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EDITURA MUZEULUI NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL
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Editorial Policies and Instructions for Contributors

We currently witness the replacement of the term historiography with a more comprehensive one, of cultural history, concerned with the way in which the results of academic research are received in society, taking into account its reactions and influences on the readjustment of discourses about the past. The historical culture of an age is not to be confused with how people choose to rewrite their collective biography in an academic manner. The interest in history is implicitly manifested in other meaningful areas such as funerary or ceremonial cultures, monuments and cemeteries, travel or confessional literature, literary or filmic canons, tastes, museums, maps, landscapes and gardens.

It is important not to identify professional research with the public taste for the past. The interest in history differs from the preoccupations of writing history, the two registers competing and collaborating sometimes. One has to keep in mind the fact that every historiography illustrates more or less consciously a stage in the history of the forms of knowledge. In other words, every period in the history of historical writing is inspired by a certain theory about the past, the truth and the methods to discover it. This conception is not entirely bookish, as the society was part of its expression with all its specific sensitivities, prejudices and patterns. It is known that the Parisians who witnessed the events of the 1789 Revolution wanted the immediate mise-en-scène of those samples of recent history, thus securing the possibility of commenting on the new "historical facts" and of imposing their own representation of events. One may therefore talk about fiction employed in the discussion the notion of truth. It is fair to mention that fantasizing had been for centuries an experiment, a search and an alternative, while knowing implied solving a puzzle. Forgery was a temporary state of not finding its opposite or a truth left in the dark. Lie was not a gross figment, but a failure, a denial of an illusion, while disappointment silenced only a failed demonstration. It was not the amplitude of invention, but the pretense of retrieving the origins, of discovering the truth that offers the impression that events are more recent. Therefore an impression is created that fiction pervades reality so that reality can generate another fiction.

Around which past do we create another manner of co-habitation? In other words, how do we keep the memory of shared traits? And how do we share, with others, this memory, which we usually equate with the idea of identity?

The Brukenthalia Journal proposes a subject for its new issue – Archaeology of the Past and Registers of Fictionalization in order to illustrate the idea of a transient past, which is based on an intermediary identity, perpetually subjected to the same dilemmas: where are we coming from and where are we going? Brought in the service of the Nation, history is lost and recovered liberally, from various perspectives. And any temporary past may be saved, re-canonized and presented as inevitable. Redefining Beauty has engendered new ways to fictionalize the past, be they received or disputed, so that the Ideological and the Aesthetical may cohabit. The panoramic view frequently occasioned the neglect of details for the sake of synthesis.
Contributions to this issue of the journal could show that history reveals itself fully even from seemingly unrelated events; as every fact is subjected to a basic principle of association – every story is born from another, surviving through ages due to its continuous correlation with other similar stories. The past doesn't reach us from discursive encodings or, worse, from various "directives", but from telling and incessantly re-presenting authentic experiences interrelated then and now; or from the stories retold in paintings, sculptures or films by the protagonists, be they key witnesses or mere bystanders.

The deadline for proposals (title and short abstracts) is the 1st of June 2017. The selected papers will be announced on 15 June 2017. The deadline for sending the articles is 1 September 2017.

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GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

General Instructions

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2. The corresponding author should clearly state in a distinct document (To whom it may concern) that the submitted manuscript has not been published, submitted or accepted elsewhere and, if collective authorship, that all authors agree with the content and the submission of the manuscript.

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4. The manuscript should not exceed 20 pages (bibliography included), written in Time New Romans (TNR), font size 11, justified, single row, 2 columns, A4 page format, 2 cm margins. The pages should not be numbered. The manuscript should contain an abstract and keywords in English and another one in Romanian (Romanian translation will be provided by editors if authors have no means under this respect).

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The submitted manuscript should be arranged as follows: (1) title, (2) author's name, (3) author's affiliation and e-mail address, (4) abstract, (5) keywords, (6) manuscript, (7) references, (8) list of illustrations, (9) tables.

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A. STUDIES

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PAST AND REGISTERS/REGIMES OF FICTIONALIZATION

IN THE SPOTLIGHT: GLORIFICATION OF THE GONZAGA FAMILY THROUGH ANDREA MANTEGNA'S PICTORIAL DISCOURSE (CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI)

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***Abstract**: The present study aims to identify and investigate a number of elements pertaining to the visual discourse provided by Andrea Mantegna in his Camera degli sposi. A notorious artistic habitat of the Quattrocento, this chamber is part of the San Giorgio Castle in Mantua. The pictorial composition adorning the respective room gained Mantegna wide recognition of his artistic abilities, highly appreciated in the cultural milieu of the North-Italian states – earning him a celebrity that has reached the 21st century. The decoration of this ensemble (1465-1474), known as the Camera picta by his contemporaries, overlapped with a significant event in the history of the Gonzaga dynasty, with its great political expectations. On the 1st of January, 1462, Francesco, the son of Ludovico III Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg, was appointed as cardinal, becoming the first member of the family to acquire a major ecclesiastical-political position.*
The present text will carry out an investigation into the visual devices by which Andrea Mantegna's Renaissance discourse underscores the artistic and political authority of a dynasty. Since this piece of private civilian architecture had gained its notoriety even before the artist completed the iconographic program, we aim to reveal the qualities of his undertaking, and also to ascertain how the prestige of Ludovico Gonzaga can be re-contextualized artistically, by means of contemporary technology.

***Keywords:** Andrea Mantegna, Camera degli sposi, Mantua, Gonzaga, 15th century, iconography*

Andrea Mantegna: the rise of a Renaissance artist

In 1448, Andrea Mantegna was invited to participate in the decoration of the funeral chapel of the Ovetari family, in the transept of the Paduan Church of the Eremitani. The chapel had been dedicated to Saints James and Christopher, in compliance with the wish expressed in his will by its owner, Antonio di Baigio degli Ovetari, a prominent figure of the city (Paoletti, Radke 2005, 322). According to the original arrangement, Mantegna, then aged only 17, had to work alongside another young Paduan artist, Niccolò Pizzolo (Humfrey 1995, 53). A few months later, however, their partnership dissolved and Mantegna's share of work became greater than it had been formerly agreed (Finaldi 1996, 304). At that moment, Andrea had just left his master, Francesco Squarcione, a former tailor and embroider (Welch 2000, 88), and also a painter, well-known for his workshop. Regrettable, during the Second World War, the Ovetari Chapel was severely damaged and Mantegna's work has survived only partially[1]. Among the scenes saved from destruction and still extant today, *The Martyrdom of St. Christopher* and *The Transportation of St. Christopher's Beheaded Body* were apparently painted during the last years of the decoration work, 1456-1457 (Frommel 2010, 186). Employing elements of ancient architecture – the Ionic columns introduced in his composition –, Mantegna recreated the atmosphere of the Samos square, probably based on some narrative details provided by *Legenda aurea* (*The Golden Legend*), the influential hagiographic anthology compiled by the Dominican Jacopo da Varazze. The difficult task of the Roman soldiers carrying the martyr's huge body was rendered in the *raccourci* or foreshortening technique, a recent innovation which consecrated the teenager Andrea as an extremely talented artist.
In the same year as the Ovetari frescoes, Mantegna painted, for Santa Sofia church in Padua, the altarpiece *The Virgin and Child with Saints*. With this work he made his debut as an independent artist. Also in the early years of his career, the painter signed *The Adoration of the Shepherds*[2], probably created for the

[1] A visual presentation of the state of the iconographic program, before the 20th century and after the Second World War, is available in the vicinity of the chapel. Among other scenes that survived only partially, there are two fragments of *St. Christopher's Cycle*, detached from the walls in 1880 and transferred on canvas, in order to be saved from destruction.
[2] Most likely dating from the early 1450s. This work has been part, since 1932, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection, New York, item no. 32.130.2.

new duke of Modena and Reggio, Borso d'Este[3], who had succeeded marquis Leonello, his brother (Rinaldi 2005/2, 27; Lockwood 2009, 95). After 1440, the Ferrara court had become a centre of artistic splendour, where education thrived and Renaissance ideas proliferated. A favourable cultural environment was maintained by the two d'Este brothers, who invited many artists at their court (Pisanello, Jacopo Bellini, Piero della Francesca and Rogier van der Weyden; see Tuohy 1996/11, 3). Mantegna himself had been commissioned in 1449 to paint Leonello, producing a double portrait where he included the figure of chamberlain Folco da Villafora (Lee Rubin 2011, 39).

Painter and Protector: attending the Mantua Court

The fame acquired in Padua, a city whose art tradition reached back into the medieval times[4], gained Andrea Mantegna an offer from Ludovico Gonzaga, who invited him in early 1457 to become the painter of Mantua court (Lee Rubin 2011, 38). The invitation was in accordance with the intention of the marquis to earn unprecedented prestige for his court, in agreement with the humanistic ideals of his epoch. As historians pointed out, the more important part of the Gonzaga's fortune was gained by his members as military leaders – *condottieri* for Italian states. Ludovico himself entered in the service of Sforza's family as captain (Kiff 2001, 193).

At the time, Andrea was decorating the retable of *Virgin and Child with Saints*, commissioned by Gregorio Correr, a prominent figure (Manca 2006, 5), the abbot of the Basilica of San Zeno in Verona. The artist certainly preferred to remain in Padua in order to complete his work, before accepting the invitation coming from Gonzaga. Ludovico insisted that Mantegna should come in Mantua in order to have him as painter of his court. In 1458, the marquis sent the architect Luca Fancelli with the purpose of discussing the terms of Mantegna's joining the court (Finaldi 1996, 308). The offer was exceptionally attractive: a considerable monthly allowance, lodging and goods, as well as the artist's right to use the Gonzaga coat of arms, as a token of his protector's appreciation (Lee Rubin 2011, 38). Ludovico's endeavour continued the cultural project and intellectual enterprise initiated by his own father, Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, who had gained in 1433 the marquisate (Chambers 1996, 318). In order to educate his own children and the children of other aristocrats in the spirit of ancient classicism, Gianfrancesco had brought Vittorino de' Rambaldonito to his court, in 1423. Tutored from a young age by this scholar, whom Pisanello called "the greatest mathematician and father of all humanist sciences (*summus mathematicus et omnis humanitatis pater*)", Ludovico sought to introduce in the Mantuan environment more remarkable figures of European culture. Thus, throughout the 1450s he maintained a correspondence with the sculptor Donatello, as well as Leon Battista Alberti, the architect and the main theoretician of Renaissance art (Furlotti, Rebecchini 2010, 45).

For 1459, Ludovico had arranged an event intended to turn Mantua into a centre of European politics. Six years after the fall of Constantinople, the marquees offered to host in his city the meeting between Pope Pius II (the former cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini) and Christian princes and rulers, with a view to preparing a new crusade during this congress. The project failed, one reason being that Emperor Frederick III, related to Federico's wife Margarete von Bayern-München, did not attend the congress (Bourne 2010, 153). However, Mantua caught the attention of the European world during the extended stay of the pontifical household (Setton 1978, 203)[5]. In this regard, in early 16th century, Bernardino di Betto di Biago, also known as Pinturicchio, included an iconographic episode depicting this historical moment, in his fresco cycle adorning Siena cathedral[6]. For the same prestigious event, Ludovico also planned to reconstruct the Basilica of Sant'Andrea, an extremely important pilgrimage destination for Catholic worshippers; the architecture works were subsequently entrusted to Leon Battista Alberti[7] (Chambers 1997, 59).

The Painter's Exultation: *Camera picta*

[3] Borso obtained the title for his family in 1452, buying from Frederick III the title of duke of Modena and Reggio. He became also duke of Ferrara in 1471, obtaining the title from Pope Paul II.

[4] See the baptistery decorated by Giusto de' Menabuoi between 1375 and 1377. While painting started at the Ovetari Chapel, at Padua, Donatello was already working on one of the sculptures that would bring him enduring fame. It was the equestrian statue of condottiere Erasmo da Narni (known as "Gattamelata"), placed in the square outside *Basilica Sant'Antonio*. For further details, see Paoletti, Radke 2005, 265.

[6] The episode is part of the mural decoration of Piccolomini Library adjoining the Siena Cathedral, and founded by Francesco Todeschini, the nephew of Enea Silvio Piccolomini.

[7] Basilica Sant'Andrea held the Relic of the Holy Blood of Christ, famous since the 12th century for its healing powers.

