the Bengal Muslim League, in 1943, and he became one of the major Muslim student leaders who had a close contact with Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (1892-1963), the last prime minister of the British Raj. He left the Muslim League and joined the Awami Muslim League (later, Awami League) and was elected the joint secretary of the party's East Bengal unit in 1949. In 1953 he was the party's general secretary and was elected in the East Bengal Legislative Assembly, a minister of the United Front coalition for the first time in 1954 for a very short term. In 1956 the Awami League, the Congress, Tafsili Federation and the Democratic parties collaborated for a coalition government for the second time and Sheikh Mujib became the minister of industries, commerce, labour, anti-corruption and village aid. He resigned as he preferred to work for the party as its general secretary. He used to live at 15, Abdul Ghani Road in Dhaka at that time. Nuruzzaman was Sheikh Mujib's personal secretary who brought an application form for the plot at Dhanmondi where the memorial museum is situated now. There was an offer from the Public Works Department (PWD) for a new plot allocation and the application form was filled out with Sheikh Mujib's wife's name on it. In 1957 Mrs. Fazilatunnesa Mujib (Sheikh Mujib's wife) got the allotment for the 1 bigha (0.3306 acre) plot (No. 10) that would cost six thousand local currencies. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy offered Mujib a car which was sold to pay for the piece of land.

Construction

Even after the land was purchased, the Mujib family could not start the construction of a house because of financial problems. The Bangabandhu family did not have enough money to build it at one stroke. In 1958 Bangabandhu served as the chairman of the Tea Board of Pakistan and lived at 115 Segunbagicha. During the martial law period, dictated by Ayub Khan, Sheikh Mujib was arrested on 12 October of the same year. His family was forced to leave the house and their valuable belongings along with their savings were looted. During his imprisonment, his wife and children had to undergo a period of crisis as nobody wanted to rent out their house to Sheikh Mujib's family. In 1960, when the leader was freed from jail his wife convinced him that they needed a house of their own. Sheikh Mujib was employed as the controller of agencies at Alfa Insurance Company. Nurul Islam, a devoted follower of Bangabandhu, came to their aid at this time. He was a tuberculosis patient and was admitted to the Tuberculosis hospital in Dhaka. In the hospital he used to play "get-a-word", very popular with the newspaper *Morning News*. Nurul Islam played the game once using the name of Sheikh Rehana, Bangabandhu's youngest daughter, and won eight thousand taka. He offered the money to Sheikh Mujib's family and Mrs. Mujib borrowed the money from him so the construction of the house was initiated. Sheikh Mujib later took a house-loan from House Building Finance Corporation (HBFC) and both the personal loan from Nurul Islam and the loan from HBFC were returned in due course. The then executive engineer of PWD supervised the construction free of charge. Initially it was a one-storey brick house with two small bedrooms, a dining room and a kitchen. Two more bedrooms were added later. There was a bamboo fence around the foundation of a three-storey building. The Mujib family started living in the house in 1 October 1961. In 1966 the first floor was built and finally three rooms were built on the second floor.

Important house-related events

Bangabandhu lived in the house from 1961 till his assassination in 1975 except for the time when he was arrested by the Pakistani dictatorship. He led all kinds of movements connected with the independence of Bangladesh from this house after 1961. This building is, thus, a witness of the birth of Bangladesh. Major decisions regarding important historical movements, such as the education movement in 1962, the six-point movement in 1966, the mass movement in 1969, the general election in 1971 and finally, the war of independence in 1971 – are connected with this house because this is where Bangabandhu made his decisions. He was arrested by the Pakistani government several times from this house between 1961 and 1971.

When the house was still under construction, the elder daughter of Tofazzal Hossain Manik Miah, the founder and the then editor of the *Daily Ittefaq*, had her wedding. Whenever there was a suspicion of a Hindu-Muslim riot, several Hindu families from the old Dhaka city took shelter in this house. It also hosted ministers, diplomats,

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politicians, artists, players, and of course, common people. Naturally, it became a center of social and political activities. Archer K. Blood, the American Consul General in 1971, writes about his return to Bangladesh in 1996 in his book *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*: "The most poignant moment of my visit came early the following morning [17 December, 1996] when I visited Sheikh Mujib's old house on Road No. 32, Dhanmondi, now preserved as Bangabandhu Memorial Museum. The modest ground floor drawing room where we used to be received by the Sheikh has been converted into a gallery displaying pictures illustrating his career. The stairway leading to the first floor has been paneled in glass and still shows blood stains where Mujib was gunned down. In the bedroom of Sheikh Fazilatunnesa, Mujib's wife, blood stains and bullet holes mark the area where she and other members of the family were killed. While the total effect was a saddening one, I drew some consolation from the thought expressed in the Museum's brochure: "In the larger sense, the Bangabandhu Museum speaks of epical times, of the illustrious personality who made freedom an attainable proposition at the crossroads of national life" (Blood 2002, 357-58).

In early 1971, during the non-cooperation movement, many political and student leaders, common people, intellectuals, journalists, gathered in this house. Bangabandhu delivered his famous speech on 7 March, 1971 at Racecourse Maidan (now Suhrawardy Park) the preparation of which took place in this house. He hoisted the national flag of would-be Bangladesh at the gate of this house on 23 March, 1971. On the night of 26 March 1971, just before he was arrested, while sitting in the study of this house, he declared the independence of Bangladesh. On 10 January 1972 he returned to this house when he was freed from the Pakistani prison. During the years when he acted as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh he continued to reside here. He was killed in this house on 15 August 1975 by a group of disloyal army officials. The house was looted and valuables and important documents were either destroyed or taken away. The walls of the house were bullet stained and furniture cracked.

Museum consecration

Bangabandhu's family members except his two daughters were killed on 15 August 1975. His elder daughter Sheikh Hasina, the present PM of Bangladesh, had gone to Germany with her husband M A Wazed Miah and their two children on 31 July the same year. Miah was a visiting fellow at Karlsruhe University in Germany. Bangabandhu's youngest daughter Sheikh Rahana was a higher secondary examinee that year. She accompanied her elder sister to Germany for a short visit. When the whole family got murdered and the military government usurped power, the two daughters could not return home. They stayed abroad for several years until a number of foreign governments pressurized the Bangladeshi government to let Mujib's daughters enter the country in 1981. Initially they were prohibited from entering their parental home, but later the then government handed the house over to Sheikh Hasina on 10 June 1981. On that day, in front of the gathered people, Sheikh Hasina declared that the house was not her private property and it belonged to the people of Bangladesh. She had a plan to turn the house into a memorial. Hashem Khan, a renowned painter and the present chairman of the National Museum of Bangladesh, was one of the people who were present during her speech. He later approached Sheikh Hasina (sometime in 1981) with his plans and offered to provide assistance in the preservation of the family possessions in order to turn the place into a museum (source: telephone conversation with Hashem Khan). Afterwards, Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana, the two living daughters of Bangabandhu, created "The Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Memorial Trust" on 11 April 1994, which Trust was empowered to declare the house as the Historical Sheikh Mujib Memorial. It took several necessary steps to transform the house into a memorial museum.

House description

At present the house is kept as a three- storey building, as it was before Bangabandhu's death. Just as the three floors of the house were kept in their original shape, nine rooms have been put on display with their exhibits. Basically furniture, clothes, books, household appliances which had been in use, and some photographs are on display for visitors.

The ground floor has two rooms: the living room and the study. The living room was used by Bangabandhu while he met important political activists and leaders, foreign delegates, and made important decisions. At present there are the seating arrangements (sofa, centre table, chairs,

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etc) and a wooden showcase that contains important memorabilia among which there are gifts that Bangabandhu received from different private persons and organizations. There is the written declaration of the independence of Bangladesh, the first stamp and paper currency of the country on display on that shelf. In the study adjacent to the living room there are wooden bookcases full of books. In this room Bangabandhu declared the independence of Bangladesh. During the mass movement in 1969, all declarations and decisions were sent from this room. There is a table in this study on which the first written constitution of Bangladesh is kept. There are seven bullet stained books on the table. Several bullets are still stuck in the books. This room is not entirely open for the viewers; there is a glass wall through which the visitors observe the exhibits.

The corridor on the ground floor has a display of 17 portraits of those who died on 15 August. In one corner of the corridor there is a photograph of Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana signing the deed to transfer the property to Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Trust on 6 September 1994. The two pens with which they signed the deed are also displayed with the photo. In another corner of the ground floor veranda there is a wooden mural curved out of a *Bakul* root by counsellor Gaziul Haque, presented to Sheikh Hasina. It has the boat with an oar, Bangabandhu's right indicator, his left fist, Rayer Bazar Martyred Intellectuals Memorial, a swan's head – symbols of peace, freedom, power, cruelty, war – all engraved in one piece of wood. There is a locked room on the ground floor, which is used when Sheikh Hasina visits the house. She usually spends some time praying. Her short and quiet stay at the house perhaps brings back all her memories of the dead, which one may share while visiting the house. Each corner of the house has a story to tell.

On the first floor there is a small drawing cum dining room. There is a small set of sofas and a dining table with chairs. An old television is in one corner, crockery-cutlery and glasses on the dining table, photographs, child Russel's bicycle, all evidence of an ordinary middle class family life. What makes the room extraordinary is the number of bullet stains on the wall, the bloody reminiscence of the night when the family was murdered.

The next one is Bangabandhu's bedroom. An ordinary double bed, a wardrobe, a small bedside table, dressing table, shoe rack, etc. are on display. In this room the dead bodies of Bangabandhu's wife, his second son, his youngest son and the two daughters-in-law were found. There are bullet stains on the floor, walls, table, bed and ceiling. On the ceiling, a spot is marked by a piece of glass that covers a shred of dried brain with pieces of hair that the bullet blew. A few clothes that had belonged to the leader and his wife are on display in this room. Bangabandhu used to smoke pipe, and there are several of them on display. Adjacent to this room is Sheikh Rehana's bedroom. This room has some family photographs, the blood stained attires of the family members, a photo of murdered Bangabandhu and some other memorabilia. In front of this room is the staircase where Bangabandhu was shot. The bullet stains are preserved, paneled in glass and marked in red.

The first floor hosts the second son, Sheikh Jamal's room. He was newly married when he was killed. This room has the display of the wedding dresses of the couple, a bed, a wardrobe, showpieces, shoes and other objects used by them. Sheikh Jamal was a naval officer, and several photographs in the room show him in the navy uniform.

The second floor was inhabited by Sheikh Kamal and his wife, Sultana. There is a regular double bed, a dressing table, a wardrobe, bedside table, etc. that are usually found in a middle class bedroom. What makes the room uncommon is the display of quite a lot of medals and crests. Both Sheikh Kamal and his wife were athletes and received the awards that are on display.