The authority already gained due to his religious paintings played a part in Andrea Mantegna's appointment as painter of the Gonzaga court. Until the end of his life (1506) he remained in the service of this family, working for Ludovico, Federico and then Francesco. His abilities as religious painter were put to use soon after he settled at Mantua, when the artist was required to decorate the chapel of *Castello San Giorgio* (Finaldi 1996, 310). The chapel was destroyed in the 16th century, and only fragments of Mantegna's work now survive as part of various European collections (Longhi 2016, 90).

The most admired and likely the most scrutinized of Mantegna's creations is the fresco cycle in the so-called *Camera picta*, as it was known to his contemporaries – the major order placed by the Gonzaga family to the Paduan painter. Prior to the decoration of this room, located on the north-eastern side of the Saint George Castle, the artist had engaged in other non-religious projects, of comparatively limited scope[8]. Famous even years before the works ended[9] (Starn, Partridge, 1992, 84; Welch 2000, 296), *The Painted Chamber* required Mantegna substantial aesthetic efforts, over a nine-year span – from 1465 to June 1474[10]. His activity overlapped – both chronologically and ideologically – with that of Francesco del Cossa, the author of some of the frescoes in Schifanoia Palace[11], commissioned by Borso d'Este (1465-1469). Within the pictorial cycle in the *Salone dei Mesi*, three of the iconographic sections – those dedicated to the months of March, April and May – were painted, according to a document dated 1470[12], by Francesco del Cossa, a notable representative of the Ferrara School of painting (Lippincott 1996, 7, 927). In both cities on the Po River, the pictorial discourse had not only an aesthetic function, but also an ideological one – intended to render, by means of visual juxtapositions, the political model of the Renaissance leader epitomized by Borso and Ludovico, respectively.

Also known from the 17th century as *Camera degli sposi* (Starn, Partridge, 1992, 84), the chamber decorated by Andrea Mantegna in *Castello San Giorgio* was assigned both for the encounters between family – thus for private interactions – and, on the other hand, for public events, since it also hosted diplomatic meetings. Scholars such as Cecile Johnson (Johnson 1996, 7) and Anne Dunlop (Dunlop 2009, 211) mention that similar chambers existed in the ducal palaces of Ferrara, Urbino and Milan, during the 1470s-1480s.

The Mantuan pictorial ensemble includes the main members in the family of marquis Ludovico, alongside other significant political figures, friends, relatives, court officials. Due to this deliberate merging of attributes pertaining to the domestic and the public political sphere, not just any member of the Mantua court was allowed access into *The Bridal Chamber* (Welch 2000, 296). Probably the most significant artistic innovation devised by Mantegna here is the room's ceiling, where he painted a circular structure creating the illusion that the interior, protected space of the chamber, extends into the space outside it. Based on the *oculus* of the Roman Pantheon (Furlotti, Rebecchini, 64), the *trompe l'oeil* technique employed by the Paduan painter, an enthusiastic admirer of Roman ancient art (Finaldi 1996, 311), had not only an aesthetic impact, influencing the works of other artists[13]; but thanks to this innovative device, the painter produced a coherent, sophisticated visual commentary[14] on the distancing from power and the privileged position

[8] See the portrait of Leonello d'Este and the portrait of cardinal Trevisano, for which Mantegna employed a Roman bust as his model, in 1459-1460.

[9] On 9th of April, 1470, the ambassadors of Milan were invited to visit this unusual place. The two wrote to duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza that on a room's wall, they had contemplated the members of Marquis Gonzaga's family painted *ad naturale*.

[10] The date when painting works started is inscribed on the north-western wall, next to the window, while the date when works ended (16th of June, 1465) is recorded in the painter's note above the entrance door, on the western side of the room.

[11] In 1385, Palazzo Schifanoia was built for Niccolò II. In the next century, Borso had it renovated, and hired artists to decorate it. Of the rooms whose decoration has survived, the *Salone dei Mesi* includes the most extensive iconographic cycle, with 12 divisions, partly preserved. The visual ensemble, comprising three tiers – the upper one illustrating scenes of Roman mythology, the middle one with the emblems of the zodiac signs, and the lower one containing episodes in the life of the Ferrara court – is the work of several artists, probably with the contribution of humanist Pellegrino Prisciani to the devising of the iconographic discourse. Cf. Welch, 2000, 123)

[12] That document, a letter dated 25th of March, 1470, acknowledged the authorship of Francesco del Cossa for a part of the fresco cycle.

[13] One of these artists was Antonio Allegri da Corregio. His coming to the Mantua palace, at the request of Isabella d'Este, wife of marquis Francesco II Gonzaga, brought him into contact with the famous ensemble in the *Camera degli sposi*, which inspired him to paint the frescoes in the *Camera di San Paolo*, Parma (Bertini 2010, 94).

[14] Scholars put forth the hypothesis that this cultivated iconographic discourse was based on the text of Luciano from Samosata, "The Hall", elaborated in the 2nd century A.D. (Signorini 2006, 214).

held by its spectators. In the middle of the room, above the space hosting important events, a few characters watch both the domestic and the political developments. Whoever they might be, the three women and the couple beside them peer intently at the room below, impatient to gain access into the glamorous atmosphere of *The Bridal Chamber*. The *oculus* on the ceiling thus provides a structure that remains exterior to the domestic and political events unfolding beneath it. The viewer, an outsider, is a witness but not a participant. The political discourse is centred on dichotomies such as *up* vs *down, inside* vs *outside, actor* vs *spectator.* Each element included into this illusory circle (from phytomorphic to zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements) plays a role in the visual encomium showing Gonzaga as a protector of the *new art*, and an important agent in the paradigm of high politics.

In the centre of this composition, among the onlookers, Mantegna introduced a pot holding an orange tree. Highly popular in the Mediterranean area, this fruit tree signifies – from the standpoint of cultural dendrology – abundance, as well as purity and generosity (Ferguson 1959, 35). Visual arts associate it to the Virgin Mary; it recurs in the religious paintings of the Paduan artist (Biedermann, 2002, 464), and at *Castello di San Giorgio* it becomes the signifier of harmonious marital life, owing much of its success to the qualities of Barbara of Brandenburg. On the northern side of the room, in *The Court Scene*, the marchioness was introduced in the middle of a group of sons and daughters, thus emphasizing the perfection attained by femininity through motherhood, and the optimism concerning the future. Seated next to her husband, but on a separate chair, as symbol of political glory and domestic excellence (Biedermann 2002, 463-464), she epitomized the ideal consort, the lady of the house, assisting Ludovico in his diplomatic and administrative work, and in his absence taking over his public duties (Antenhofer 2011, 63). Barbara's family background (she was "a grand-daughter of an elector", *ibidem*, 62), and her marriage to Ludovico brought the marquisate to Mantua and ensured a European-scale political future for the Gonzaga family. The painter further alludes to the couple's private by including the peacock among the elements of the *oculus*. According to Rodolfo Signorini, the presence in the *Camera picta* of this noble creature, extolled by Luciano of Samosata, expresses the views of the artist, in agreement with the Albertian theoretical recommendations (Signorini 2006, 114). In addition to its decorative beauty, the peacock points to the perfect domestic harmony, with a long tradition in the history of culture. Mantegna successfully translated Barbara's cultural, familial and political vocation into a visual metaphor, reiterating some of the qualities for which the *Quattrocento* admired the ancient goddess Hera/Junona. The Homeric Age had consecrated the latter as the *lady of the house* figure par excellence, whose emblems were the diadem, the veil and the peacock (Ferrari 2003, p. 409-410). On the other hand, the decorativeness of the peacock was associated, in the Indian world, to the solar symbolism; from India, via Persia and Asia Minor, it had reached the city of Samos – the alleged birthplace of the goddess, where Hera was intensely worshipped (Biedermann 2002, 319). In the process of reinvigorating the inheritance of Antiquity, Renaissance artists must have found this bird a very appropriate symbol merging grace and power. As symbol of immortality (Clébert 1995, 217), the peacock joins the series of elements chosen by Mantegna to formulate a coherent pictorial discourse stressing the manner in which the virtues of the main members of Gonzaga family articulate their political power. This is also the message conveyed by the alternation of mural emblems that balance the public and the private sphere. In this context, political authority gains legitimacy by integrating into the iconographic discourse the *impresa* of the *solar disk* as symbol of unchallenged authority as well as immortality, the *tower* as accessional and transforming element, denoting a worthy personality and the founder status (Cirlot 2002, 344-345) or the *hydra* as symbol of regeneration in Ancient Greek culture (Clébert 1995, 145). Further emblematic elements stress Gonzaga's dynastic continuity: the spectator can see the white dog of Gianfrancesco turning his head to look back, as well as the deer and the ringed wings of Francesco I. As Jean-Paul Clébert pointed out in his article, the turtle dove resting on a tree is the symbol of private life, an expression of marital fidelity (Clébert 1995, 308-309). The French motto, *Vrai amour ne se change*, no longer clearly visible, suggests this interpretation (Moretti 2004, 54).

Within the lunette above the assembled family, further elements confirm the persuasive intention behind this political display. One of them is *laurus nobilis* – Apollo's tree, thus pertaining to the solar imagery (Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1995/2, 200). It was believed that this was the only tree which lighting would never strike. We note once more the accumulation of elements belonging to the semantic sphere of immortality, all intended to perpetuate the splendid prestige of the Gonzaga family.

The phytomorphic symbolism of the laurel is enhanced by the garlands bearing flowers and fruit. They occur in Mantegna's art since his early creations. Present in his religious paintings (like *San*

Zeno Altarpiece), garlands have not only an aesthetic role by ensuring a balanced composition and a decorative character, but also symbolize abundance, fertility and, implicitly, aspiration for immortality.

Glorifying a family history: conclusions

While examining the cultural and political context in which the iconographical discourse from *Camera picta* emerged, one must bring forward the connections among a few terminological pairs.

Firstly, in the visual progress of *The Court*, the intention to build the *public* dimension with the help of the *private* one is distinguishable. Members of the family, with the exception of the two elder sons, Federico and Francesco (painted in the *Encounter* scene, on the next wall) are portrayed around Ludovico, in his favourite spot of the *Castello San Giorgio*. A space dedicated to family meetings, as well as to public encounters with high dignitaries. This family image highlights a type of *metadiscourse*, by its introduction in *Camera degli sposi* (the decorative elements were already mentioned in the iconographic sequence). The marquis, portrayed as a ruler (one can see the letter brought by his assistant, Marsilio), as well as a *pater familias,* thus saving for posterity the relatives, illustrated as a solidary group around him. The posterity picture is being created also through the artistic project of Ludovico and materialized by Andrea Mantegna, the metadiscursive elements advocate for it.
Secondly, there is a constant balance between *exterior* and *interior.*
The Paduan origin of Mantegna, his coming from exterior, his prestige and many projects with other important people will stimulate the artistic interest of the aristocracy in Mantua also in the next century. The visual project from *Camera degli sposi*, that apparently began with the very *trompe l'œil* on the ceiling, includes the *exterior-interior* play of the pavilion, reflected in the persons (courtiers) who are curiously looking down from the edges of the *open oculus* to an almost inaccessible centre – the elitist universe of the Gonzaga family.
Thirdly, despite the fact that we discuss about the iconography inside civil architecture and that, during that time, humanism is being reinvented, sacred art is not at all discarded. Ingredients of the religious discourse from the *Quattrocento* are being assimilated to serve other purposes. Those were able to dramatize the Renaissance man, like the marquess Ludovico Gonzaga or duke Borso d'Este, political figures impatient to inaugurate a remarkable image for them and their family, using elements like erudition, justice and the talent to communicate *inside* and *outside.*

Within these circumstances, continuing Andrea Mantegna's intention of glorifying the Gonzaga family, together with Ștefan Barutcieff, creative director and designer at Pilotfish, Munich, we proposed a re-contextualisation of the exceptional universal heritage, represented in the current study of the *Camera*. By bringing together art and technology, we captured a 360-degree image of the respective habitat, this being the first step of revaluation of the iconographical discourse from *Castello di San Giorgio.*

The second step involved enhancing the visitor's digital experience in *Camera picta*, by highlighting the tension between political dimension and family history, public and private sphere and exterior-interior. Thus we substituted the *trompe l'oeil* with another method to elevate the leader of this small state to divinity. To reconstruct a radiant political centre, with the help of technology we projected a light beam shining through the oculus on the ceiling, similar to the one from the Roman Pantheon (for the signification of the *oculus* in the Roman Pantheon, see the contribution of Hannah 2009).
It was focused mainly on Ludovico, from there radiating further towards the other characters of the scene. It constitutes a similar effect, as created by the Gonzaga marquis with this "golden room", around which coagulated, in concentric circles, the prestige of the ruler of Mantua and his enchanting Court.

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THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO AND THE EUROPE – ISLAM CONFLICT IN THE 16TH CENTURY FRESCOES: HISTORICAL MEMORY AND OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

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***Abstract**: On October 7th, 1571, the Christian fleet comprising the allied forces of Spain, Venice, and Rome logs a great victory against the Ottoman forces, in what was defined as "the greatest naval battle" of the Renaissance. For the first time, the Ottoman Empire, up until then considered invincible, suffers a considerable defeat, its fleet being destroyed in almost its entirety. Nevertheless, the prevailing Christian forces cannot agree on how to best capitalize on this victory, as each party is pursuing their own interests. By all appearances, the battle of Lepanto's result is a victory of no consequence – politically or territory-wise. Its greatest impact, however, is found in the collective consciousness of the Christian society, the battle becoming one of the most popular themes with the painters of the late 16th century, carrying both aesthetic and political messages.*

***Keywords:** Battle of Lepanto, Europe, Ottoman Empire, Frescoes, 16th Century*

On October 7th, 1571, the Christian fleet comprising the allied forces of Spain, Venice, and Rome logs a great victory against the Ottoman navy. Due to the battle's sheer magnitude, the number of vessels involved, and masses of seamen engaged in combat, it was established as the greatest naval battle of the Renaissance (Konstam 2003). The victory against the Ottoman forces was hailed as a great political and military success, fuelling even more ambitious projects to expand the anti-Ottoman campaigns on several fronts, including on land, by rallying all Catholic forces, as well as non-Catholic ones such as the Czar of Moscow and the Persian Shah (the latter being identified in the contemporary records as the *sofi* – an alteration of the Arab word Ṣàfawī, designating the Persian dynasty ruling up until the 18th century)[15]. However, the political and military developments in the period immediately following the battle fail to meet the initial expectations. Driven by their individual interests - in an age where politics became increasingly secular and religion an instrument of governance rather than being treated as a goal in itself – the European powers cause a prolonged period of inactivity, which will ultimately lead to the dissolution of the Holy League. Venice is the first to leave the alliance in February 1573, followed a year later by Spain – increasingly isolated on the international scene and forced to relinquish its involvement in the Mediterranean campaigns, and focus its attention on the Netherlands (Braudel 2010, 1222-1251). From this point on, and despite all efforts made by Vatican and its diplomats, the Mediterranean Sea enters an age of relative peace, where the "great war" of the military flotillas gives way to smaller conflicts taking the guise of piracy (Braudel 2010, 919-948, 1251-1273).

Thus, the words of the sultan spoken to the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople seem to come true. According to unconfirmed sources, the sultan (or perhaps the great vizier Sokollu Mehmet) was comparing the result of the battle of Lepanto to a previous battle in Cyprus (1570): where at Lepanto the Christians had burned the Ottoman beard, which would only grow back thicker and stronger, in Cyprus the Ottoman armies had cut the hand off Venice, never to grow back (Cipolla 1969, 82; Jačov in Motta 1998, 296). The second hand of Venice in Levant would fall a century later, when the Ottoman forces would occupy Candia (1669), contributing to the republic's ultimate demise (on the rise and fall of Venice see Lane 2015). Venice leaving the Holy League, followed shortly after by the Spanish defection, generates a profound shift in how the October 7th 1571 victory is perceived. The celebrations, pilgrimages, triumphalism, and crusade projects slowly give way to a less favourable interpretation of the battle's outcome – a hollow victory of little consequence. Three years after their defeat, the Ottoman fleet is being reformed with an impressive number of galleys (247, according to the information put forward by Fernand Braudel, based

[15] On the political projects and diplomatic activity of this era, especially regarding the papal diplomacy see Altarozzi 2007, 631-637, Altarozzi 2013, 978-986.

on the testimony of a Genoese agent – Braudel 2010, 1222), and is more than capable of posing a serious threat to the Christian Mediterranean territories, without any real opposition. As far as territories are concerned, the situation is just as dire: the hold by the Spanish on the city of Tunis, after Juan of Austria's conquest, is less than a year (Braudel 2010, 1208-1222); the Peloponnese expedition – which had little support from the natives, and was at times even openly opposed – has an even less happy ending (Braudel 2010, 1199-1206).

Is it therefore fair to conclude that the battle of Lepanto was a battle of no consequence? The answer is both yes and no. While we cannot argue that the political and military results of the battle did not amount to much, and more so lead to great resentment and mistrust amongst the European powers (particularly between Venice and Spain), for Europe as a whole it had a great moral and psychological impact. Quoting the learnings of the great historian Fernand Braudel: «*Ma se, anziché badare soltanto a ciò che seguì a Lepanto, si pensasse alla situazione precedente, la vittoria apparirebbe come la fine di una miseria, la fine di un reale complesso d'inferiorità della Cristianità, la fine di un'altrettanto reale supremazia turca. La vittoria cristiana sbarrò la strada a un avvenire che si annunziava molto oscuro*» (Braudel 2010, 1182)[16]. Europe's inferiority complex towards the Ottoman power is evident even in the historical records of that time: according to a document quoted by Giovanna Motta, wherein count of Santafiore replies to Juan of Austria that should the Ottoman forces prove to be superior to those of the allies, « *(...) si dovesse né farsi vedere si per fuggire il pericolo sia ancora per non li crescere d'animo et la reputazione*» (Motta 1998, 79)[17]. This interpretation is reinforced by the general feeling of euphoria generated by the victory, and by the ongoing impact the battle of Lepanto had on the collective consciousness of the European populations – as illustrated in countless works of art created on this theme (paintings, sculptures, theatre, literature, etc.). This paper will consider only a part of these works of art, focusing on the frescoes created throughout the 16th century, even though there are further examples created in later periods (such as the fresco adorning the Church of the Visitation in Ein Kerem, Israel, fig.1).

The choice of frescoes is made because of the intrinsic audience supposed in their means of artistic expression. Unlike paintings, who frequently have a purely aesthetic purpose and a strictly private audience, frescoes are inherently public by virtue of their location in public spaces (i.e. churches), or in private spaces with a public function (i.e. great ceremonial halls of private palaces and residences). They also present a dual purpose, which is simultaneously encomiastic and educational, becoming thus instrumental to political propaganda, by virtue of the theme depicted. Moreover, where paintings are mobile and often leave a lot of room for interpretation and unending debates over their origin, frescoes are the kind of artistic artefacts that cannot be separated from the site where they were created, allowing a more accurate dating and interpretation of their scope[18].

Moving on to the analysis of the selected sources, we note that, beyond its symbolic and psychological value, the battle of Lepanto represents the first major victory of the Christian forces against the Ottoman powers. Up until then, the Ottomans had advanced almost unopposed throughout continental Europe, as well as on the Mediterranean sea, particularly after Suleiman the Magnificent initiated his program for a weaponised navy, under the council of his great admiral, the pirate Khair ad-Din Barbarossa, *bey* of Alger, and *kapudan-pasha* of the sultan's fleet[19]. Not counting a few minor victories, the Christians had not led any significant successful campaigns against them, forced into a continuous defensive. For this reason, the first fresco we wish to mention is the one created by Fernando Bertelli in the year 1572, available to this day in the Naval History Museum in Venice (fig. 2).

In this art piece, which should be viewed as a narrative series of images from the edges to its centre, the Venetian painter and geographer reproduces the

[16] "If, instead of focusing only on what happened next, we would also consider what preceded it, the victory would seem like the end of misery, the end of a real inferiority complex for Christianity, and the end of an equally real Ottoman supremacy. In all likelihood, this victory turned around a very bleak future indeed". (author's translation)

[17] Note 1: "(…) he should not make himself seen, so that he may escape danger, as well as not to give [the Ottomans] more strength and confidence".

[18] From all the works of art memorializing the battle of Lepanto, it is worth mentioning here the historical diatribe surrounding the works of Luca Cambiaso, found today in the custody of the Escorial palace as part of the royal collection. While some historians believe the paintings were commissioned by King Phillip II, some contend that they initially belong to the private collection of the royal secretary Antonio Perez, and that only after his sentencing and subsequent sequester of his estate were they transferred into the hands of the crown. Information is available in Minguez 2016, 215-234, 221-222.

[19] More on the life, activity and legacy of this great personality of the 16th century see Gosse 1975, 24-60.

geographical landscape of the Patras golf (the actual place of the battle; Lepanto – also known by its Greek name Naupaktos – is the port where the Ottoman fleet had departed from before the battle), the initial positioning of the two fleets, as well as the initial stages of the fight. It is worth noting here the six Venetian *galleasses* (modified galleys of various sizes, equipped with supplemental artillery) that played a key role in the successful outcome of the battle (Motta 1998, 98-102; Lane 2015, 428-430). The importance of these Venetian ships is emphasized in other contemporary frescoes, such as the one painted by an anonymous author in the Church of St. Dominic in Castelvetrano, Sicily (fig. 3), or the famous work of Giorgio Vasari found in the Royal Hall of Vatican (fig.4 and 5).

In all of these examples, the Venetian *galleasses* feature a prominent and central spot in the composition, in line with the testimonies and memoirs of the battle's protagonists, as well as the accounts of other participants. A fierce historiographical debate was sparked by the importance of these ships. Frederic C. Lane, one of the most notable historians of the Venetian Republic, asserts that the role of these *galleasses* was a lot more limited in the beginning stages of the battle, and that once the Ottoman fleet pushed through their line of fire, they became in fact isolated, and the battle transformed in a man-to-man confrontation (Lane 2015, 431). Opposite to this hypothesis, which has the support of other notable historians, is a part of the Lepanto historiography, especially those of Venetian origin, where the contribution of the Venetian navy is vehemently reaffirmed, special credit being given to the *galleasses* for bringing about the final victory (Morin 1985, 210-231; Morin 2006, 3-18; Morin 2012, 103-124).

Despite this historiographical dispute, the *galleasses* themselves do not feature in all the frescoes dedicated to this Christian success. Some of them, found in smaller communities relevant to the understanding of the psychological and imagological value of the battle, completely omit them. Amongst them is the fresco adorning the ceiling of the Captain's Hall in the fortress now housing the Paliano prison (Lazio), where the initial positioning of the two fleets is again depicted, only in this instance the *galleasses* are no longer featured (fig. 6).

One explanation for this omission could be the lesser importance of the location, a building of strict military function, where realism is on the second place after the markedly encomiastic scope of celebrating an unexpected victory.

Alongside the sequences depicting the positioning of the two fleets, we also find frescoes depicting battle moments – sometimes in the same room, arranged in the succession of events, much like an *ante litteram* film. Also here, we find great emphasis being placed on the superior artillery used by the European fleet, which ultimately brought about an unforeseen and unexpected victory (on the importance of the artillery, both light and heavy, in the battle of Lepanto, see Beltrame 2012, 125-146). Another example is the fresco found in the Rosigliosi palace in Zagarolo, nearby Rome, which in the 16th century was the property of the Colonna family (represented in the battle of Lepanto by Marcantonio Colonna, the admiral of the Vatican fleet; Guglielmotti 1862) (fig. 7).

We would like to draw your attention to a notable detail of this fresco depicting the ongoing battle: on the lower side of the composition, from left to the centre, we can observe a scene depicting the confrontation between two galleys, wherein the superiority of the European vessel, equipped with firearms, becomes evident when compared to the Ottomans, and their cold weapons (fig. 8).

This superior fire-power of the European forces, and its pivotal role, as recognized by contemporaries, is found in another fresco, colloquially known as *"Madonna bombardiera",* located in a church in Pazzalino (Lugano). Here, the battle sequences depicted are limited, and somewhat secondary to the narrative. The victory is made possible due to the transcendental element: foremost, through the prayers of Pope Pius V (visible in the left side of the composition), and the intervention of Virgin Mary (fig. 9), qualifying this work as part of a distinct category of a hagiographic nature.