The second floor also includes Bangabandhu's personal drawing room, in which he used to have secret meetings with the party leaders. He used to meet important local and foreign delegates too in this room. The rest of the second floor is an open rooftop. This section of the museum existed as such in Bangabandhu's lifetime.

Legal aspects

Bangabandhu Memorial Museum was established in accordance with paragraph 4 clause "Ka" and "Ga" of the Memorial Trust deed. The first of these goes like this: Ka) the Trust will strive for the creation, preservation and protection of a

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collection of memorabilia on the father of the nation's life and works. The second one reads: Ga) the Trust will declare the assassinated leader's house at Dhanmondi 32 "The Historical Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Memorial" and eventually look after its welfare (my translation of the Bangla clauses).

Indeed, Hashem Khan's initiatives were the beginning of the preservation procedure. The first time he visited the house with his proposal of providing assistance he found the house in a terrible state. He remembers a piece of table cloth that turned into powder at his touch, and he was alarmed with the decaying state of most of the objects in the house. He also learned from Sheikh Hasina that people who visited the house were asking for small tokens of Bangabandhu which she could not refuse to grant. Hashem Khan immediately arranged for the chemical treatment of the objects, seeking help from the national museum in Shahbag, Dhaka. Nirmal Kanti Dasgupta, the then assistant curator of the national museum, visited the house several times and took measures to preserve the objects Hashem Khan's request.

According to the Trust deed a committee was formed to take care of the museum convened by Professor A F M Salauddin. The members of the committee were artist Hashem Khan, counsellor and language activist Gaziul Haque, architect Muzharul Islam, Professor Muntasir Mamun, and poet Rabiul Hussain. Later, Siddiqur Rahman joined the committee as its secretary. The committee worked for the establishment of the museum and in 1994 the museum had its formal opening on 14 August. Sheikh Hasina inaugurated it in a large gathering of local and foreign delegates. Two rooms on the ground floor and three on the first floor were opened in the first few years. In 2005 the second floor rooms were opened for the visitors.

At present there is a six-storey annex of the museum, built on plot 68, just behind 32, which would finally be connected with the old building through a corridor on the second floor. The annex has a library on its second floor, which is equipped with books published on Bangabandhu and the birth of Bangladesh. There is a display gallery that exhibits photographs of Bangabandhu on different occasions. Bangabandhu's parents, family tree, his student years, his political career, his years as a statesman, his relation with important international political leaders, all are evident in the hundreds of photographs displayed in the gallery. The gallery occupies three floors of the new building and there is also an audio-visual room that has a provision of playing important documents about Bangabandhu.

The cultural and political significance of the museum

While talking about the significance of the museum, one may naturally tend to have the concepts of individual and collective memories in mind. Johannes Fabian, in his book *Memory against Culture: Arguments and Reminders*, defines the significance of the two thus: "As a cognitive faculty memory can only be attributed to individual minds (or brains); in that sense collectivities cannot remember. As a social practice, memory is a communicative practice; all narrated memory is in that sense collective" (Fabian 2007, 93).

When Sheikh Mujib's daughters gave away the house for the people of Bangladesh, individual memory entered a shared space, and thus, the house's cognitive importance declined and a narrative understanding became necessary for its connection with collective memory. The question "whose house?" may not be asked anymore, because the answer "it is the father's house and, therefore, it is the people's house" is apparent. One may, instead, ask, "What function does the house serve?" There lies its significance. The house functions as a museum, a shared space that operates in, influences, motivates, and even creates cultural and collective memory.

Museums have specific functions. According to the International Council of Museums (ICOM) a museum is a "non-profit making, permanent institution, in the service of society and its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for the purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment" (Ambrose, Paine 1993, 8).

Bangabandhu's resurrected residence is, doubtless, important historical evidence. This house, in all senses, ushered the naissance of a modern Bengali state. The significance of the house is connected with the significance of Bangabandhu as a national leader. No other Bengali statesman or political leader could unite

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the Bengali nation as he did. He was a charismatic and visionary leader. Fidel Castro met Bangabandhu at Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) convention and expressed his feelings in this way: "I haven't seen the Himalayas, but I have seen Sheikh Mujib" (Sobhan 2004, 57). The house has a formidable history being an integral part of Sheikh Mujib's years of climactic leadership during the war of independence and after. Under his leadership originated the true Bengali nationalism and he organized and supervised a regulated continuous struggle for a free democratic Bengali state. Therefore, knowing his household, his private life, his living style is almost like knowing the nation itself.

The museum is an informal educational institution. Future generations of a nation, race or creed learn from the collected memoirs that carry the legacy of history, culture, and civilization. Museum spaces provide practical knowledge and a feeling of connection with one's roots.

The house has been revered in many imaginative and creative pieces of writing. Besides numerous critical works in non-fiction, there have been poems and works of fiction written on it. Poet Shamsur Rahman, in a story written for children, wrote, "The house became everyone's desired destination because of this great leader, even foreigners considered this house a centre of Bangladesh." He also suggested the children should visit the house because they need to know the history of Bangladesh, a large part of which lives in that house.

The house has also been featured in the public imagination. Amitav Ghosh, in his celebrated novel, *The Shadow Lines*, describes Dhanmondi in this way: "I [Ghosh's narrator] could not have escaped the name Dhanmundi [Dhanmondi] even if I had wanted to; in the early 'seventies it was everywhere, in books, in newspapers. Sometimes it seemed to me that everything that happened in the capital of new-born Bangladesh happened in Dhanmundi: that was where ministers issued their statements, and unnamed but reliable Western diplomats confided in reporters; that was where Sheikh Mujibur Rahman lived and it was there that he died, one morning when he stepped out on to a balcony to confront his uniformed assassins, unable to believe that they, clad in the uniforms *he* had given them, would turn their guns upon *him*, their Liberator" (Ghosh 1988, 195).

Amiruzzaman Palash has carried a thorough research on the museum. He writes: "In the present context when our future generations are fighting decay, corruption, terrorism, bankrupt politics, the rise of the enemies of national independence to state power, communal hatred and violence, distorted history, etc. Bangabandhu's museum can inspire, encourage, educate, and empower the nation to face its true history and can be our pathfinder" (Palash 2009, 19, my translation).

Muntasir Mamun, a renowned historian of Bangladesh who has written extensively on the birth of the nation, delivered a speech on the inauguration of the museum. He said the following: "The names of two great Bengalis can in no way be erased from the hearts of the Bengalis – such is the power in the names. One of them is Rabindranath Tagore, who made the Bangla language known to the whole world, whose song is our anthem. The other is Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, under whose leadership the Bengalis could establish a separate state. […] This museum that is being inaugurated today is mine, yours, it is ours, of the unarmed majority people. It is our duty to raise this, because the fortified government or party will not help, they will consider it a threat" (Palash 2009, 39, my translation); "Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib, at one point, did not belong to his family or party; he belonged to all Bengalis, to Bangladesh. His daughters Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana and the trustees of the Memorial Trust gave away the house for all Bengalis. As such, we are grateful to them, especially to the Chair of the Trust, Sheikh Hasina. It is necessary to preserve the memories of our national heroes. In that way the struggle against their mistreatment can be strengthened. In this way we can fight the falsehood of the enemies of our liberation war. Come, irrespective of partisan ideologies, let us construct this 'symbol of common man's victory' together" (Palash 2009, 17, my translation).

Mamun's phrase, the "symbol of common man's victory", is remarkably accurate because Bangabandhu was a leader of the common men and he was victorious. He was the son of a peasant; his journey as a leader began in his early years but he carried himself as a representative of the common man. In a conversation with Sheikh Rehana, she mentioned that Bangabandhu's first dissent against establishment was on behalf of the Muslim students at Gopalganj Mission School

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when he was a secondary student. At that time, Muslim students were not allowed to sit in the first row. Mujib started sitting in the first row from the day of his admission (Sanchita 2016, 33, my translation). Because he belonged to the common men, he could give up ministry in favour of his party position in 1956. His true reign was in the common people's heart.

Shamsuzzaman Khan writes: "A principal task of a museum is to make people spellbound, and to keep them in a trance. The spell of amazement and pleasure. Bangabandhu memorial museum creates a different kind of spell in that respect. Pangs of memory are added with a surprising glimpse of the simplicity and paucity of the great man's lifestyle; an enormous sorrow of witnessing how the great leader was murdered with his wife, sons, newly-wed daughters-in-law, all accompanied by a realization that some wasted, immoral misfits who enjoyed the killing of the family are also Bengalis – this engenders a deep 'angst' in a visitor and keeps him in a melancholic stupor.

A museum accomplishes another big task. A compassionate, healthy visitor who is fond of tradition is sure to have a better consciousness after his visit to a museum. If a compassionate person visits Bangabandhu museum, (s)he is sure to be filled with hatred against the traitors and killers and (s)he is supposed to be even more determined after being enlightened with the true knowledge of history" (Palash 2009, 5-6, my translation).

The "true knowledge of history" is significantly striking in all discussions about the museum. There have been plots against the establishment of the new state of Bangladesh since its birth. The United States of America was against its separation from the state of Pakistan. The British divided the Indian Subcontinent into India and Pakistan in 1947. Pakistan was a state with two major provinces- West and East. East Pakistan in no respect belonged with the West, as there were huge geographical, linguistic and cultural gaps. Since the inception of the state of Pakistan, the West started dominating and exploiting the East. There have been several rows over linguistic, financial and political abuse of the East by the West. Finally Bangladesh became independent in 1971 after a bloody nine-month war. All the while, Sheikh Mujib remained a steady and strong leader of the East Pakistan, whose sole presence contributed to the final victory decisively. Sheikh Mujib was, as such, the target of the enemies of Bangladesh, and the plots against him did not end with his murder in 1975. The killers were determined to erase his name and contributions. A list of agencies was involved in numerous activities to defame the leader and his family. Rumours were spread that Mujib had collected enormous wealth with the help of his corrupted family members. His elder son was criticized and defamed. Even the fact that Sheikh Mujib made the call for the independence of Bangladesh was denied. History books published after 1975 were full of such slander. If one visits the museum some of the controversies about the great leader and his family can be solved.

The construction history of the house informs of the suffering the Mujib family had to undergo for a shelter during the pre-independence years. Bangabandhu prioritized his countrymen and his immediate family had to struggle for years before they could build a small place for themselves. The simplicity of the family's lifestyle, the furniture, clothes, and appliances tell a visitor that the family lived the simple middle class life where the scarcity of luxuries is visible. On the other hand, his family members were educated and talented, which justifies their income obtained without using state power. In no way can the murder of this family be justified, if seen from a neutral point of view. Moreover, Bangabandhu's love for his countrymen is above all controversies, and the visit to his house, especially the view of the staircase where he was shot dead, saddens and enrages a visitor. The way Bangabandhu was preparing for the journey of the new nation with its destroyed economy is visible in his efforts to establish international relations, which is also proved by the displayed photographs and newspaper clippings on display. A Bengali is sure to feel the enormous loss that the nation had to suffer upon his death.

ICOM's suggestion is that museums "enhance the quality of people's lives and can play a key role in developing a sense of identity for the area in which they are located. In order to be successful, however, in providing social and cultural benefits, museums need to be effectively managed and well resourced" (Ambrose, Paine 1993, 9).

The organizational activities Bangabandhu Memorial Museum include the hosting of cultural events, especially on occasions like Bangabandhu's birth and death anniversaries.

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Every year a seminar is arranged by the museum on the anniversary of Bangabandhu's historical 7 March speech. It usually takes place in Osmani Auditorium in Dhaka and speakers are invited from different institutions and professions. Art competitions for children are arranged on 17 March on Bangabandhu's birth anniversary. There is a large number of books published on the life of Bangabandhu under the museum's patronage. There is little organized research on the museum, nor are facilities created for such research. Nonetheless, a few researchers like Palash have received assistance for research at the museum. At present the library provides information and documentary support to researchers.

About 500 people visit the museum every day. On special occasions, the museum has had up to 4000 visitors in one day. It is a huge number. A survey among the visitors of the museum may be useful for its reception study. However, on 4 August 2016 some of the visitors expressed their view in the following way: "I have come here to know the man Bangabandhu. I believe it is necessary for our generation to know him" (Afroza, State College of Health Sciences); "I have brought my young cousin, because she is involved in Student Union politics. She needs to know Bangabandhu from this close quarter as se she should know what she actually is doing. There are rumours about the man, and people should come here to know the truth. Whether they believe or not, they should at least, visit the place" (Azam Khan, CPB leader).

Azam Khan's cousin, Sharmin Jahan Popy, who is a Student Union leader at Govt. B. M. College in Barisal, says that she heard so much about the museum. She needed to come to have a clear understanding, which is necessary for her political career.

One can have practical knowledge about a Bengali's lifestyle visiting the museum which is representative of Bengali middle class life. On 4 August 2016 there were several young visitors who came just to see Bangabandhu's house without any educational purpose as they were walking down the walkway along the Dhanmondi Lake. There is a beautiful lake adjacent to road 32, and people usually gather here in the afternoons. Some of the lake visitors also visit the museum out of curiosity. The existence of the museum has raised the cultural importance of the road, and the lake has increased its ecological importance. When the house was built in the 1960s this part of the city was an extension of Dhaka and was almost empty. Today the crowded Dhaka city scarcely has a piece of greenery but this lake at the heart of the city presents a different scenario. People gather here for a moment of peace and quiet from all hardships of daily life. Among the greenery the museum stands as a place of peace and tranquility. Bangabandhu's house was always open to common people, and now it continues to be open for all and responsive spectators are sure to be transformed by the simplicity and paucity that marked the life of the great leader.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The front view of the Bangabandhu Memorial Museum.

Fig. 2. Bangabandhu's portrait on the terrace of the Bangabandhu Memorial Museum.

Fig. 3. The original residence of Bangabandhu.

Fig. 4. Bangabandhu's office in his residence.

Fig. 5. Bangabandhu and his family members who were assassinated on 15 August 1975.

Fig. 6. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi looking at a photo of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with Indira Gandhi at the gallery of the museum on 6 June 2015.

Fig. 7. German Ambassador Dr. Thomas Heinrich Prinz visits the museum in August 2016.

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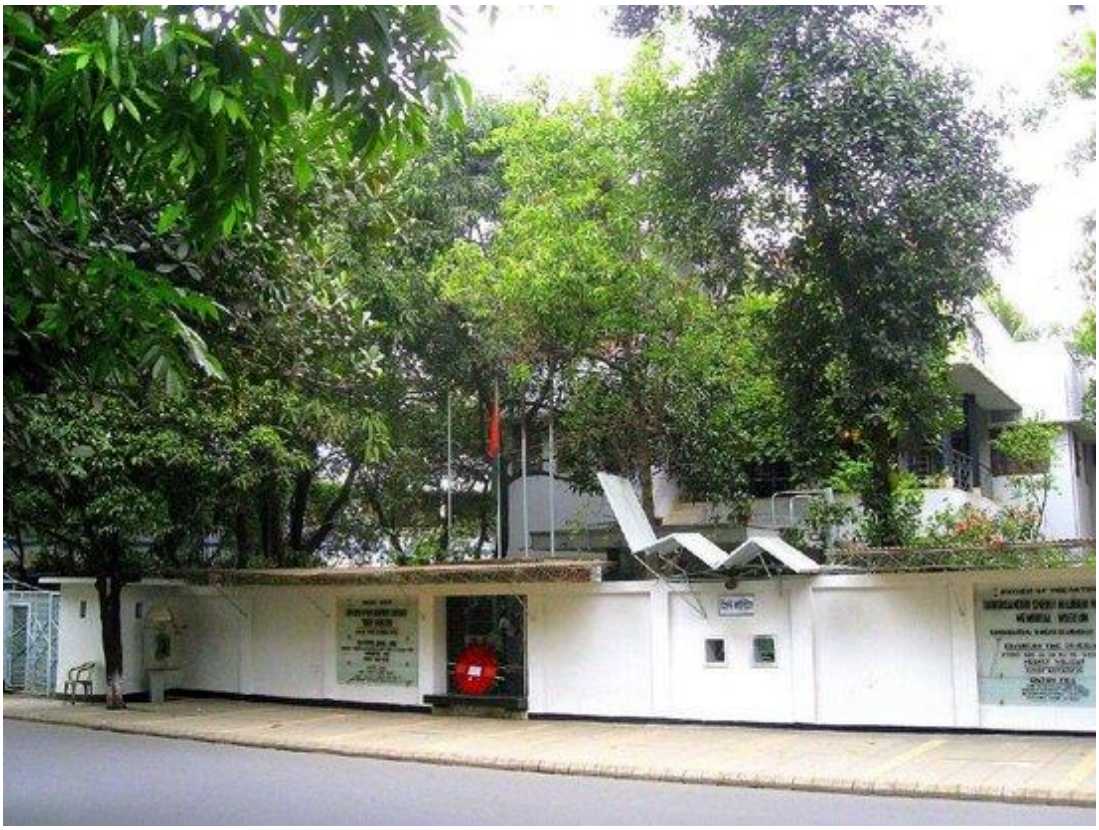

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CONNECTING WITH THE AUDIENCE: ROMANIAN MUSEUMS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract: *The study discuses a few aspects regarding the way some Romanian museums communicate on-line, focusing on the social-media – namely the Facebook platform. The cases analysed by the author are of both large representative Romanian museums, with the highest number of visitors according to the latest statistic data, most of them from Bucharest and smaller museums, of regional, or maybe only local, importance. Is the communication different considering their targets? In the closure of her study the author discuses also if there is a need for Romanian museums to orientate towards other social media platforms.*

Keywords: *social media, Facebook, on-line communication, museum, audience*

General information

Museums, in the modern acceptance for these institutions, appeared about two centuries ago, but the idea of collecting valuable objects (what one considers to be valuable) goes way back in the history of humans and, as an archaeologist specialised in prehistory, I would dare say that evidences can be found since Superior Palaeolithic. But, it is also true that the attitude of collecting objects in order to preserve them for the future generations does not go so far behind in the history of humans, a more pragmatic use for them is to be regarded.

Also, museums are related with organising the collected objects after some given criteria, preserving them, specialized research and personnel but, also very important aspect, and linked with the present study, is displaying the artefacts/objects for its audience. The existence of an audience for museums is a condition *sine qua non* and these cultural institutions are using different tools for attracting, and very important, keeping the audience close. But, stimulating the audience's curiosity can be very difficult and there are many aspects influencing this.

Museums are, or should be, changing in accordance with times and people. There are financial aspects involved but, in the last ten years, some of the Romanian museums managed to reorganise exhibitions, both permanent and temporary after modern criteria and using modern technologies. Now, there is another important question that needs to be asked, have only the display changed or also the way the museum staff is communicating with its audience?

The first modalities of using Internet in order to communicate with the public was the so called Web 1.0, when the interactivity did not exist. Today, a great part of Romanian museums is using Web 2.0, giving so to the audience the on-line spaces where it can interact (Zbuchea 2010, 17). The social media platforms, as Facebook is, are related to Web 2.0.

Facebook introduced a new approach in what concerns the communication with visitors focusing on feedback and image impact. There is less written information and more visual contain.
Facebook platform was launched twelve years ago and it became a world phenomenon, being the most used social-media platform in the word. In March 2016 Facebook had 1.65 billion active users. In what concerns the evolution of the users and their structure by age below there are Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 with the graphics.

Studying Fig. 2 we can easily notice that most of the Facebook users are young adults, between 18 and 25 years old and 26-34 years old. So, we could say that the main target for museum using Facebook platform is this one, but nor the other categories should be neglected.

In what concerns Romania, in November 2015 there were 8.2 million users with an increase of 7.9% from the beginning of 2015. The evolution from January 2011 is quite impressive: from 2.405.920 accounts to 8.200.000 in November 2015 (http://www.facebrands.ro/blog/2015/11/8-2-milioane-conturi-utilizator-facebook-romania/ accessed in 15.06.2016, 11:52).

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So, most of Facebook users are young people. A sociologic study regarding the cultural consume of young people indicated that the ones framed in *trendy internauts* category (the categories for framing the subjects of the study were: *trendy internauts*, *socio-depending young hedonist*, *male competitive culture*, *provincial culture*, *female evasionist*, *metropolitan culture*) said that 67% of them visit museums, especially the technical and history ones (Zbuchea 2013, *apud* Chelcea, Dobroancă 2007, 152). According to this information we could say that there are young Internet users interested in visiting museum, so communicators should be concerned in attracting them to come at the museum but not only once, very important is for this to become a habit.

On the other hand, social-media shouldn't be, and in most cases isn't, used as a main on-line communication tool to attract visitors, but regarded as a bonus, a well-organized official site being indispensable, giving the institution a more professional image (Tudorie, Coltofean 2013, 222).

Some Romanian case studies

In order to analyse the activity on Facebook for some Romanian museums I have used Facebrand[1] – a web page which monitories Romanian pages on Facebook.