Nevertheless, the fresco does feature a few elements of realism: besides Pius V, we find Phillip II, king of Spain, emphasizing the political ties between the European powers, that enabled this victory (Venice, the third protagonist of the Holy League, is conspicuously missing – we suspect due to the peace treaty signed in 1573 by *Serenissima,* which ultimately thwarted the military and diplomatic efforts of the Holy See). Even though the victory is attributed to the intervention of the Virgin Mary, we cannot overlook the fact that she indeed makes use of the most advanced military innovations of that time: Virgin Mary and baby Jesus, assisted by an angel, are dropping cannon balls on the Turks, who are fleeing, defeated (fig. 11).

This very fresco introduces a particular feature to be found again and again in other frescoes dedicated to the victory of Lepanto throughout the 16th century. The military superiority of the European

fleet is not at all certain, and even in the years immediately following the battle, painters begin to look for other possible explanations for this unexpected victory. One such explanation considered was the holy guidance of pope Pius V, who managed to rally the European forces, and inspire them to put aside their petty jealousies and conflicting interests. Of course, we cannot forget the Divine Intervention, without which victory would have been impossible.

These elements are found even in the most accomplished of works, such as the frescoes painted by Giorgio Vasari in Vatican (fig. 4, 5 and 11). These two works represent an example of mixed compositions, where realistic elements (such as the positioning of the two fleets and the battle sequences) are combined with allegorical elements emerging from the artist's sensibilities, and those of their commissioner. The first fresco (fig. 4 and 5) features in the centre of the composition the two fleets, juxtaposed and seemingly equal in numbers (here we find again the six Venetian *galleasses*), with the clear intent (either by the artist, or by the commissioner) to illustrate that the victory was not due to the military superiority of the European forces, but rather because it enjoyed divine support. In the left-hand side of the foreground, placed underneath the European fleet, are three allegorical figures personifying the three allied powers, identifiable through their specific garments: Spain is wearing armour, signifying the military effort made by the Catholic king against the enemies of the Faith; Venice is wearing the garments of the Dodge; the Holy See, at the centre of this triad, is wearing the papal tiara and holding in its left hand the Key of the kingdom of Heaven, while at its feet there are Christic elements such as the lamb and the Bible. Another notable detail is the posture of the three figures: Spain and Venice are holding hands, while simultaneously placing the other hand on the shoulders of Vatican, leaning on them. Above them are three angels holding crowns – symbols of victory. At the centre of the foreground we find a geographical representation of the battle place, which also divides the composition in two. Opposite the Holy League, on the right-hand side of the foreground, there are three figures representing Terror, Weakness and Death, all symbols of the Ottoman empire, the centuries-long oppressor of the Christian people (visible in the lower-right corner of the composition, in a submissive posture). Looming above them is the threatening figure of a skeleton holding a scythe, symbol of the imminent defeat, while angels sent by God throw demons at them, representing all the punishments awaiting the defeated forces.

The second fresco illustrates battle sequences and also features allegorical elements (fig. 11). The centre of the composition is dedicated to the battle, featuring vivid and realistic details: some ships are sinking, the sea is teeming with people trying to escape the waves, and several bodies float in the waters of the golf Patras. The battle wages on, not only on the sea, but it is mirrored by a battle taking place in the heavens. Appearing on a cloud, we see the holy hosts of Heaven, led into battle by Jesus Christ. Behind him we can recognize the figures of Saint Peter (holding the key, but also a sword), and Saint Paul, representing the Holy See. On his left, Jesus is joined by the saint Mark (patron of Venice) and Jacob (patron of Spain – *Santiago* in Spanish). They are accompanied by a host of angels throwing lightning bolts and arrows at the Ottomans, who will soon be vanquished. Opposite them, in the upper-right corner, above the Ottoman fleet, there's a group of fleeing demons, carrying Mahomed with them. In the lower-left corner, a female figure represents Faith, seated atop a group of Turkish prisoners, her right foot resting on a turban (symbolizing the victory of Christianity over the faith of Islam), and in her raised, left hand she holds the Eucharistic symbols of the body and blood of Christ, while also embracing a cross.

The two frescoes by Vasari from the Royal Halls of Vatican represent a turning point for the commemorative functions of the frescoes depicting an unexpected victory, towards a more political and propagandistic use. Even though realistic elements are still being employed in the compositions, they become secondary to the divine intervention, as mediated by the prayers and steadfastness of the pope (as more poignantly illustrated in the Lugano fresco). Indeed, the role played by Pope Pius V in this collective Christian victory becomes a *topos,* not only in paintings, but in other forms of contemporary, and subsequent artistic expression. Thus, we witness a process of sanctification of this victory, for purely political ends. While this phenomenon is found throughout Europe, it is most prevalent in the Italian environment, where the figure of Pope Pius V features prominently, accompanied by other heroes of the battle (Mingues 2016, 220). It is fair to mention, however, that this turn was par for the course to the demands of the era, joining the prophetic and eschatological trend since the beginning of the 16th

century[20]. Particularly in periods of crisis, the use of prophetic themes proves to be an extremely useful instrument, not only for political propaganda, but also for providing a plausible explanation, with a religious undertone, to otherwise incomprehensible or frightening events. Victory once secured, the interest in its interpretation in prophetic and eschatological key only increases, as evidenced by several artworks, from music to sculpture, from literature to painting. Thus, in many accounts of the battle, we find mentions of miracles, from the winds blowing against the Ottoman fleet to apparitions of the Virgin Mary on the battle field, pushing the Christian army to victory (Caffiero in Motta 1998, 103-121). This particular theme becomes a *topos* in the frescoes dedicated to the battle of Lepanto, reinforced also by the decision to dedicate the day of October 7th the Virgin of the Rosary, one of the most prevalent figures of the Roman Catholic Marian movement, particularly during the counter-reformation. According to the catholic tradition, the proliferation of this mode of prayer is owed to Saint Dominic, thus explaining his presence alongside the Virgin Mary in many of the frescoes[21].

Along with the fresco from the church in Pazzalino we described earlier, we have another interesting example, though of a lesser artistic value, in the work found in the church "Santa Maria Assunta" in Civita (Calabria) - a town inhabited by an italo-albanian community, which recognises the Roman Church, while also keeping the Orthodox liturgical forms. The battle is depicted in a simplistic manner, with a stylistic register reminiscent of the eastern tradition. Above the battle sequence we see the Virgin Mary - depicted as the true artisan of the victory, in a manner typical of Byzantine iconography - holding the infant Jesus. Notable is the detail depicted in the in the lower-left corner, where we see several characters, of various ages and genders, holding an icon of the Virgin Mary, and dressed in typical Balkan garments (fig. 12).

Another relevant example of the connection between this Christian victory, divine intervention, and the importance of the rosary, is to be found in one of the frescoes in the church of "San Domenico al Rosario" in Gallipoli (Puglia). The Virgin Mary is shown seated above the battle field, holding the infant Jesus who is caressing the face of Saint Dominic, the patron saint of the church. In the background we see the city of Gallipoli as it was at the time of the battle (fig. 13).

Alongside this fresco, which depicts the element of divine intervention, we find in the church in Gallipoli that a prominent role in the victory of Lepanto is attributed to the royal house of Spain, especially that of Juan of Austria, as depicted two other frescoes portraying the hero of the battle of Lepanto, and the Habsburg family tree.

The role attributed to the intervention by the Virgin Mary is picked up by the Holy See, particularly by Pope Pius V, who in March 1572, shortly before passing away, declares a liturgical feast for the Virgin Mary of the Victory, further instituted by his successor, Gregory XIII as the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary, celebrated each year in the first Sunday of October. Thus, the growing link between the eschatological vision, the counter-reformist effort, and the Marian movement is established, transforming the latter element into a powerful cultural weapon in the hands of the post-Tridentine Church (Caffiero 1998, 106). By this, and immediately after his death, the battle of Lepanto, and the figure of the Virgin Mary itself, become associated with the person of Pope Pius V, together becoming a *topos* of the religious arts, instrumental to the pontiff's canonization, and contributing to the politicization of his symbolic figure to the benefit of the Catholic Church, and the central role of the pope in his confrontation with the conciliatory movements or the autonomous tendencies within the Curia.

From an iconographic standpoint, this link is manifested through the miracle attributed to Pius V regarding his prophecy of victory. According to lore, at the exact time of the victory, the pope would have received a vision of the result of the battle. This theme is found in numerous works of art of the 16th century, several of which are frescoes created throughout various regions of Europe. One extraordinary example is the fresco in the Dominican monastery "Santa Sabina all'Aventino" (Rome), where Pius V had spent the greater part of his monastic life; here, in his private bedroom, later transformed into a chapel, we find a fresco depicting the pope in deep prayer, receiving the visit of an angel showing him the final moment of the battle, and the Christian victory against the Ottomans (fig. 14).

The same theme, although rendered in a different stylistic register, but holding the same message, is found in the Rosary Chapel of Chieri (Piemont) (fig. 15), as well as outside the Italian

[20] A generalized approach in Vauhez 2014. For some aspects, see Zarri 1990, 649-675; Antonini 2015, 721-744.

[21] According to tradition, the prayer method known as "rosary" must be attributed to the same saint; amongst many examples, we reference Lacordaire 1841, 107-110.

sphere, in the monastic church of Saints Theodore and Alexander in Ottobeuren (Germany); notable, in the case of the latter example, is the association between the prophecy of Pope Pius V, and the role of the Virgin Mary, thus combining the two major symbolic traditions connected to the battle of Lepanto (fig. 16).

The theme of the papal prophecy is picked up in another visual medium: we reference here the mosaic found in the Basilica of Notre-Dame de Fourvière in Lyon (France), wherein the figure of pope Pius V dominates the composition, the battle of Lepanto being represented in the background, where we also can notice the Venetian (left) and Habsburg (centre) flags (fig. 17).

Thus, it becomes clear to the observer that the victory of the Christian forces was due, first and foremost, to Pius V, the architect of the Holy League, and intermediary with the Divinity - a reminder of his dual power (political and spiritual). Thus concludes a short, but complex process of metamorphosis for the battle of Lepanto, which ceases to be a simple military victory, becoming an event of deep eschatological and political meaning, destined to impact Europe's collective mentality.

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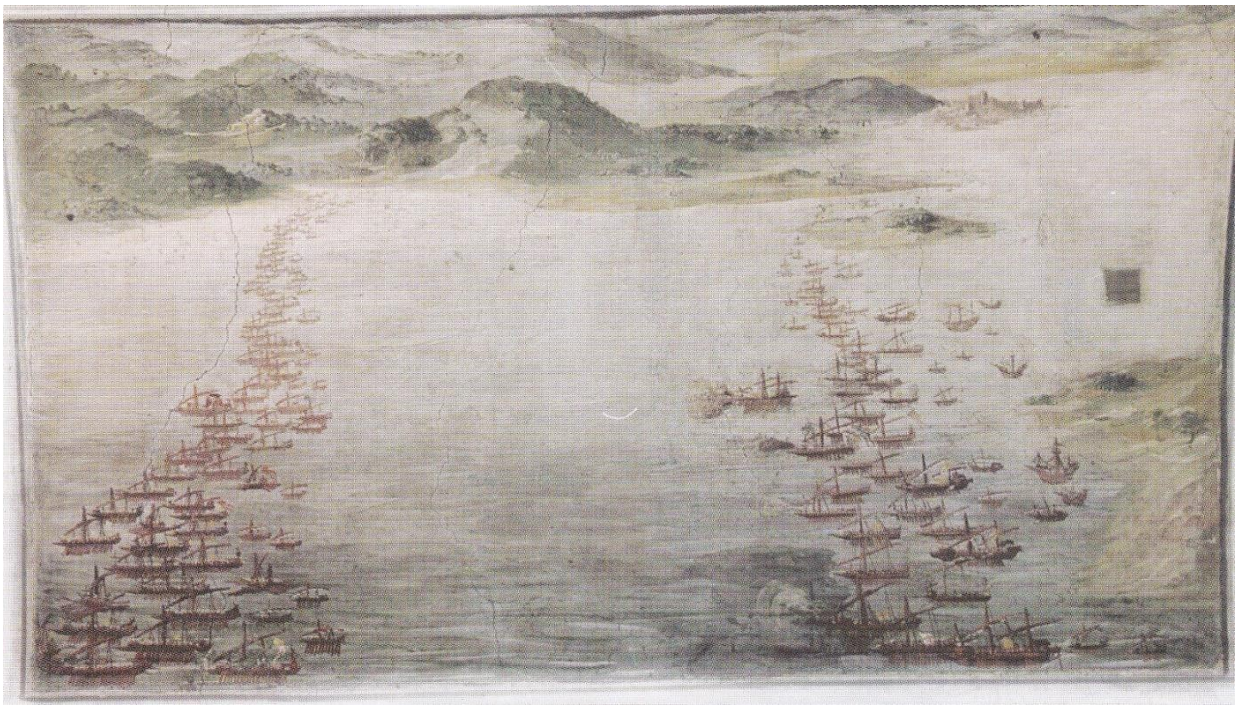