According to this web page in Art and Culture category, Museums and Galleries, there were 86 pages registered, from which 27 are of museums and the rest represent mainly art galleries and historical monuments that can be visited. The museums on Facebrands are (the enumeration respects the top for the likes received): The Romanian Peasant Museum, *Peleș* National Museum, *Grigore Antipa* Natural History Museum, Romania's National Art Museum, Romania's National History Museum, Bucharest City Museum – *Șuțu Palace*, Art Museum Cluj Napoca, Unification Museum Alba Iulia, *Mureșenilor's House* Museum Brașov, *George Enescu* National Museum, Nature Sciences Complex Galați, Romanian Literature National Museum, Brukenthal National Museum, Moldova National Museum Complex – Culture Palace, ASTRA National Museum Complex Sibiu, *Károlyi* Castle, Romanian Navy Museum, Maramureș Museum, Art Museum Timișoara, Ethnographic Museum Ieud, Ethnography and Popular Art Museum Tulcea, *Vasile Grigore* Art Museum, Aquarium Tulcea – Danube Delta Museum, Stamp National Museum, *George and Agatha Bacovia* Memorial Museum, History and Archaeology Museum Tulcea.

From the museums above mentioned the highest number of likes has The Romanian Peasant Museum with 80.778 fans (page was created in 10th of July 2009). The second museum is *Peleș* National Museum with 35.849 fans, page created in 6th of May 2011. The third place is for *Grigore Antipa* Natural History Museum, with 28.712 fans, page created in the 26th of August 2011.

As we can notice the three museums with the highest number of fans are of national importance. In what concerns their location, for the first three examples presented above two are from Bucharest, and if we would enlarge to the first ten museums, six of them are from the capital. The museum registered on Facebrands having the smallest number of likes is History and Archaeology Museum Tulcea, a museum of regional importance, from south-eastern Romania, with 330 likes, a page created on the 14th of February 2014.

According to the cultural consume barometer for 2015 (Pălici 2014, 156) *Grigore Antipa* Natural History Museum was on first position for museums visited by Bucharest inhabitants – 59%, followed by The Romanian Peasant Museum with 34%. This could be one of the explanations why the museums from București are in the first positions in number of likes on their Facebook pages. The inhabitants from the capital are interested and more likely they are following on-line the activity, the news and novelties from these institutions.

Taking a look to the Facebook pages for the first museums on top we can notice that the information posted is almost similar, the content being different in accordance to the museum's specific.

For example, The Romanian Peasant Museum posts at 2-3 days, sometimes even daily (when special events are happening), and the information are related to educational activities, workshops, book presentations and offers, exhibition openings.

Grigore Antipa Natural History Museum has a more intensive activity, with a series of daily posts including: invitations to educational

[1] All the data from Facebrands (http://www.facebrands.ro/) were collected in the 7th of June 2016.

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activities, the exhibit of the week, documentary and educational videos, scientific information about natural history exhibits.

I shall mention again here the History and Archaeology Museum Tulcea. Although it has the smallest number of likes in the Facebrand top, this museum is active on Facebook. Most of their posts include images from the educational activities, but they have also posted information regarding the programme of The Long Night of the Museums 2016 Event, international symposiums or exhibition openings.

New directions

There is no doubt that nowadays we are facing a real "revolution" in the on-line social media area, and the social platforms became ways of transmitting information but also channels of feedback and museums, or I should better say museum marketers, took advantage of this trend.
Great international museums are using social media in order to communicate with the audience but, in their cases, due to the annually great number of visitors, their name and prestige can be enough to bring people, the main interest is to keep close regular public and, like this, to continue one of the most important mission of the museums: to educate.

For instance, British Museum had 1.194.979 likes on Facebook and 41.589 reviews in 8th of June 2016, when the data was collected. The posts are not that different from the ones posted by the Romanian ones but, due to their patrimony and large number of fans, they have a quite different dynamic in what concerns shares, appreciations and comments from the audience. They have daily posts including exhibits presentations, educational activities presentations, "mystery object", documentaries, old photos from the museum. They are also using the hashtag (#) in order for the audience to find easier messages on a certain theme.

On the other hand, from visiting the official web site of the British Museum the audience is invited to join also other platforms as: Twitter, Google +, YouTube, Sound Cloud, Pinterest, Instagram, Tumblr. These other platforms are as active as the Facebook page is.

Now, here we ca notice the differences comparing the Romanian museums, which are not so active on other social-media platforms, which are very popular abroad. For example, a link for Twitter from the official site is being used only by six museums from our study: The Romanian Peasant Museum, National History Museum (which also has a dedicated YouTube channel and an Instagram page), *Mureșenilor's House* Museum Brașov, Moldova National Museum Complex – Culture Palace (there is a link but the page is not active) ASTRA National Museum Complex Sibiu, Art Museum Timișoara (the same, there is a link but the page is not active).

Maybe for smaller museums, like the local ones, the use of Twitter, as trendy as might be, is not so important, due to their potential followers, but for the ones of national importance the use of this social platform too can be a good choice.

According to the *Cultural Consume Barometer for Romania in 2014* (Croitoru, Becuț 2015) the respondents on information sources about museums 40% declared mass-media, 38% friends and 36% Internet. A very important information is that 51.8% of the respondents answered that they use daily the Internet for social-media platforms!
According to same source, there are some interesting statistic on museums visitors.

A statistic regarding the persons that never (!) visit museums indicates a positive evolution in the last years, but not the one expected. In the analysed lot of subjects, for 2009 86.8% declared that they never visit museums, in 2012 64.9% and in 2014 55.8% (Crăciun, Mitoi 2015, 34).

Also, museums are less visited institutions by comparison with cinemas, operettas or theatres. The data for 2014 regarding people visiting museums are these: 1,6% visit weekly a museum, 2,3% visit monthly a museum, 5,2% visit once at 2-3 months a museum, 10,6% visit once at 4-6 months a museum, 23,7% more rarely, and 56,7% never.

On all the age groups the activities for a few months were structured like this: local celebrations (27.2%), excursions (21.5%), music/film/theatre festivals (19.5%), entertainment/music shows (18%), going to the mall (17.8%), walking in the park (16.7%), museum visiting (13.8%).

All the activities just mentioned should be regarded as completion for museums, so these institutions will have to come with more appealing offers, in order to increase their audience, and to better promote them, inclusively on-line.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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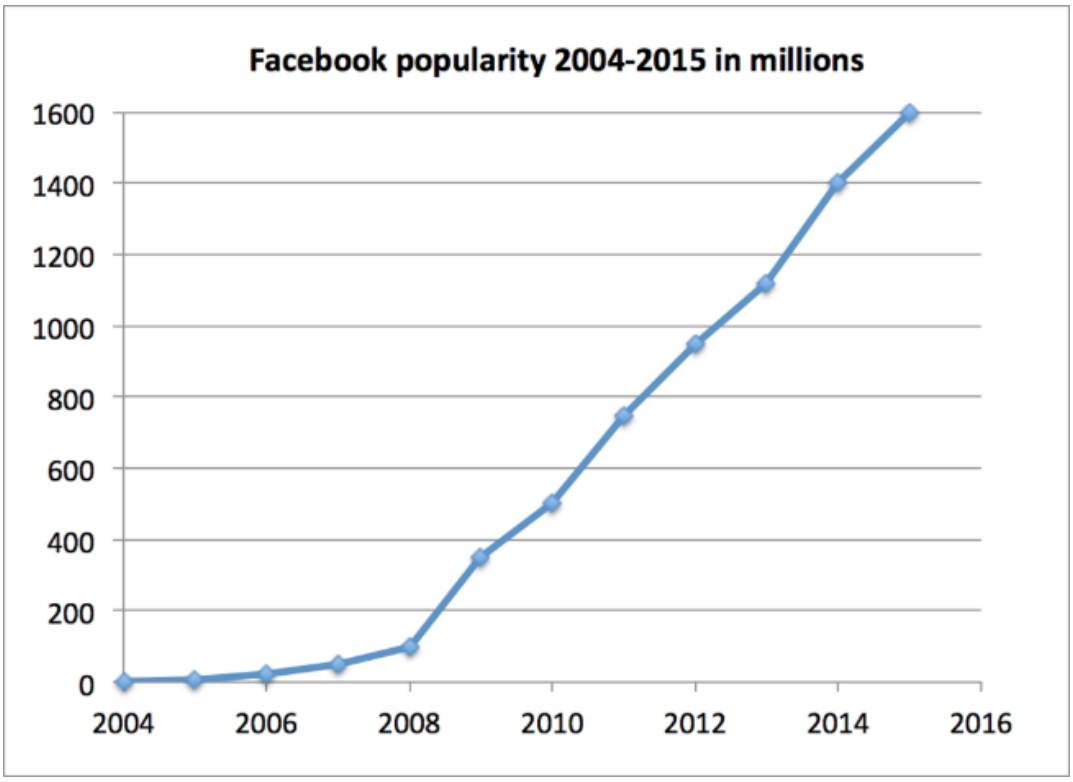

Fig. 1. The evolution of Facebook uses between 2004-2015 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Facebook#/media/File:Facebook_popularity.PNG, accessed in 7.06.2016, 13:27).

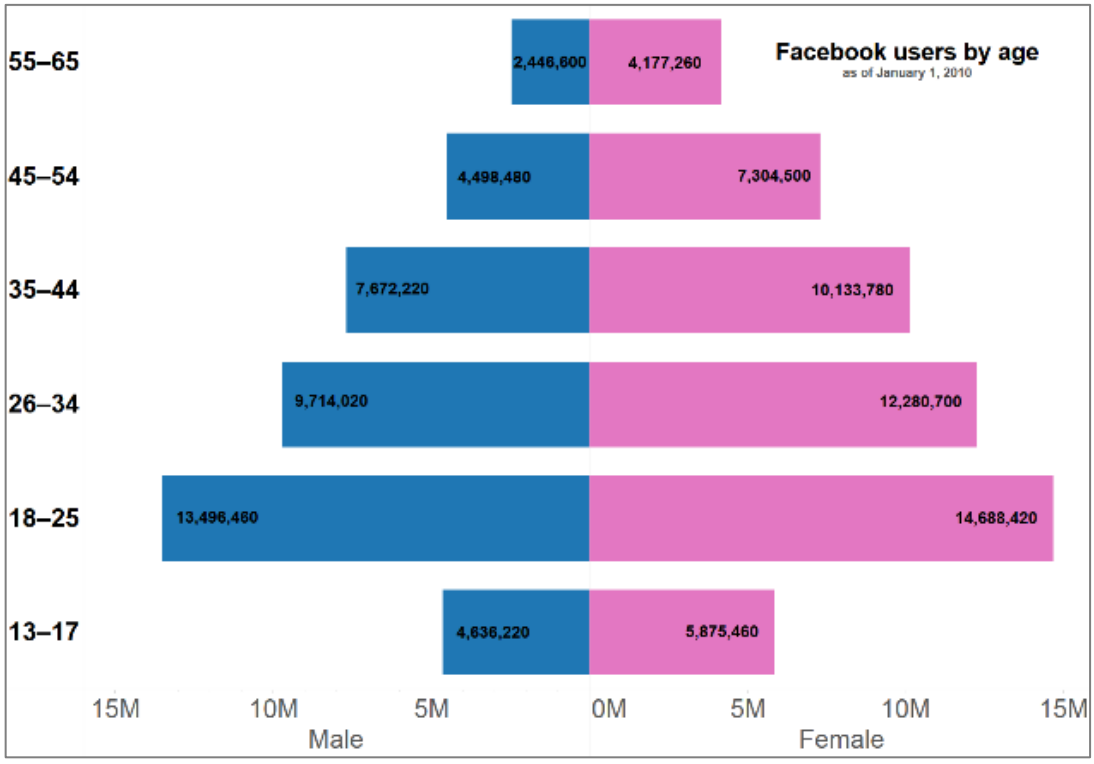

Fig. 2. Facebook users by age at 1st of January 2010 (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5d/Population_pyramid_of_Facebook_users_by_age.png, accessed in 7.06.2016, 13:28).

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B. REVIEWS, SCIENTIFIC EVENTS

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ETHNO-IDENTICAL AND NATIONAL-POLITICAL DIMENSIONS IN THE SCHOLAR SOUTHERN TRANSYLVANIAN SPACE (1849-1918)

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Review of Ioan Popa, *Dimensiuni etno-identitare şi naţional-politice în spaţiul şcolar sud-transilvănean: 1849-1918,* Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, 586 p.

The work with the above mentioned title is prof. Ioan Popa's doctoral thesis, sustained at the University "1 Decembrie 1918" in Alba-Iulia, under the scientific guidance of prof. dr. Iacob Mârza.

First of all, the work is a serious approach that impresses from the beginning due to the bibliographical material used. Its 601 pages were used to offer the presentation and clarification of a subject that has been tackled and debated officially in a great number of articles and studies, especially focused on the correspondence between the legislation and the education. Another complete analysis was necessary, accomplished by the author through comparison of the German and Romanian cultural background of the 19th century in the Transylvanian area.

The first chapter of the book, entitled *Historiographical and Methodological Marks* was dedicated to some important classical or newer bibliographical aspects, proceeding, as it may be observed throughout the book, to highlight some modern approaches of history of the school in the Southern Transylvania.

The collocation "Southern Transylvania" plays an important role within the book due to several reasons: studying thoroughly the entire educational process would have required a bigger time frame and space but, at the same time, it may be said that mainly the mentioned space is characterized by the most representative educational institutions for the two analyzed communities: Romanians and Saxons.

The following chapters: *Politics and Society in the Southern Transylvania in 1849-1918* and *The Relation between School and State in the Southern Transylvania, Aspects of Political Instrumentation* have brought to our attention the institutional frame in which the educational process was instituted regarding some political finalities till 1918.

What has brought importance and originality to this work is the chapter *Scholar Textbooks Used in the Southern Transylvania*, which offered the first pragmatic image of the manner in which pupils, along with their teachers were using the textbooks. The chapter offers some critical appreciations concerning the textbooks. The author has convinced us that in the case of textbooks an imagology study may be achieved, an analysis of reception and acceptance of the basic ideas included in the pages that concern history or homeland formation.

The chapter *Scholar Organizations from the Southern Transylvania. Pupils' Initiatives and Interventions of Political and Clerical Authorities*, as well as the mentioned above chapter, bring the highest mark of originality to this book. The used methodology and the archival unprecedented sources point out not only the less known historical aspects of these societies, but also their comparative history. The mentioned organizations are diverse, be it lay or clerical, belonging to state or private, or belonging to different education institutions.

The analysis of another aspect, usually shadowed in such studies due to the lack of necessary sources, has seemed necessary – the degree in which the establishment of the organizations was pupils' or teachers' initiative, and the involvement of the clerical or political authorities in this matter. The demarche itself is altogether important, as we have been used (due to the usage of official sources) to ideas taken from the teachers' discourse or from the memories of the former pupils.

Due to this work, we have had the possibility to analyse and compare the evolution of scholar societies from the German and Romanian background, seen from lay and clerical perspectives (in the case of state or confessional gymnasiums; see the case of the state gymnasium in Sibiu and others). Another analysed aspect has

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been the evolution of scholar societies in big cities, such Sibiu, but also some less important demographic or political centres, still important due to their cultural input: gymnasium Preparandia and the Theological Institute for Greek-Catholic Romanians in Blaj, the reformed gymnasium in Orastie and the Evangelical Gymnasium C. A. in Mediaş.

The author offers a complex analysis of the Reading Society of students at "Andrei Şaguna" within the Theological Institute in Sibiu (among other scholar Romanian organizations), as well as the journal "Musa" and the Reading society of theological students "Inochentie Micu-Klein" in Blaj. Due to an impressive bibliography – press, archives – the author was able to present the necessary conclusions in the last chapter. The title of this last chapter is a relevant one – *National and Political Dimensions of the Scholar Socialization*.

The work is recommended as a mandatory presence in any bibliography on the subject of education in the Transylvanian space for the period 1849-1918 due to many reasons and, in my opinion, the most important of all is the one that it offers the necessary examples to support a complex historiographical discourse regarding the relation between the Transylvanian school and society in the period of the dualist state.

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THE DAILY LIFE IN THE SIBIU (HERMANNSTADT) OF THE 19th-20th CENTURIES

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Review of Mihaela Grancea, Ioan Popa (coord.), *Viața cotidiană în Sibiul secolelor XIX-XX*, Sibiu, Astra Museum, 2015, 279 p.

The volume, coordinated by Mihaela Grancea and Ioan Popa, contains the papers presented at the scientific conference which took place in Sibiu on 12th-13th of June, 2015. After a foreword signed by Ioan Popa, the volume proposes 19 papers divided into two sections – "The daily life. General aspects" (pp. 11-91 – eight papers) and "Aspects of the daily life in Sibiu" (p. 95-279 – 11 papers). The first section has a general character and refers to different faces of the day-to-day life in the Romanian Countries during the 18th-20th centuries. Among the topics are: the image of the alien, the aspects of the poverty, the food habits, the attitude towards the books at Blaj in the 19th century, the Romanian students at the European universities, the attitude towards tobacco in Transylvania and the emigration of the Germans from Romania in the 1970s-1980s. The topics of the second section are also interesting for the specialized public and for a larger audience as well. They comprise such aspects as medicine, theatre, leisure, omnibus, women societies, notes of a Romanian soldier during the First World War, the holiday of the Unification, schools' life, the discourse on death in obituaries, Alexandru Dima and the Thesis literary group, and the daily life from Sibiu during the World War II.

The author of the first paper, Șarolta Solcan, deals with the image of the foreigners in the Romanian Countries in the late medieval times. The strangers and the refugees had different status according to their welfare and social position. One phenomenon refers to the migrations between Moldova, Vallachia and Transylvania, and another is those of the real strangers who could be the neighbours, enemies or the collaborators of the Ottomans or of the Habsburgs. Among these were the Turks themselves, the Poles, the Greeks, the Armenians and the Germans who came from Habsburg Austria. The contact with the foreign soldiers was a traumatic one for the inhabitants of Sibiu (Hermannstadt), who preserved for several generations painful testimonies (p. 22). However, the conclusion of the author is that, despite the sad moments, the Romanian Countries were a place of integration, where people were friendly and hospitable.

Laura Stanciu deals in her paper with the issue of the poverty in the Transylvanian Romanians' language in the Age of Enlightenment. The question to which the cultural history has to find a response is "which is the border between the traditional poverty and the new poverty" (p. 23). One of the aspects refers to the poverty of the Orthodox and Unified clergy, despite the policy of the emperor Joseph II. It is also noticed that the level of welfare was different in such important towns as Cluj, Sibiu, Sighișoara and little towns as Orăștie or Reghin (p. 30).

The paper of Giordano Altarozzi is dedicated to the "Food culture in Romania in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (pp. 33-38). The author shows the interferences in the sphere of food culture. For example *ayran*, a drink of Turk-Altaic, origin exists nowadays in Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Caucasus etc. The Romanian *sarmale* are present in Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Iran, etc. (p. 35). The meat wasn't a special food for Romanians, and also in Europe. It was served usually on Christmas and Easter. Among the traditional food at the beginning of the 20th century, the Romanians had milk, cheese, vegetables, fruits and different groceries.

Iacob Mârza studied the points of view of the teachers and students from Blaj on books and reading (pp. 39-48). He researched several books from the archive of the Library of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest), from its branch in Cluj and from the Document Library "Timotei Cipariu" in Blaj. There existed many categories of notes on the recent editions of the books of the Antique authors – Eutropius, Justinus, Titus Livius, and from 17th-18th centuries – Martinus Bolla, Martinus Felmer, Philippus Hollius, Claude Millot and others. The notes showed not only the cultural interest for the books, but also elements of the national conscience during *Vormärz* (p. 46, e.g.

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the attitude of the pupil Vasiel Turcu towards the history of Dacia).

Cornel Sigmirean focused on the life and the experiences of the Romanian students from Transylvania during their studies at European universities (pp. 49-67). He detailed on the base of several edited memories – the moments of departure, arrival, searching for accommodation, the problem of the meals, the integration into different students' societies from Cluj, Budapest, Viena, Berlin, Leipzig, München and also the *peregrination* between these centers.

Bogdan Ioaniţiu Botoşeanu paid attention to the role of the press in the artistic education of the Romanians from Transylvania between 1867 and 1914 (pp. 69-76). An important analysis of the new waves in arts was the text of Iosif Blaga – "The Principles of the Modern Art", published in the review "Transylvania" in 1904. The interest for arts became deeper during the next years. The articles reflected also the works of the artists from Romania such as Gh. Mateiu, C. Medrea, N. Grigorescu and others (p. 71). An important Romanian cultural review was "Luceafărul", which appeared in Budapest between 1902-1906 and in Sibiu between 1906-1914.

Corina Teodor studied the problem of smoking in the Mureş county of Transylvania at the beginning of 20th century (pp. 77-82). The archive documents show that, on one hand, drinking was condemned, but, on the other one, smoking was perceived as something normal. The last paper of the first section is the research of Corneliu Pintilescu about the emigration of the Germans from Romania through the relation between the citizens and the institutions which had the power to approve the emigration (pp. 83-91). He used the testimonies of a number of Germans who emigrated in 1970s-1980s, completing this way the official information and laws with the personal experiences.