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THE WEBSITE AS VIRTUAL EXHIBITION: ALBA IULIA - MEMORIA URBIS

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***Abstract**: The paper presents the role of the image in historical reconstruction, starting from the town of Alba Iulia. The photographs of Adalbert Cserni from the end of the 19th century and those of Arthur Bach and Samoilă Mârza from the inter-war and post-war period presented the daily life of the inhabitants, stimulating the creation of a virtual exhibition of these photographs in the form of a website. The purpose of the online project was to raise the visibility of Alba Iulia's unique historical heritage by saving archival images over 100 years old, with expert explanations added to them. Starting from the project's concept, foundations will be finally laid for a permanent exhibition focused exclusively on the urban history of Alba Iulia, hosted by the National Museum of the Unification.*

***Keywords:** Alba Iulia, Transylvania, illustrated history, photography, the Centenary.*

Introduction

On the southern and eastern part of today Alba Iulia, during the the Roman period, two cities with the name Apulum existed. There are very few remnants of these cities discovered so far. The civilian settlements coalesced near XIII Gemina legion's fortress grew to become the most important urban center of Roman Dacia. There existed public and private edifices similar to those of the central provinces of the Roman Empire, such as palaces, temples, amphitheatres, baths, and houses. Only the southern wall of the Roman fortress with the main gate, porta praetoria, then principia, the legion's headquarters and a civilian house located outside the precincts are still extant. The urban blossoming of Apulum lasted only two centuries. It was disrupted by the brutal invasions of migrating peoples, which were unaccustomed with construction practice, but took advantage of the ruined Roman edifices.

After six centuries of decay, the return to urban life began hesitantly with two early churches: a *rotunda* and an eastern type *basilica* erected in the south-western corner of the former legionary fortress. A new episcopal seat was established here. Around this center an intense urban life developed later and a new fortification was built on the walls of the previous one. Until 14th century, the Roman Catholic cathedral from Alba Iulia was the largest religious edifice in Transylvania. The architecture of the fortress included the provost's house, other churches, the most famous of which was St. Stephen Protomartyr of the Augustinian hermits, latter known as Báthory church, and the dwellings of archdeacons.

In 16th century, Alba Iulia became the political capital of Transylvania. During this time, the architecture of the city was enriched with several exemplary edifices, such as Lázó chapel and the palace of the princes of Transylvania. In the last years of that century, Michael the Brave tied his name to that of Alba Iulia. The prince had founded the Orthodox metropolitan seat, which was demolished after more than a century, during the construction of the Habsburg fortification.

The 17th century was a time of prosperity for Alba Iulia. It was the time when the academic college was established, the fortification was enlarged by adding two bastions on the southern side and a new system of water supply and sewage was constructed.

The incorporation of Transylvania in the Habsburg Empire caused other changes in the life of Alba Iulia, including those of military and urban kind. At the beginning of 18th century, the edifices located near the precincts of the new fortress were demolished and the civilian population around the fortress was dislocated in order to make room for the Vauban bastioned fortress. The urban life developed in the lower part of the city, while the fortress regained the military function, like that of the ancient Roman fortress. Civilian and religious activities continued in several spots: Batthyaneum Library, located in the former church of Trinitarian order, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, bishop palace, and Roman Catholic seminary (Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae).

Some buildings needed by the Austrian army and administration were either reconstructed or erected anew, such as the Chamber Hall, the Hall of

Saxon Seats, Storehouse. After being enlarged and decorated in Baroque style, Apor House became Apor Palace, which for a while was the residence of the general commander of the garrison. The former Palace of Princes became the arsenal.

The 19th century brought an architectural modernization of the inner part of the fortress. This process was governed by its military function. New imposing edifices were erected: Officers Pavilion (1853), Barracks of "Franz Joseph" Engineers Regiment (1898), officers casino, the new building of the military hospital and the officers' mess. The Roman Catholic Bishopric participated in the program of architectural modernization. On the site of the former Báthory church, which stood abandoned for some time, the new edifice of the Roman Catholic Majláth Superior Gymnasium was erected (1899) and three years later, in 1902, appeared the new Jericho building.

The lower city developed receiving gradually the features of a real urban center. The systematization shaped the neighbourhoods known since the 19th century: Lipoveni, Heiuș, German (Maieri) and Hungarian. These neighbourhoods expanded and the street texture and squares appeared. New churches were erected so that there appeared the following: Maieri II (1715), Lipoveni (1752), Greeks' church (1794) and Maieri I (1995).

In the 19th century, the economic development was the main engine of the evolution in this city. New industrial and transports businesses were established, such as Adolf Jonas alcohol factory (1866), train station (1868), Johana mill (1894), and the power station (1898). Concomitantly, administrative and judicial buildings (City Hall 1845, orphanage 1898, and the Palace of Justice, 1908), or commercial (Europa hotel, ca. 1870, Hungaria Hotel, 1887), and religious (Lutheran Church, 1826, Old Sinagogue, 1840, Franciscan church, 1843, the monastery of the nuns of St. Vincent order and the girls school, 1858, Reformed Calvinist church, 1861, and new synagogue, 1883) were constructed.

The first decades of Romanian administration brought the erection of symbolic edifices: Coronation Cathedral, "Mihai Viteazul" High School, and "Horea, Cloșca, and Crișan" Obelisk. The choice of the location for the Coronation Cathedral required the demolition of the Commander's headquarters, Mikó Street, and a segment of the western wall of the fortress. The east-west axis of the cathedral was meant to offer the coordinate for the construction of the largest area of the Romanian town, on Platoul Romanilor (Romans Plateau). The first stage of this plan included the construction of "Mihai Viteazul High School." Apparently, unconnected to the national urban plans of 1921-22, in 1960s, during the Communist regime, the new blocks neighbourhood Platoul Romanilor was constructed.

A broad change of the urban landscape was generated by the implementation of the Bill for agrarian reform of 1921. Aiming to consolidate the Romanian component of the city dwellers, the authorities ordered the allotment in the protection area of the fortress. During the next years, appeared new streets whose inhabitants belonged to various professional categories. For example, military technicians and non-commissioned officers received allotments on Aurel Vlaicu Street. To the east, below the fortress, Brătianu Boulevard took shape, situated between the current Octavian Goga, Decebal, and Nicolae Bălcescu streets. On the sides of Brătianu boulevard later were constructed the houses of better-off categories, such as lawyers, physicians, teachers, and civil servants.

After 1990, the implementation of restoration projects fed the hopes of the local inhabitants, Romanian and foreign visitors of Alba Iulia. However, the real protection of the city monuments lies in the future"[22].

The Online Project of Alba Iulia's Memory

There are solid arguments in favour of making use of the urban history of Alba Iulia through a project to create a Romanian and English language *website* with archival images of the town's historical past from the Antiquity to the early 20th century. The purpose of the project was to raise the visibility of Alba Iulia's unique historical heritage by saving archival images over 100 years old, with expert explanations added to them. Alba Iulia is, no doubt, a town of great history, each street and square has its own story. All these stories are told thanks to the collective effort of local authorities, professors and museography experts of Alba Iulia, supported by local institutions such as the Alba County Direction of the National Archives and the Archive of the Roman Catholic Archbishopric. As a result, the project prioritises the photography collections housed by the abovementioned institutions.

Simultaneously, the project also proposes to safeguard and restore a number of approximately

[22] See http://imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/argument.php?lang=en (Accessed 1 September 2017).

1500 photographic plates from the collections of the *National Museum of the Union*. The movable heritage thus restored will form the basis of a permanent exhibition entitled "Alba Iulia – a history in images", housed by the *National Museum of the Union*.

The main objective of the project was to use the historical heritage of Alba Iulia of national and regional importance. Alba Iulia is one of the few towns in Romania to possess a visual heritage of such importance in quality and old age. The project managed to preserve and make use of certain parts of a fragile historical heritage: photographic plates on glass and celluloid, photographs taken in the late 19th–early 20th century, analysed, reproduced and processed by experts in order to promote cultural tourism in a town with a two millennia-long history.

History can be extremely attractive, therefore the members of the project proposed and managed to offer to the town community concise, easy-to-follow texts called "stories" of the urban memory of a town that has been called by several names throughout the centuries: Apulum, Bălgrad, Gyulafehérvár, Alba Carolina, Karlsburg, and Alba Iulia. These stories are posted on the website of the Mayor's Office of Alba Iulia, the financial supporter of the project "Alba Iulia – a history of the town through its streets and monuments" (A project supported by the Alba Iulia Local Council and Mayor's Office, and accomplished by the 1 December 1918 University, in partnership with the Alba Iulia National Museum of the Union, 2014-2018). Moreover, in the period between 2014 and 2018, as part of the same project, another exhibition is open for the visitors at the Principia Museum in the Castle Square, entitled *Alba Iulia – Memoria Urbis*, presenting the summaries of the stories in Romanian and English, accompanied by the most beautiful images and photographs that inspired these stories. This way both the people of Alba Iulia and the visitors can rediscover the town from a perspective often unknown to them: the historical aspect. And all the more so as, often, some of the stories written on the basis of the images generate two contradictory feelings: satisfaction about the discovery, and feeling sorry that only a late reproduction has been preserved. Many original works have fallen prey to the lack of a culture of heritage preservation, petty greed, or the helplessness of prestigious archaeologists having no means to preserve them: The Gubernator's Palace (Moga 2017)[23]. This project has been part of a long series of projects implemented in Alba Iulia over the last decade, which succeeded in using (Finley 2002) to the fullest the rich and varied historical potential of the town.

The project had two motivations. The first impulse was the reconstruction of local identity around the spectacular history of Alba Iulia, as well as the use of history for raising the attractiveness and touristic potential of the town, an agenda that can contribute decisively to the healthy, sustainable development of the town community. The second reason envisaged the chronological landmarks of the project. The year 2015, when the first 25 stories were published, marked 300 years since the placement of the foundation stone of the *Vauban* type Baroque fortification Alba Carolina (1715). The project will end in 2018, the centenary of Great Romania, a celebration of which Alba Iulia was the centre, with all its symbols and values based on the history of the town from Roman times to this day.

The website created as part of the project (www.imagini-istorie.apulum.ro) is meant to ease access to the knowledge of local history, starting with street snapshots to individual and collective portraits (Burke 2001, 22-34), even self-portraits[24], using a "closed" narrative discourse (Mihalache 2014, 331, 340-354) in an image in order to attract as many real and virtual visitors as possible to Alba Iulia. The website becomes thus a place of memory for the town, a place that consolidates the loyalty of the inhabitants. Even more so as the website presents images and stories of buildings that no longer exist (Hotel Europa, the town's House of tolerance) or have been partly destroyed (the mint of the medieval town, or the leisure place of the *New world*). We wish to offer, through historical reconstructions, a unique historical experience to those interested, visitors from home and abroad. The team of the project, consisting of fifteen historians and museography experts from the 1 December 1918 University and the National Museum of the Union of Alba Iulia[25] focuses on the cultural and historical heritage that singularises Alba Iulia among a series of European historical towns. Like anywhere else in the world, this methodology of cultural history based on images opens up perspectives and retrospectives on social history and

[23] For examples, see http://imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/single.php?lang=ro&storyid=4 (Accessed 1 September 2017).

[24] http://imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/single.php?lang=ro&storyid=1 (Accessed 1 September 2017).

[25] http://www.imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/argument.php?lang=ro (Accessed 1 September 2017).

the history and theory of art: iconography, signs, symbols, figures, visual codes, etc. (Eco 1988, 32-38), as well as the symbolism of gestures, language, and historical discourse (Burke 1988, 39-83).

Oratores, bellatores, laboratores were the medieval social orders, categories which also inhabited the capital of the Principality of Transylvania in its age of glory. Bălgrad/Gyulafehérvár/Weißenburg (Alba Iulia), as it was known then, was famous for being "the town of palaces and churches", because within the town walls the foreign traveller could see everywhere Catholic, Orthodox and Reformed priests, and in the Castle the elite of Transylvanian aristocracy, who all built here imposing palaces and residences as signs of power and prestige: the Episcopal Palace[26], the Princely Palace[27], the Apor Palace[28].

The project aims to highlight the patrimony and events that situate Alba Iulia in the central plan of national and European history. Therefore, the team members appeal to the mobile and immobile patrimony produced by the very citizens and visitors of the town over the centuries (Stanciu 2015, 32-33). Moreover, the project focuses on those cultural and historical goods that single out Alba Iulia among a series of other historical places of high prestige in Europe. Following the theoretical and methodological achievements registered in the older and newer historiography (Barthes 1980, *passim* ; Mihalache 2014, *passim*), we intend to valorise the chance of having some passionate photographers in town in the late 19th century and early 20th century: Adalbert Cserni, Arthur Bach or Samoilă Mârza (Fleşer 2008, *passim*). In their pictures they immortalised vestiges and hypostases which preserve in most of the images the memory and history of the place and speak about the authenticity of people and the dynamics of the community in Alba Iulia. Therefore, our approach focuses on people and daily life in the town of Alba Iulia in *la belle époque* and emphasises some aspects of urban life that could revive the atmosphere of the old town: civil and military architecture, economy, but most of all the people, captured in various hypostases of daily life, the leisure, the cultural or religious life. We want to be able to capture the atmosphere and the old scent of the streets.

Also, the topics or our annual exhibitions (opening in 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019) are joined together in a presentation film. The old images accompanied by historical explanations (in Romanian and English) are organized in two sections, exposing panels with representative stories that embody the urban memory of the town at the *Principia* Museum, as well as on various spots in the town. We want this exhibition to be permanent, on the occasion of the Centenary, together with the website which will contain the 125 bilingual stories and around 1000 modern and contemporary photographs and postcards of Alba Iulia. The team will also publish for the centenary a printed album (*Alba Iulia – 100*) in two versions, a Romanian and an English one, which will contain 130 stories and around 500 of the best images that also appear in the virtual exhibition "*Alba Iulia – Memoria Urbis*".

From Glass Plates to Photography and Illustrated History

A priority of the project was the conservation, restoration and processing of photographic plates and images on glass, celluloid or paper support. The team members were equally interested in how the collection of photographs and postcards of the National Museum of the Union had been constituted around the three abovementioned photographers, and in how the collection could be enriched through new acquisitions from private collectors (the Albini family of Cluj-Napoca, Remus Baciu and Mihai Zisu from Alba Iulia, Cristian Florin Bota from Teiuş), local institutions (the Alba Iulia Mayor's Office, the Alba County Department of the National Archives, the Archive of the Roman Catholic Archbishopric), or institutions in the country (Lucian Blaga Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca, Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest) or abroad (Archive of Historical Monuments in Budapest, Museum of Zemplén in Szerencs, Hungary).

The Relevance of the Project for the Community of Alba Iulia

The project will create a historical illustrated archive of the town providing concrete historic and documentary data for the municipality. Starting from the project's concept, foundations will be finally laid for a permanent exhibition focused exclusively on the urban history of Alba Iulia, hosted by the National Museum of the Unification, which has the institutional capacity (material basis and human resource) to

[26] http://imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/single.php?lang=ro&storyid=36 (Accessed 1 Septembr 2017).

[27] http://imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/single.php?lang=ro&storyid=40 (Accessed 1 September 2017).

[28] http://imagini-istorie.apulum.ro/single.php?lang=ro&storyid=16 (Accessed 1 September 2017).

develop and modernise such an initiative. Historical images accompanied by explanatory texts in Romanian and English will provide everyone who is interested in culture and history the possibility of rediscovering the role and importance of Alba Iulia in the history of Romanians, Hungarians, Jews, Transylvanian Saxons, Italians and Roma, as well as in the history of the religious life in Central Europe. The values jointly promoted by all inhabitants of the historic town over the centuries will be splendidly illustrated by the images from the historic archive and the explanations offered for each illustration. From the perspective of the mobile patrimony, the project will develop and improve the necessary methodology for preserving, restoring and valorising a documentary photographic treasure (from the 19th and 20th centuries) kept on glass plates, on celluloid, cardboard and paper clichés in the cultural institutions from Alba Iulia, that was never valorised. The project will provide a methodological model for the research, systematisation and valorising of historical illustrations that are stray in the country's various cultural institutions. These could be than implemented in similar projects as well in other Romanian towns that are culturally and historically important and relevant. The material base and the documents resulted from the project (existing endowments and equipment purchased in the project) may contribute to developing a coherent strategy for the image of Alba Iulia where vintage pictures (illustrations) emphasize the extraordinary identity this town has always preserved in the history of Central Europe.

The people involved in the project are already initiated in similar projects and will be able to collaborate and to provide the historical and documentary consultancy that is necessary for implementing such activities.

To conclude the project it is necessary to have a database with vintage pictures (late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century) and to valorise the documents in the form of a site containing "125 urban stories" in Romanian and English (Stanciu 2016, *passim*).

Beyond the analytical approach and the reconstruction of urban history, the project is also relevant for the development of the feeling of urban cohesion of the inhabitants of Alba Iulia. The utility of history for the sustainable development of the town has been demonstrated before and it is a desideratum for further projects as well.

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STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS ON A BAROQUE MONUMENT FROM TIMIȘOARA - THE CHURCH OF SAINT JOHN NEPOMUK

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***Abstract**: The church dedicated to Saint Nepomuk of Timişoara reveals a clearly structured architecture and style, well-balanced, as the volume disposition is concerned with a monumental façade articulated with ornaments that transgress the periods that delineate the stages of the Central European Baroque. The Baroque found an alternative provincial source of authority, removed from the centre but, nevertheless, less expressive and victorious. The church built in 1732 was destroyed in 1848-1849 during the revolution and, due to serious damage made by the artillery, it was demolished in 1911. The pictures that document its existence as a model of European art were taken by a Piarist pupil in 1911, Karol Baitz. The Baroque church was built as a symbol of church power, often housing important relics or was seen as a votive offering, proclaiming the church's authority in the newly acquired territory. The Jesuits, Franciscans and Piarists were the Catholic orders that shaped the artistic milieu of Banat, setting the scene for further development in the 19th century, at the debut of modern art. The Baroque, as a style, created a unity in diversity, throughout the multiplicity of its multicultural aspects setting the stage for future contacts, influence penetration, even establishing dialogue between two worlds separated by hundreds of years of evolution, the province of Banat being situated at the crossroads between Orient and Occident.*

***Keywords:** Baroque provincial art, Baroque church, Piarist order, Saint Nepomuk.*

Introduction

In making a balanced historical introduction to the art of Baroque in Banat, the hardest task is the selection of the monuments to be discussed and illustrated. The use of timelines frames the Central European artistic phenomenon of the so-called local stylistic variants that appear on the map of the Baroque style, having distinctive features of their own. These stylistic variants are no longer bound in isolated groups, but integrated within the contemporary scientific research of the matter. Even though the artistic phenomenon in Banat benefited from a variety of studies for all domains taken separately, synthetically, this approach tends to emphasize the official variant of the style in this province as it was shaped before 1911 when the territory had been divided.

The heritage of Baroque art can be interpreted as a reflection of an intelligible development rather than merely as items of a catalogue or miscellany. This approach is the result of diligent documentation and the presentation of stylistic similarities between the art of the former provinces of the Habsburg Empire in the 18th century, a comparison that was possible by getting in touch with researchers of the subject from all over Europe, especially from Hungary, Serbia and Austria.

In the new methodology of art history contextualization is the most important factor. The objects of art are not isolated items taken from their original location; they should be recontextualized and analysed as they were seen and placed by the viewers at the time of their production.

By such a contextualization, art is endowed with new meanings that enrich the manner in which images express ideas and emotions, assert authority and presence, concretize beliefs and summon supernatural aid. What prevails in the study of the Baroque art in Banat is that throughout social and political upheavals and changes, art grew and thrived into what we define as a local variant of the European style that is often referred to as Late Baroque.

It is not important to see what is common to all artistic manifestations of the 18th century, but what is unique, what makes the local variant of the style a particular manifestation at the border of the Habsburg Empire, in a period when Baroque displays of imperial power proposed a range of subjects in connection with the evolution of the European society.

The present study is aimed to follow particular aspects of the Baroque style in the territory of what used to be the province of Banat (an area naturally bordered by the Mureş river in the North, Tisa in the East and the Danube in the South) before 1919, when a consistent part became a territory of the Serbian-Croatian Kingdom, taking into consideration that previous studies never extended to this area, re-evaluating local, particular aspects of the art, pointing

up-to-date information on the issue. The evolution of the Baroque art in Banat can be regarded as a stage within the general phenomenon of form evolution. The Europe of forms corresponding to the 18th century transcends the limits of time and space and integrates new metamorphoses under the direct influence of the Ottoman Empire in decline and territorial retreat and the Habsburg Empire with its expanding boundaries. Becoming an outpost of Christianity in an area where two leading forces collided, the province faced tremendous changes after the Habsburg conquest.

Having distinctive features, the process of Europeanization transgressed to all domains, starting with architecture and followed by sculpture and painting. Europe's artistic panorama of the century corresponding formally to the Baroque featured a triumphant atmosphere in accordance with the Catholic victory over the Protestants. Thematic approaches are regarded as the best ways of revealing the tendencies of evolution in the art of Banat, designed to stimulate and express religious devotion. The formal characteristics like genre, ornamentation and artistic quality may often be very diverse, but can be regarded as style-settlers, trend-markers of the original style.

During the Renaissance, artists were challenged by the idea of imagery with classical backgrounds, toward the 17th century, one's vivid imagination turned to sensibility and direct intuition to reason. The way in which reality was perceived in that period is reflected in art, being a perfect image of the world seen as divinely organized.

The Baroque art represented an important and recurrent part of Europe's sensibility, integrating the man in the transcendental universe, much more accessible in periods of uncertainty. Using visual metaphors, Baroque art became, for the province of Banat, a support for the policy the House of Austria led in its territorial expansion, as a means of persuasion. The providential spirit manifested itself in the collective conscience by means of a passive, contemplative attitude, accepting the fatality, the arbitrary.

The ideological discourse promoted by the Habsburgs was inspired by the scenery of the great cities in the empire, with urban principles that stated the importance of the parochial church, or the main square of a town adorned with monumental sculptures as visual rhetoric. It was quite a fashion to assert allegory and symbols as forms of power manifestation, having both didactic and decorative values at the same time. The image instructs, the form sets boundaries to what is seen, and becomes a model to be followed in a manner that sets prototypes and imposes values.

Each style has an evolution from an early stage when the style emerges from previous manifestations, transcends into a maturity stage with fully displayed forms visually supporting the ideology, and dissipates into a final stage of evolution with new means of expression that finally surrender to dissolution.

The Baroque style has often been regarded by specialists as one of the first international movements transcending the limits of time and space, manifesting in areas found far from the trend setting centre.

The achievements of the Baroque age serve the cause of international harmony in the cultural life of Central Europe. In this internationalism the style that proliferated in Banat can be placed, as a form of manifestation with a set of values displaced from the political centre. The high Baroque in the Habsburg lands situated chronologically between the 1680s and 1730s was international rather than cosmopolitan, as Robert Evans so thoroughly argued (Evans, 1993:80, see also Seidel and Baur, 1980).

In the Austrian Empire, royalty and monarchy were slowly becoming obsolete, as one of the pillars of the authority turned towards aristocracy, a category lacking in Banat, as the newly acquired province became the emperor's private domain. The European nobility set the trend for the provincial expressions of style, as one may see in the style variations in Hungary (Agghazy, 1959) and Transylvania (Sabău, 2002).

In the 1730s, the Baroque age was just beginning in Banat. The implications of the delayed start can be found in the style that expressed the ideology of the Christian imperial state power victorious against the Turks.