Lia Brad Chisacof made the connection between two documents – a theatre play, „Maelstrom of Madness" and a Romanian medical treaty, „Physicians Craft" (pp. 95-102). Radu Racoviţan reveals aspects of the scientific medical life in Sibiu during 1867-1914 (pp. 103-110) – the foundation of the Obstetrics and Gyneclogy Hospital (1891-1892), the creation of a Medical Section of the Transylvanian Society for Natural Sciences (1887), the Association of the Saxon Physicians (1900), the Medical section of ASTRA (1914) and other events.

Maria-Daniela Stanciu focused on the leisure of the German elite from Sibiu and connected it with different public spaces (pp. 111-119). The paper is followed by the postcards and photos of Heltauergasse – the main promenade from Sibiu, the Bridge of the Liars, the Kleiner Ring, Gesellschaftshaus – the place of reunion of different societies, Fleischergasse with the main postal institution and the lake from the forest with a large house for the guests (p. 122).

Dragoş Curelea presented interesting pages from the history of the electrification in Sibiu due to the trials of introducing the electric omnibus as public transport, and after its fail (in 1902), the construction of the tram lines (pp. 123-132). The first line appeared in 1905 and had 2388.5 m between the Railway square and the promenade "Under alders". The second line was opened in 1910. In general, it was a popular transport and it developed till the end of the Second World War. After 1945 the efficiency of this mean of transport diminished. Despite this, the electric tram remains a symbol of the modernization and development of Sibiu during the first part of the 20th century.

The paper of Valeria Soroştineanu is dedicated to the role of the women reunions at Sibiu during the years of the First World War in connection with the aspects of the everyday life (pp. 133-146). The members of these reunions were actively involved in the social life as nurses and supported the families which included men wounded during the war within the county of Sibiu. Another activity regarded the organization of an orphanage for boys in cooperation with the Consistory of the Archdiocese of Sibiu.

Ioan Adrian Neamţu deals in his paper with the notes of a Romanian soldier (Petru Neamţu) from Sebeşu de Sus, who fought on the Galician front between 1914 and 1916, after that being in captivity in Russia until 1919. His notes show the traumatic dimension of his war impressions (p. 148).

Daniel Creţu analyzed the reflection of the holiday of the Great Union from 1918 in the press from Sibiu during the first decade 1918-1928 (pp. 155-160). He observes that three years later (1921) appears the criticist attitude towards the political men from Bucharest and in 1922 the holiday is not reflected in the press. In 1923 the state institutions organized a strong feast, but in the next years the press again ignored the day of the 1st of December and the local authorities

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hadn't contributed to a possible celebration. The Saxon press reflected fithfully this day.

Ioan Popa and Melina Daria Popa dedicated a large paper to the issue of the school's life from Sibiu during the first half of the 20th century (pp. 161-215). The paper has chapters dedicated to the methodology and sources, the spaces for schools as places of confrontation, the advertisement and the symbolism of the clothes, how the pupils studied (with statistics) and conclusions of the experience on the cultural-ethnic aspect of the studies. During the interwar period several Romanians migrated to Sibiu, that's why the confessional schools became the main educational refugee for the ethnic minorities (p. 205). The paper is followed by photos, tables with statistic data and charts. An interesting place in the pupil's life belonged to the so called *Coetus* (p. 176) – pupils associations.

Mihaela Grancea and Alexandru Nicolaescu dealt with the discourse on death as it appeared in the memorial speeches dedicated to several personalities (pp. 217-228) – Adolf Schullerus (1864-1928), Carl Wolff (1849-1928), Friedrich Teutsch (1852-1933), Vasile Goldiș (1862-1934), I. G. Duca (1879-1933), Ștefan Cicio-Pop (1865-1934) and Teodor Mihali (1885-1934). It is noticed that the commemoration discourses which appear on the pages of the newspaper are the result of the negotiation of the political and cultural actors (p. 228).

Anca Filipovici showed the importance of the role played by Alexandru Dima and the Thesis literary group in Sibiu during 1930s (pp. 229-239). After the Union from 1918, the cultural life was subordinated to the tendencies from centre (Bucharest) and this also determined the treatment of the literary groups and reviews from the region's as provincial and marginalized the intellectuals from several towns, one of which was Sibiu.

The Thesis group and the activity of the Alexandru Dima was a response to this marginalization and to the fact that a considerable number of young people who finished the universities hadn't a job according to their studies. Dima considered that the province had to create a place which spreads literary values (p. 233). As a solution for the cultural problems, Dima proposed the nationalization of the Orthodoxy. He criticized Eliade for sensational and sexuality in "Isabel" and "Devil's waters". His colleague Ion Popescu-Sibiu went deeper with the analysis of the psychopathology in the literature of their interwar period (p. 234). As a personal destiny, Dima succeeded to escape from province with the communization of Romania. Despite this, the activity of the Thesis group remains an important page in the cultural life of the interwar Sibiu.

The volume of papers coordinated by Mihaela Grancea and Ioan Popa ends with the study of the aspects of the everyday life in Sibiu during the World War II (pp. 241-279). Vasile Ciobanu reflected in his research the demographic realities, how the inhabitants lived (what they ate during the war), which clothes were in use, the health issue, the economic life, the cultural life and education, music, literature, media, leisure and sport.

In conclusion, I must underline that the volume of papers "Viața cotidiană în Sibiul secolelor XIX-XX" reveals several aspects of the urban life of Sibiu in the 19th-20th centuries, the modernization process, the transformations due to the political changes and war, the aspects of life at different levels – education, press, culture, transport, economy, medicine and others, until the rupture which was brought by the communist regime after the World War II.

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HISTORY AND HISTORIANS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BUCHAREST: INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSIONS – INTELLECTUAL PROJECTS

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Review of Florentina Nițu, Florin Müller, Remus Nică (eds), *Istorie și istorici la Universitatea din București: dimensiuni instituționale – proiecte intelectuale*, Editura Universității din București, 2016, 165 p.

The paper "History and Historians at the University of Bucharest: Institutional Dimensions – Intellectual Projects", coordinated by Florentina Nițu, Florin Müller and Remus Nică, represents a salutary historiographical step within the context of the celebration, in 2014, of a century and a half of scientific activity of the above mentioned higher education establishment, an event which was marked by the national Conference with the same name.

The many positive aspects, which will hereinafter be mentioned and analyzed, are, to some extent, eclipsed by some editorial inadvertences. Thus, a possible suggestion would be the (re)organization of the curriculum according to certain levels, in compact thematic units or, at least, from a chronological point of view, for a better understanding of the ongoing part the University of Bucharest plays within the many stages of development of the Romanian education, in different eras, and also for a simpler comprehension process for an audience which is much less referred to and accustomed to the historiographical phenomenon. As such, in terms of the paper, while reflecting on the text, I have identified three major analysis themes: 1. the historiographical activity of the University of Bucharest during the constitutional monarchy from before and in between the wars; 2. the metamorphosis of the intellectual environment caused by the assertion of the Soviet design, with a Marxist-Leninist implication regarding the historiographical research and 3. biographic studies, either novel or which add up to the already known data. On the other hand, to make sure this picture is not defective, an examination of the historians' activity from the University of Bucharest, during the post-communist time, is an implicit must.

The paper begins with a brief, informative and opportune summary, in the case of a collective volume, pertaining to Florin Müller, whose role does not end with a short introduction, as he also has a personal contribution to the general economy of the publication. Going through the research, in an order that was pre-established by the coordinators, as opposed to the one suggested above, we discover that Ileana Căzan in "Facultatea de istorie – filozofie între model disciplinator și experiment didactic (1978-1980) (Faculty of History and Philosophy between disciplinary model and educational experiment)" perceives the transformations imposed by the communist government on the higher education from Bucharest, as detailed as possible, through the direct involvement of Nicolae Ceauşescu in establishing the official propaganda's future courses and actions to follow, which would position the former dictator as the apex of the pyramid of the historical figures of the Romanian people. These actions, the author says, have been doubled by the establishing of some cultural institutions subject to the official interest: the Institute of Social Sciences, incorporated in the "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Academy, and the festival "Cântarea României" (Song of Romania). At the same time, the association of two humanistic subjects in one Faculty of History and Philosophy (1977) had some serious consequences, part of them with a negative aspect, but others, as the author would find, were positive, even beneficial to education.

With many biographic attributes, Irina Cîrstina's study, "Un discipol al lui Nicolae Iorga, Virgiliu N. Drăghicescu (A disciple of Nicolae Iorga, Virgiliu N. Drăghicescu)", which targets the renowned Virgiliu N. Drăghicescu, proves to be useful and necessary to the knowledge and clarification of some aspects regarding his life and activity in the field of research, especially in the preservation of historical monuments. Her cursive and pleasant style is doubled by the novel elements, very well-informed, revealed by the author about the place of birth and development

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as a number one figure in historical research in interwar Romania.
Following the same pattern, Constanțiu Dinulescu carries out a meritorious step in further adding information about professor Aaron Florian's activity at the University of Bucharest ["Aaron Florian – profesor la Universitatea din București. Contribuția sa la dezvoltarea învățământului românesc (Aaron Florian- professor at the University of Bucharest. His contribution to the development of the Romanian education")]. The analyzed bibliographic and especially archivist sources (National Central Historical Archives) denote an extraordinary activity of the great historian for the improvement of the quality of education, on the eve of the union of Romanian principalities (1859), but also during the great reforms of Alexandru I. Cuza. The Transylvanian historian's work was crowned with prolific results... Possessing a remarkable synthesis ability, C. Dinulescu identifies the most important moments in the activity and efforts made by Aaron Florian: the publishing of "Manualul de Istoria Principatului României de la cele dintâi vremi istorice până în zilele de acum (The History of Romania's Principality textbook from the beginning of history to today)" with three consecutive editions (Bucharest, 1839); he was, according to the author of the study, the first historian who used the term "Romania" in print; the fact that he became the first tenured of the department of Universal History at the University of Bucharest. Nicolae Iorga's subsequent, ambivalent and often contradictory attitude towards the scientific input of his work was not overlooked either, but it could not eclipse A. Florian's activity within the "Transilvania" Society, after the accomplishment of the Austrian-Hungarian dualism (1867). The University of Bucharest embodied an adequate stage for action for that purpose, with a strong echo among the students from Ardeal. The "humane" side of Aaron Florian is being revealed through the depiction of a problematic episode, expanded over many years, between the historian and Titu Maiorescu.

Valentin Maier chronologically relates the evolution of the Romanian historical higher education during communism, in "Historical education in communism – structures and statistics", using numerous archives and statistical data. According to the author, history played an important part in the Marxist-Leninist type of pedagogy, being one of the pillars of the official propagandistic edifice. The study begins with a short presentation, in an alphabetical order of the 11 higher education institutions, where history was studied during the entire communist era (1948-1989), starting with Bacău and finishing with Timişoara, institutions which were divided into three categories: universities, pedagogical institutes (3-years long studies) and higher education institutions. Another aspect was the organization of mixed faculties, after 1960, especially faculties of History and Geography.
V. Maier's most important scientific contribution was the development of some statistical graphics which reflect interesting numbers regarding the students enrolled in classes at these institutions, the graduates of higher education in History. The author's conclusions, absolutely compulsory in this kind of complex and well-informed research, reveal the complexity of the situation: circling around the three major universities, Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca and Iași, a network of higher education institutions was created, which was meant to and could ensure the required teaching staff, locally or as regional culture focal points. Unfortunately, the lacks of the atrocious ninth decade of the past century, have had an effect on the historical education, by reducing the tuition fee, which was seen in the researcher's statistics.

Florin Müller's study, "De la marxism la stalinism – avataruri ideologice ale istoriografiei române 1938-1948 (From Marxism to Stalinism – ideological avatars of the Romanian historiography 1938-1948)", although limited to the economy of the paper, represents a "focused" and careful analysis of the historiographical shift in the collegiate and intellectual environment from Bucharest (the 1938-1948 decade), between the traditional line and the one influenced by the Marxist materialism. Two cases are being analyzed: Andrei Oțetea and Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu. About the first figure, the author considers that "he is the historian who, of all the established historians, adapted the Marxist ideology to the historic reality, in the most pregnant way", giving as an example the "Concepția materialistă a istoriei ca metodă de cercetare și de expunere (The materialistic concept of history as a research and representation method)" (1938). Pătrășcanu, an intellectual, is responsible for three papers "with a direct application of the historic materialism": "Sub trei dictaturi (Under three dictatorships)", "Curente și tendințe în filozofia românească (Currents and trends in Romanian philosophy)" and "Un veac de frământări sociale (A decade of social disquietude)". An additional input would be redundant in the given context.

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"Trei generații de istorici la Universitatea din București: Constantin Giurescu, Constantin C. Giurescu și Dinu Giurescu (Three generations of historians at the University of Bucharest: Constantin Giurescu, Constantin C. Giurescu and Dinu Giurescu)" complements the previous biographical studies. Remus Nică briefly presents the life and work of these renowned and prolific Romanian historians, whose activity of relentless research was often confounded with the image of the University of Bucharest. On the other hand, Iorgu Iordan's academic and political career, a controversial and often debated one, opposes those of the Giuresti dynasty members.

For the purpose of excluding some blanks, Ionuț Nistor contributes with his article "Afilieri și confruntări politice în mediul academic. Iorgu Iordan la Universitățile din Iași și București (Political affiliations and confrontations in the academic world. Iorgu Iordan at the University of Iasi and Bucharest)" to the development of the historic truth. Thus, the activity of I. Iordan, a historian with radical inclinations and anti-fascist attributes during the interwar era and during World War 2, is subject to an examination from the point of view of the collaboration in the scientific field, at the University of Iasi and then Bucharest. He worked at the University of Bucharest between 1946 and 1962. Certain frustrations and resentments experienced by I. Iordan during the 30s and the war have flared up within the Clearance Commission of the University of Iasi, which he was part of, which led to the discharge of "approximately 30 professors, lecturers and instructors". Nevertheless, Ionuț Nistor claims, at the end of his study, about the controversial Iordan, that "he was not a fanatic of the regime", giving reasons for this idea of his.

A new study which regards Nicolae Iorga could seem redundant, but nevertheless and despite the small number of pages, Andrei Pippidi astounds the reader with novel information about the last course of the great historian – "Ultimul curs al lui N. Iorga (The last course of N. Iorga)". Going over the lectures and discourses of Iorga, the author finds prophetic messages, like the anticipation (through the comparison with the Peace Treaty from Tilsit from 1807) of the German-Soviet breach, a bond that was newly tied by signing the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement.

Just like an artist, Cosmin Popa in "Primul val al intelectualității umaniste «ceaușiste» – cazul istoricilor (The first wave of the "Ceausist" humanist intellectuality – the case of the historians)" carefully paints a pastel picture of the Romanian cultural and academic environment, from the promising beginning of Nicolae Ceaușescu's "reign", by analyzing the complex (and many) methods of the party to create an ideological support made up of historians (also), totally obedient to the regime. In Ceaușescu 's opinion, the writing of history should have followed the "story line" which, according to "his logic would unfold naturally from the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history".
Elena Siupiur proposes a very interesting interpretation of the paradigm of the nations from South-Eastern Europe, especially the Slavic, who, for a very long time were part of the multinational empires, the Ottoman and the Habsburg empires in "Istoria ca argument pentru refacerea statalității din sud-estul European (History as a reason for the recovery of the statehood in South-Eastern Europe)". Assuming that the (only) acknowledged identity of the Balkan nations was the Christian religious identity, and not the ethnical or political one, during the Middle Ages, but also at the dawn of the New Age, the author develops the idea of cultivating the national ideal during the 19th century, one of the conclusions she reached having been that the historic text was a reason or even a proof of the political fight for self-determination, offering multiple examples to sustain her theory.

Mihaela Stroe brings back to focus a critical period in the life and scientific career of Petre P. Panaitescu and the circumstances that led to his rescue, especially the fact that he was a renowned Slavist, the input of whom, the newly communist regime needed for rewriting national history. Despite the compromise Panaitescu made, the researcher notices, he kept his academic uprightness and did not back up certain historical deceits which were initiated and imposed in the historiograhic discourse from the bleak age.

Iorga's opinions about the Italian fascism are emphasized by Georgiana Țăranu, in "Profesorul Nicolae Iorga și «lecțiile» Italiei lui Mussolini pentru uzul publicului roman (Professor Nicolae Iorga and the "lessons" of Mussolini's Italy for the use of the Romanian audience)" by studying the public discourse of the great historian, with positive and negative aspects. The study complements the other research from the present volume regarding the academic career of the professor from the University of Bucharest. Iorga also represented the bond between the

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historiographic schools from the Old Kingdom and Transylvania ["Istoricii ardeleni după 1918. Convergențe cu istoricii din Vechiul Regat (Historians from Ardeal after 1918. Converging with historians from the Old Kingdom)"], during and after the Grand Union in 1918, another part he played very well on the stage of history. From this point of view, historians from Ardeal owe him a part of their success, during the interwar period.

Despite the criticism and suggestions enunciated at the beginning of this review – *finis coronat opus*! (Latin saying belonging to Ovidiu, *Heroides*, II, 85, meaning "solely the ending crowns the work") –, the publishing of the paper "Istorie şi istorici la Universitatea din Bucureşti: Dimensiuni instituţionale – proiecte intelectuale (History and Historians at the University of Bucharest: Institutional Dimensions – Intellectual Projects)" represents a new phase in the troublesome process of (re)establishing the authentic intellectual values, personified by the teaching staff whose scientific activity identified with, as far as some of them are concerned, or as others are concerned, has cut across the destiny of this prestigious higher education institution.

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2015TH INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL HISTORY ANNUAL CONFERENCE

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The 2015th International Society for Cultural History Annual Conference was held at the University of Bucharest, Romania on September 7-10.

The great number of participants, nearly 150, representing almost all continents, Europe, North and South America, Africa and Asia, showed that the 2105th ISCH Annual Conference was a main academic event for cultural historians.

The theme of the conference was "Time and Culture", as culture is our main instrument in interpreting Time. Because the great number of lectures given at Bucharest makes a detailed presentation of all of them impossible, we will try to identify some important directions and new methodological approaches.

All the presentations had as a starting point the premise that, although awareness of time is a universal cultural fact, time and its representations, use and value vary from one culture to another. Some very interesting presentations explored the relation between personal time and social time, the way tine is perceived with personal and social instruments and concepts. Analyzing the broadcast radio as a time organizer, Paavo Oinone, from the University of Turku, Finland, showed how companies had to plan program schedules and organize the whole idea of the public service output, creating several time spans: the daily (News, Weather forecasts), weekly (series, serials), seasonal cycle (Christmas, Easter etc.) and spectacular level (Inaugurations). Analyzing the relations between facts, news and the future in the popular political discussion in Early Modern Italy, Federico Barbierato drew attention to the new ways to represent and interpret the future on the basis of the news, the birth of probabilism applied to the prediction and the whole new relationship between the analysis of the news and the sense of what would happen.

Palvi Rantala examined sleeping in daytime, in relation to time and culture, arguing that napping is a negotiated act in our everyday life, between individuals and groups such as working places and families. Thus, the role of napping has changed during the centuries: in Renaissance sleeping in daytime was a sin; in Modern times it was a bad habit and waste of time. In recent years, power naps are used to make the workers more productive and innovative.

Many presentations focused on Time as probably the most culturally mediated physical dimension of the reality. Based on the premise that a person's perception of time is a cultural variable, Gboyega Michael Tokunbo & Balogun Temitope showed how Nigerians' perception of time is different from the Europeans' perception. Innovative were also the presentations that spoke about a gendered perception of time, such as that of Anu Korhonen, "Women Wasting Time: Early Modern Time Management from a Gender Perspective". Drawing from diaries, memoirs and letters of both men and women, as well as popular literature, the paper discussed early modern English women and their conceptions of everyday use of time.

Other papers explored different aspects of time, history, and memory or the way of re-presenting the past. Torunn Selberg offered an example of how re-interpreting events told about from the past gives significance and authority to certain contemporary phenomena. The Norwegian oral tradition about a legendary island – invisible to everybody except sailors in distress who suddenly find themselves in a safe harbor surrounded by green and prosperous meadows – is used today as an example of the wisdom and spirituality of the past to give meaning to cultural expressions from various contemporary contexts: art, alternative spirituality, and tourism. With Pierre Nora's concept of "realms of memory" as its theoretical framework, Nino Chikovani's paper deals with the problem of rethinking the Soviet past and overcoming the Soviet memory in Georgia, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Analyzing textual materials as well as some other "realms of memory", Chikovani showed how the process of overcoming the Soviet memory and constructing a new image of the past started in the last years of the Soviet Union and passed through two main stages: the destruction of old "realms of memory" was the main line of the first stage

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(1990s), while the creation of new "realms of memory" became the main task of the second stage (from 2003).

The presentations reunited in panels like "Science, technology and material culture of time" and "Synchronisation: cultural and material techniques" analyzed how the evolution of technology changed the way time was measured and structured. Analyzing two imaginary technologies, the H. G. Wells's time machine and Robert W. Paul's patented invention that will give a sensation of voyaging upon a machine through time, Hannu Salmi showed how cultural history offers the possibility to see, analyze and understand time travel in connection to larger structures of meanings, practices and politics that surrounded technology in the late nineteenth-century Europe.