The term "Baroque" is anachronistic, used originally in a disparaging sense to define in art history the period covering roughly the 1600s until the 1750s (Gardner, 1980). It was an age of expansion following an age of discovery, leading to yet further discovery. The Baroque expansiveness extended well beyond the knowledge of the Earth in the astronomy and physics practiced by Galileo, Kepler and Newton (Gardner, 1980: passim).

The Church of Saint Nepomuk – a case study

European values transcend into the art of the province, setting the stage for the evolution towards modernity. The trends of this modernization started immediately after the conquest of the province, when the ideology of the enlightened despotism penetrated all fields. The artistic life of the province in the 18th century found itself under direct influence of the Habsburgs domination, whose program of political and cultural-artistic propaganda had the aim to transform the area that had been under Ottoman rule for 164 years.

Different Catholic orders set foot in the province and founded churches and schools, as the case of the Jesuits or the Franciscans from Bosnia, the Piarists and the Brethren of Mercy. The religious propaganda turned visual by the use of rhetoric, this being the first stage, in terms of form and iconography, of the style dissemination. The churches of the Catholic orders followed the prototype of Anton Pilgram's model that can be observed to set a real trend in church-building in Banat. The architect managed to disseminate the model in the kingdom of Hungary working at the Premonstratensian monastery of Jászá.

The architecture of these Catholic churches reveals a clearly-structured style, well-balanced, as the volume disposition is concerned with a monumental façade articulated with ornaments that transgress the periods of the Central European Baroque. The basic stylistic traits of the Baroque churches indicate their relatedness. The ornaments adorn the façades using a vocabulary that alternates shapes like pilasters, profiled niches and wreaths. The architects don't work exclusively for official commissions, but find themselves in a congenial environment. The Baroque found an alternative provincial source of authority, removed from the centre, but nevertheless less expressive and victorious in manifestation.

The Jesuits were the first to take over a church that had existed during the Ottoman rule (the oldest church in Timișoara), that of Saint George, and transform it into a Catholic church, for that being referred to in the documents as the Jesuit church.

The church was devoted to the patron saint of Banat, Johann Nepomuk, and built inside the citadel walls between 1733 and 1736. It displayed a Baroque articulation of masses and a typical interior where all views converged to the centre where the high altar dominated. The headstone of this church was set as the documents mention: *the church was consecrated by the Franciscans from the province of Bosnija on March 19, 1733, and the bishop of Cenad was present at the event*.

Further information is revealed by Hochstrasser Gerhardt, who refers to Pater Chrysostomus Jak and his 1735 order for construction materials for the church: 100.000 bricks and 300 *Kübel* of lime. (Preyer, 1995) The interior consists of a combination of different spatial units, namely the apse, atypically arranged westwards, the nave, the pronaos and the narthex. This was a method of spatial division and the monument was integrated in the urban structure imposed by the *Paraden Platz* (now known as Libertății Square). The monastery of the order was erected nearby, a construction that still exists in the structure of the Popular Art School, the portal rendering the inscription of *Maria Mithir Theu.*

In 1752, some texts mention the existence at no. 69 of the church and the monastery, both under construction, and nearby a Turkish house accommodating the monks. This was the place of the first elementary school after the Ottoman rulership. (Brandeiß, 1994:123-124)

At the entrance on the main vault ceiling, one can read the inscription referring to the patron saint: *Ecclesia S. Joannis Nepomuc. Provinciae Bosniae Argentinae -1736 - Nunc S. Joannis a Capistrano.*

This saint was very popular across the Habsburg Empire (Vlăsceanu, 2012) due to his martyrdom. Since he had protected the secret of the confession, by extension he would protect truth, and was considered the saint protector of the Banat province. The Franciscan order even requested that this saint be appointed as patron saint of Timișoara, replacing Saint George. Being granted this request after 1729, an increase in number of his worshippers was recorded, an association being founded like the ones initiated by the Bosnija Franciscan order in other provinces of the empire. Pope Boniface XII managed to canonize Nepomuk in 1729, afterwards the cult spreading all over Europe.

Another important document mentions the year 1809, when, from the crypt of this church, the imperial crown and signs were dispatched and saved from the advancement of Napoleonian troops.

In 1788 the church was taken by the Piarist order that moved in Timișoara from Sântana (Arad County). Later, in 1849, due to serious damages caused by the Hungarian revolution and the siege, the church was seriously destroyed and, in 1911, it was finally demolished. The Piarists made changes inside, as we can see different styles and shapes of the liturgical furniture decorating the interior. The paired altars found in the nave have similar architectural structures, the decoration being inspired by the ancient entablature shapes and ornamentics. Since the construction started in the same period as the Catholic cathedral of Timișoara, we can assume that the city's architects and engineers made an effort to finish the works in just three years.

Between 1754 and 1769, the Jesuits commissioned Anton Platel to transform the façade as one can observe from a sketch-plan kept in the archive of the Roman-Catholic Bishopric of Timișoara. It was in 1911 when a pupil in the 8th grade at the Piarist school from Timisoara, Karoly Baitz, made the black and white photos that are kept today in the archive of

the Piarist order Museum in Budapest. My gratitude directs to Mr. András Koltai, director of this institute, who gave me permission to use them in this research.

As the general public was in this period largely illiterate, one can understand the need to express Pope Gregory the Great's idea that became a rule:

"What one cannot read in the Bible, one can understand in a picture".

Built as a symbol, the interior of this church reveals the space uninterrupted towards the high altar as guidance for the worshippers, proclaiming the authority in the new land. The visual rhetoric is obvious, from the Latin cross plan to the vaulting systems and rich interior decorations. The sculpture of the now demolished high and side altars represents an official stage in the style manifestation. Fragments of these altars are kept in the Brethren of Mercy Church (Timişoara, 700 Square), portraying St. Elisabeth of Hungary and St. Claire of Assisi, Saint Nepomuk and Jesus as Saviour. Interesting stylistic connections could be made after finding these photos of the interior of the church, taken before its destruction in 1911, helping us conclude that some of the previous considerations on Banat Baroque altar sculpture are no longer viable, as the pictures reflect. Some of the fragments of these altars are kept in the Diocesan religious art collection, being catalogued and tagged as fragments with no certain place of origin, or with an unknown origin. We may state that the possible author of these sculptures, integrated within the altars, was Ioachim Eisenhut, mentioned as altar-builder at Maria Radna monastery from Lipova. It is the case of statues that adorned the altars of the church in question, saints depicted with an eloquence that is common to all products of the style. The two rampant cherubs considered as fragments of the high altar of the Catholic Church in Vinga (Vlăsceanu, 2005) are in fact part of one of the side altars of St. Nepomuk church. Also, two of the statues considered to have an unknown place of origin are clearly integrated in the structure of one of the side altars. Another undocumented information that was passed from one researcher to another was that the two epitaphs of David von Hübner and Joannes of Soro were placed inside the walls of the St. Katherine church. We can see them placed in pairs on both flaps of a side altar in St. Nepomuk church, an altar having a clear Baroque architectural shape and decoration. The theme of Death, preferred by Baroque artists for the use of symbolic motifs, finds only few monumental representations in Banat, as the case of the two epitaphs, placed today at the Lipova route cemetery entrance. Both epitaphs (Vlăsceanu, 2012) render in the manner of the Baroque funerary sculpture a subject that reminds the living of the implacable disappearance and the laments of men facing inevitable extinction. Using suggestive means of expression, the unknown artist represented the skull placed on an opened carved tomb, a mourning woman, surrounded by decorative motifs that are so familiar to the style's repertoire, like the drapes pulled aside to reveal the inscription, or the jutted form at the top.

Taken over by the Piarist order in 1788 after the abolishment of the Jesuit order, the church is also known in the documents as the Piarist church, some fragments of the main altar (a richly decorated frame with a painted panel of the Annunciation), was referred to its place of provenance as the Piarist church. There were in fact two frames on the main altar, facing the tabernacle decorated with a Crucifixion, the one that is missing rendering the Archangel Gabriel on the painted panel. Two other painted panels depict Saint Anton of Padua and the founder of the Piarist order, Joseph of Calasanza. These paintings are today integrated in the Piarist church, alongside the other decorations dating from the early 20th century, when Laszlo Szekely built the church.

What we can observe from the pictures revealing the ceiling fragments is that Saint Ambrose (depicted with the beehive as his consecrated symbol) is rendered in a typical Baroque scene, floating on clouds, accompanied by Saint Jeronim (with the Lion as consecrated symbol) and putti. One of the theological virtues (*Spes*) is vividly portrayed with her consecrated symbol (the anchor). In the hole left by the bomb which penetrated right in the middle of the composition, we can only guess the actual setting. The other composition of the apse, covering the entire vault, is the Mystic Lamb (A vision of the Apocalypse) surrounded by the Evanghelists, of whom only three are visible (John, Matheus and Lucas). The entire creation is manifold, spacious and dynamic, theatrical and passionate, sensual and ecstatic, opulent, versatile and virtuoso, and we may try to put forward the hypothesis of it being the creation of Ferdinand Schiessl, the painter who, during the same period, decorated the altars in St. Katherine Church. This assumption comes along with the one that raises questions around the authors of these artworks. The main altar votive painting depicting saint Nepomuk can be attributed to Michael Angelo Unterberger-Cavalese, as one may notice from the sketch having the same subject and composition setting.

The Baroque became an art with a mission in Banat, aiming to set the European values of art, an art which instructs through gestures, being at the same time allusive and mystic. Largely religious in content,

the art of the 18th century reveals the world of the unseen by means of the seen, the visible objects, often symbolic or emblematic, translating the forms of Central Europe in the newly colonized territories.

The attitude of the period towards artistic manifestations can be seen in the way Baroque art was accepted or rejected in different environments (the Orthodox milieu took over the typology of the Baroque churches, as official models), the ornaments of the Baroque were also adapted in the decoration of the iconostasis found in Romanian or Serbian churches. The so-called "academism in form" gives birth to a variety of shapes and techniques, from perfect adaptations of the academic layouts (brought by the European artists trained in Vienna, as is the case of an official construction erected in Timișoara, namely the Catholic Cathedral devoted to Saint George, where renowned artists came and worked at its building and decoration). This is the official stage of the Baroque penetration in Banat, the plan of the cathedral being attributed to a Viennese workshop (*Hoffbauamt*), with certain influences from the famous Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, an ideal plan dated 1723 during Karl VI's reign. This is the year the architect died and his son Johann Fischer von Erlach Jr. continued his work, being assigned as author of the actual plan of the Catholic Church of Timișoara.

The documents mention him as a direct follower of the prototypes projected by his father: *Plana proiectaque aedificii Viennae confecta sunt per aulicum caesare reg. celeberrimum architectum Emanuelem Fischer von Erlach*. (Voit, 1971:47)

As we can observe from the plan, the actual façade was simplified by Johann Theodor Kostka, *aedificator operis,* designated in the documents as the author. (Diplich, 1972:52). The initial plan of the cathedral revealed a clearly articulated structure with decorations on the gable, statues that were placed in the niches or at the top representing the patron saint of Timișoara - Saint George slaying the dragon. Stylistic and formal similarities can be seen in his other works, as we encounter him in 1736 at Greuze, building the Pauline sisters church, or in Sasvár, where he works with Jean Joseph Charmant at the Royal Palace of Maria Theresa. (Voit, 1971:48). The fact that the plan was not respected is certain proof that the economic prosperity of Banat decreased especially during Maria Theresa, when the façade was completed. The interior was decorated with works of art belonging to well-known Viennese sculptors. It is the case of Johann Joseph Ressler, disciple of Georg Raphael Donner, who made the tabernacle with the two adorning cherubs and Michael Angelo Unterberger-Cavalese, headmaster of the Painting Academy in Vienna, who painted the central scene of the high altar, with a votive painting having as subject Saint George slaying the dragon. Timișoara was on his artistic route, as he painted the side altars of C. F. Sambach in Szekesfehérvar at Saint Nepomuk church (Kovacs and Karoly, 1992:72-73).