The Romanian presence at the ISCH conference was a significant one, with more than 35 participants from different universities and academic institutions, such as "Nicolae Iorga" Institute for History, University of Bucharest, "Lucian Blaga" University, Sibiu, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iaşi and National School of Political Science and Public Administration.

Analyzing the way in which the rule of Stephen the Great was used as a model by his first successors, Ovidiu Cristea showed how politics and ideology were used to explain and value time in Moldavia, in the first decades of the 16th century. Ecaterina Lung, from the University of Bucharest, analyzed how historical thinking and ideological orientation influenced the way in which authors from Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages narrated the past, leaving aside entire eras (the Byzantine chroniclers ignored the Roman Republic, for example) and stressing events with regional significance. Another presenter from the University of Bucharest was Daniela Zaharia, who talked about how the official historiography from the beginning of the Chinese Empire envisioned the mechanisms of historical change and especially the role of the emperor in the sequence of time. By his actions, he assured the exit from a mythical time of the origins and entrance into a historical time.

Mihaela Grancea, from the "Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu presented a paper about the way in which a historical period, "Belle Epoque" was reconstructed in Romanian action movies made during the national-communist regime (1973-1989). Her paper was an interesting example of how cinema has developed its didactic forms of communication, offering a specific reading, re-fictionalization of history.

In the panel, "Time and Cultural Imaginary", we presented a paper on the dimensions and representation of time in a Romanian compilation (*Halima*) from *The Thousand and One Nights*, and its differences from that of Antoine Galland's French translation. We have showed how the aesthetically, ideologically, politically and/or economically based motivation for translating in Romanian modified the way time was represented in *The Thousands and One Nights*.

The 2015th ISCH Annual Conference was indeed an academic event where historians had the opportunity to share their knowledge, and exchange the latest scientific stand related to the one of the sub–themes of cultural history, time and its multitude of cultural aspects.

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THE CLASH OF CONSCIOUSNESS: GENDER AND GENERATIONS. THE ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ISCH – THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL HISTORY (TRIESTE, ITALY, 18-22 JULY 2016)

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In the history of different paradigms of power, gender as a cultural identity reflects one of the most popular topics for interdisciplinary debates that assists the construction of our society subjected to very different "rhetorics" of tolerance, equality, authority and freedom. Nevertheless, for each individual, gender as a cultural convention for social and political behaviours, for public and private expectations, as well as for patterns of traditional human interactions and synergies – developed in the formula of nuclear groups, families, and institutions –, was part of the dynamics of generations, in the sense of their historical constitution and succession. Moreover, generations, in their conflicts, managed the tensions between gender depending on their specific and symptomatic norms, beliefs, prejudgments, values and practices of self-constitution for each individual, following Foucault's terminology for self-forming activities that ensure our subjection to moral authorities. As a matter of fact, *Gender and Generations*, the main theme of this year's edition of the *Annual Conference of the International Society for Cultural History*, is a relationship arguable only through the continuous and twisted negotiations of the individuals' identities in time and in various spaces, shaping identity from physicality to spirituality, from facts to memories.

The challenge assumed by the ISCH members and their invited scholars, researchers and academic collaborators among the world was to create a public forum of debates on gendering generations. Held in Trieste, the city of Umberto Saba, James Joyce and Rainer Maria Rilke, the conference took place between the 18th – 22th July, meaning five days of individual lectures, panels and roundtables, each of them followed by discussions dedicated to different possibilities of gathering all the exposed critical perspectives in further contexts, such as workshops, research projects or scientific journals. Keynote speakers, including Patrizia Dogliani (University of Bologna), Alberto Mario Banti (University of Pisa), Jonas Liliequist (University of Umea) and Guido Ruggiero (University of Miami) gave their lectures in general sessions, addressing new paradigms of interpreting the relationships between gender and generations, such as genders' emotions, generational conflicts, gender imaginary, visual paths to generations or innovative trends in the historiographical research. Panels, reuniting scholars from all aboard continents, summarised the most striking problems of this interdisciplinary debate: conflicting identities; everyday practices, roles and institutions; the rhetoric of family; public and private spaces; paradigms of power; methodologies and sources; memories; the place of individuals according to medical science, political thought and social strategies.

On the one hand, theoretical approaches targeted local and global practices of rising genders as a political matter. Analysing gender roles in Italian post-unification; gendered dynastic identities at the court of royal families that marked history both in cultural and political affairs; paradigms of power and powerlessness, from ladies in iron to frail widows, in eighteenth-century Sweden; gender-generation relations in the Jewish society; fascist female segregation; ideological education in former dependencies of Russia, such as in Finland and Estonia, during the interwar period; sex education in post-war Spanish communities, gender manipulations in the Turkish public spaces; models of gay fatherhood in contemporary South-Eastern European countries, our guests mapped the ideology of these two crucial intertwined terms – *gender*, respectively *generation* – both as national and universal concerns. In the end, the most important achievement given by the privilege of this collective academic encounter is breaking the barriers of a local ideology on such a concern, in order to treat it through the means of a cultural synchronism, which emphasizes continuities and radical ruptures in the large history of gender and generations. This sensitive subject is far more delicate when it comes to explaining how gendering generations faces, in a game of truth-

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telling practices for self-constitution and individual narratives on cultural identity, the large and nowadays cosmopolite story of globalisation, within its unpredictable and yet familiar actions and evolutions. What will remain from gender tensions in a unisex culture, contaminated by tricks of unifying styles, fashions, judgments of taste, social roles and public impressions, advocating more intensely for the equality, both in appearance and substance, between male and female? Why the distribution of these two public matters – gender construction and generational conflicts – was that viral in the cultural history and how did they influenced policies of inclusion and exclusion, moral perceptions of the otherness, senses of autonomy, independence and emancipation? Are the differences between male and female, and the so-called problem of genders inequality, occasionally, just taboo matters for those subjects who inherited such viable themes from the development of our societies and transposed them in superficial contexts of cohabitation, partnership, competition and cooperation in different social fields such as business, education, professional success and employment? These reflections were also enunciated as primary problems for speakers who aimed to offer to their public a key for applying all the critical inquiries and results of their research to the immediate reality, from the less neutral aspects of their quotidian life to the more intimate and colloquial interactions, relationships and emotions. At the limit, this is what it takes to think the synergy between gender and generations "outside the box".

But protocols of such academic events also have frustrating parts for their attenders: parallel sessions mean not only a generous number of speakers, distributed on thematic perspectives in the economy of time; they are, at the same time, the very impossibility of listening the exposures of all your co-workers or guests. It was my deepest regret that I had to skip some lectures in order to listen other interventions. Nevertheless, I was pleased to experience an interdisciplinary dialogue with scholars having very different affinities, from theoretic to pragmatic styles of research, developing arguments inspired from personal and real actors and subjects, investigated for their papers. It was the case of Eeva Katioja (University of Helsinki), who focused on the cultural meaning of family for unmarried noble women in Finish modern societies, starting with the real case of Adelaide Ehrnrooth, whose family was called and organized as an "association". It expressed the dynamics of this nuclear social atom, family, described in its evolutions, not as a traditional domestic partnership between female and male, but as a network of relatives, involved in a "household" entertained by associates. Hence, it reveals senses and functions of the family, social tasks and appearances that keep this social cell alive, despite classical frameworks. Original perspectives were developed as well in the direction of understanding intergenerational obligations as a contributing factor to the shift from pre-modern forms of communities to modern societies, with special assistance in rural areas. Such an investigation was reflected in Regina Schafer's paper (University of Mainz), looking to moral and legal obligations of individuals through the lens of the solidarity between generations.
Romanian lectures embraced original topics of research, starting with Ecaterina Lung's paper (University of Bucharest) on the tacit tensions between the acknowledged roles of women in the early medieval society and their critical treatment, from an ideological perspective, exclusively offered by Christian male writers. This balance is surprised in the light of the prejudgment that women are defined mainly in relation with their sexuality and, implicitly, subjecting it to the religious key of interpretation inspired by the Original Sin and its genealogy caused by the actions of a woman. Study-cases on abused women, valued for their experience and wisdom but marginalized and lacking protection represented one of the most striking lines of research of the current paper. Mihaela Pop connected the conference theme to the Romanian episode of the first generation of female painters of our country, developing an original perspective on the sense of power, both social and political, that influenced their artistic education – in Paris, Munich, Vienna or Venice –, their professional becoming – Cecilia Cutescu-Storck being the first woman teaching at *l'École supérieure des arts plastiques* from Bucharest, or their adaptation to different artistic movements, representing Impressionism, Dadaism and Expressionism through their works. Daniel Gicu (University of Bucharest) explained what is proper to gender identity in modern Romania through the pages of various fairy tales and their effect on cultivating values and norms on the role of women and men in society, while Cristian Ploscaru (University Al. Ioan Cuza, Iași) approached the women's role in the selection of cultural and political strategies to promote different aspects of the social and political life of the forty-eight generation in Moldavia. Personally, I remained a partisan of Foucault's perspectives on reading gender as expression of docile bodies, disciplined by a

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biopolitical power, detailed in my paper. Otherwise, it was a proper opportunity to reinforce the French philosopher's arguments on gender as paradigms of power in Trieste, the city where the Foucault-Basaglia revolution "changed the Mental Institution into a cultural district for integrating people with mental diseases with other normal people", as the organizers reminded in the booklet of the conference.

But, for our affective memory, the recital organized by Professor Gabriela Vallera, the main organizer of this annual edition, remains a cultural experience transposed in the sensibility of a concert inspired by the Exodus of people from Dalmatia and Istria, as well as by the events of the Second World War. Sabrina Sparti and Maria Fragiacomo gave voice and musicality to the tragedy witnessed in the pages of the book *That tinplate trumpet from the Italian Eastern Border*, written by Luigi Maria Guicciardi, a text adapted by Gabriela Vallera especially for the recital. In the end, concentrating the morals of the ISCH Conference from Trieste, one might say that talking about gender and generations nowadays is a critical exercise of understanding how the history of individuals can be encapsulated in norms, standards, cultural and social *predestined* identities, with the pretext of creating a *normal* world, in harmony with values and traditions that set up our lifestyles and interactions. It is exactly this normalisation who made us believe that we were free and authentic. With this appearance we fight in order to create a *consciousness* for each gender. For each generation. For each opponent. And this consciousness is possible only through the dialogue of all those who reflect on such challenges in the field of cultural history, understanding their moral, political and social constraints not individually, but in their clash, as a whole.

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