Johann Nepomuk Schöpf painted the six-side-altars for the Catholic cathedral of Timișoara. Documents relate the fact that in 1754, when the side altars were raised, some interventions were made at the existing main altar, following strict contractual and stylistic suggestions given by the other architect involved in the edification of the monument, C. A. Steinlein. The tabernacle and the oversized sculptures of Saint Therese of Avilla and Saint Charles Borromeo were made by J. J. Ressler. The fashion of the period that consisted of celebrating victories, the glorification of the conqueror and his position on a spiritual level close to his religious correspondent, was a common feature to Baroque artistic manifestations. It is the case of the two monumental statues that glorify the spiritual correspondent of Maria Theresa and Charles VI. These were the well-staged metaphorical images used to transform the illusory into something durable as another characteristic of the contemporary mentality (Minor, 1999).

The setting of the altars is somewhat constrained by the shape of the building, which usually does not allow for much elaboration. Only the high altar must be visible to the congregation during the celebration of the Mass, the side altars being similar in shape and having common decorative vocabulary. One could walk from the entrance to the transept, finally arriving at the apse after crossing the clerestory which admits light from the upper part of the side walls. This is the stage of the Baroque church, where space was well-managed, where sculpture and pictures, whether altarpieces or ceiling paintings, were elicit and awed or imposed contemplative response from the worshippers. The side altars of the Catholic cathedral are attributed to Franz Wagner and Georg Wittmann, and were conceived in pairs, three on each side, decorated with statues of saints worshipped at that time in close connection with the themes of the Old and the New Testaments, having Rococo ornaments specific to the second half of the century, corresponding to the reign of Maria Theresa.

In rural Banat we encounter other Central European figures of the Baroque style, the case of Johann Georg Dorfmeister entitled *Academicus sculptor vienensis*, revealing a neoclassical manner in the decoration of the high altar of the church in Sasca Montană. His classical manner of rendering his figures with elongated limbs and studied physiognomies makes the statues of Saint Francis and

Theresa of Avilla two of the examples of late Baroque or Neoclassical style.

Another imperial establishment was the Catholic Church in Lennauheim, built during Maria Theresa's reign, both the cathedral in Timişoara and this edifice setting trends in architecture building in Banat. These official models will be adjusted to the interiors of the churches built during the entire 18th century in Banat, at a smaller scale, but with artistic analogies that certify the Baroque models.

The common features of all these altars are the ones that depict their form and style: many eclectic decorative motifs, panels underlining the surface, columns and pillars forming the central architecture, and an articulated form with three or two registers in elevation, always surmounted by a gable with asymmetrical and often abstract forms using ribbons, scrolls, shells and flowers.

What makes the Baroque architectural style so vital and exclamatory, is that it asserts primacy and authority in religious and social terms. In fact, from hieratic symbolic images, the 18th century turned exclusively decorative and votive.

Features of Viennese academism can be traced in different phases of manifestation, from forms that exult the ideology of the Counter Reform to forms having the background of the Enlightenment, thus from Baroque to Rococo and Neoclassicism, corresponding chronologically to the 18th century reigns in Banat: Charles VI, Maria Theresa and Joseph II.

The Baroque church was built as a symbol of church power, often housing important relics or being seen as a votive offering, proclaiming the church's authority in the newly acquired territory.

The Baroque as a style created a unity in diversity through the variety of its multicultural features, setting the stage for future contacts, influence penetration, even establishing dialogue between two worlds separated by hundreds of years of evolution, the province of Banat being situated at the crossroads between East and West.

The fact that Banat accommodates multiple confessional entities configured this space accordingly, each persuasion having a strong identity. Sound knowledge of these interferences is required for a better understanding of the local specificity, the Romanian community integrating itself in the European community by keeping alive traditional values. The Baroque style became a bonding factor, in a society united by the modernization phenomenon. What happened was a polarization of feelings manifested in different areas in regard to the attachment to the Catholic Austrian world, in the way this area subscribed to the European lifestyle, evidence of this being the radical transformation of the province that followed the conquest.

Influences from the western world became visible as artists and architects travelled in search of new commissions. How the style was accepted is obvious as early as the 1730s, even in the Orthodox milieu, where the models that prevailed were of western influence. After the period of Ottoman rule, when restrictions were imposed concerning the forms of the churches and materials of construction, now the very appearance of these churches changed, as they grew in height and monumentality, with imposing towers on the façade. The case of the Serbian churches is worth mentioning as it represents one of the peculiarities of the Baroque in Banat. In 1724, Metropolitan Archbishop Moisije Petrovič made some suggestions on the building of new churches and of their appearance. The recommendation suggested that the old tradition of long and narrow churches be abandoned in favour of long and wide churches. It was a clear suggestion of tradition abandonment and acceptance of the new. The metropolitan seat at Sremski Karlovci was a clear example of the Baroque penetrating the Orthodox Serbian milieu. (Medakovič, 1995:145-146)

When making considerations about the Baroque of the Serbian churches, one has to look at the particular situation that arose when the Serbians that immigrated in Hungary were compelled to receive influences. It is the case of the great migration that followed after the defeat of the Habsburgs at Belgrade in 1690. When fearing Turkish retribution, the Serbs moved to Hungary. Led by the head of the Serbian church, Arsenije III Čarnojevič, they settled in Hungary, and built wooden churches first and later, after the second half of the 18th century, stone and brick churches. The Baroque takeover was justified by the dignitaries of the Serbian church with the idea that the Serbs who found themselves in a Central European environment after their great migration could survive only if they melted into their new environment (Nagy, 2008:134). These were town churches with Baroque decorations, as we can notice at Szenténdre (1746), Hodmezövásarhély, Buda, Pest and Eger. The old stone churches underwent a process of refurbishment, receiving a Baroque façade, or tower replacement like those from Hodoş, Mesič and Krušedol, to mention just a few.

The peculiarities that make the Banat style a natural continuation of the European style is the perception of what used to be called *una cosa mentale*, the style transgressing into a *tehné.* It means that, from an official layout, the art changed into a rural manifestation. In the Baroque art of Banat, we can observe the rigor of the Austrian academism, towards which one should take into consideration the

following ideological aspects: the relation between the model and its representation, knowing that the life of forms is the most complex phenomenon in art history - from the architectural program where we can see forms imposed as models (even the settlements were arranged according to the *Shackbrettdorf* model) - endowed with churches having a general plan or typology, elaborated by special workshops where imperial architects and engineers worked.

Throughout the study of ornamentics, one can observe the abstract capacity of art, a reflection of the imaginary world of forms, and with the study of iconography and iconology we may bring inputs of scientific value to the study of art. The suggestive Baroque decorative vocabulary reveals recurrent motifs that overcome their period and still have a visual impact. The sculptural patterns that render vegetal motifs like scroll, pumpkin flowers, roses, grapes, pomegranates, the fruit of Proserpine, surround a central masqueron as one can see on the portal of the Episcopal palace of Timișoara.

The entire Baroque heritage of Banat is part of the European world of forms, having a delayed manifestation, but a particular aspect that reveals several categories of commissioners as main artistic displayers. Unknown followers of the Central European trend made the local, provincial Baroque one of those non official experiments that succeeded in transforming the province, a phenomenon that can be compared with the evolution in neighbouring provinces like Hungary and Transylvania.

Saint Nepomuk, for example, is one of the most depicted saints, (Vlăsceanu, 2012), a well-balanced pictorial and visual approach which renders the idea of a saint that protects and indicates, through gestures, the ways to be followed in order to receive redemption. Placed always as a reminder of the faith at the base of bridges, in vineyards, at crossroads, as allusions to his martyrdom, the saint protects against disastrous death and floods and becomes one of the holy patrons summoned against the terrible plague.

Conclusions

Baroque art in Europe received a stimulus from the Counter-Reformation, the aim of which was to renew and revive the Catholic religion against the Protestant challenge. The Baroque art in Banat had a dramatic range of emotional contents, great plasticity and pathos of composition. The choice of themes helped these elements to achieve their full effect, as we can see in the iconography of saints rendered in the Baroque sculpture of Banat.

Regarded as the century of the tragic world view, as Pierre Chaunu put it, (1989: 148), the entire 18th century was a period when models prevailing from Central European workshops found new means of expression in remoter rural areas such as the province of Banat, lingering in rustic contexts till late in the 19th century, visible in the late illustrations of the iconography of consecrated saints. These representations contribute to a great extent to the development of modern art, the rural workshops especially being responsible for the iconography models spread.

After the 1788-1791 war, the province lost the official status of a private domain of the Habsburgs, politically becoming more involved in Central European state affairs, while on the cultural level we notice that Enlightenment gives way to Romanticism.

The theory of cultural corridors put forward by Răzvan Theodorescu facilitated the understanding of the history of Banat from the Middle Ages to early modernity. The province of Banat was positioned geographically in the middle of the western cultural corridor, in an area where ideas and cultural deeds were pendulant from and towards Central Europe. The idea of frontier alignment to the centre was one of the French absolutist ideas, common to all European monarchies. (Theodorescu, 1974: 339-349)

The integration of the local variant of the Baroque found in Banat in what defines the Europe of forms in the 18th century is somehow chronological, the Baroque transcending time and space from the centre of what used to be the Habsburg Empire, having profound Italian influences, but being at the same time contaminated with the mentality of the settlers in Banat. The colonization of the province occurred throughout the entire 18th century, in various waves starting with the first wave of settlers that came from Tirol, Styria, Saxony and Bohemia, mainly miners that colonized the south part of Banat where they were integrated in the economy of natural resource exploitation. The other parts of the province were occupied by colonists from the western German provinces, Austria, Italy, even Spain. (Țintă, 1972:89)

The Neoclassicism of the French Baroque penetrated after Maria Theresa died in 1780 and was followed by the enlightened Joseph II. The reform on the visual level continued and the evolution of the Baroque can be linked with the political circumstances, with the social and economic development of the province. Unlike the phenomenon that occurred in Transylvania or Hungary, in Banat there was no tradition in sculpture, be it monumental or funerary.

The cultural exploitation of this tremendous heritage of art consists of asserting typologies and

directions of evolution in what makes the style a continuation of the artistic evolution of the 18th century art of Europe with its eclectic capacity. This exploration into the realm of forms that shaped the mentality for the centuries to come stands as a guideline in the art history of the Banat province.

The artistic milieu of the period was defined by the artists and artisans that transposed their creations alongside a European route, evolving in what makes the style a local specific variant of the Baroque. The simplification of the artistic repertoire, forms and means of expression followed the first stage of development when the new coordinates were set according to the official models, and they were continued till the late 19th century. These aspects of the Baroque art in Banat make up its uniqueness and dependence on the Central European phenomenon, as main guidelines of form and style evolution.

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6. Fragmented ceiling painting of the apse vault, Mystic Lamb and the four Evangelists (second barrel vault).

REMARKS ON SOME PORTRAITS OF QUEEN MARIE ANTOINETTE FROM TWO MUSEUM COLLECTIONS IN ROMANIA

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***Abstract**: The portraits of Queen Marie Antoinette dating from the 18th c. are related to the political cult of the French royal family, which, since the Revolution, was reshaped after that of the Christian martyrs. The later portraits, from the 19th c., are not necessarily related to the period of the Restoration, when this cult had a public character. The most recent ones could be linked rather to the romantic perception of the queen, as a victim of her extravagant life. To a large extent, this perception is also influenced by the stereotypes of the French revolutionary propaganda, which insisted not only on the waste of the royal court, but also on the debauchery which the queen would have patronized. From this perspective, the revolutionary satirical composition from the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, acquired in 1965, which ridicules the portraits and the "relics" kept in the royalist environment, imitates the appearance of the "devotional objects" of this political cult, is a rare and very valuable piece.*

***Keywords:** Marie Antoinette, Johann Martin Stock, Austrian monogrammist WS, Louis Dupré, monarchical legitimism, revolutionary satirical composition.*

Introduction

Archduchess Maria Antonia Josepha Johanna of Austria, better known as *Marie Antoinette* (November 2, 1755 – October 16, 1793; Queen of France and Navarre, 1774-1792), after her marriage (1770) with Louis Auguste of Bourbon (1754-1793), Duke de Berry, the heir to the throne of France and Navarre, who rulled as Louis XVI (1774-1792), was portrayed in various hypostases throughout her life, but only recently her portraits began to be the object of a hermeneutical research, in terms of the message they want to convey. Her childhood portraits, commissioned by Maria Theresia, shows her as Archduchess Maria Carolina, her sister closest in age, concerned with art, music, sewing, riding and hunting, with the important note that (despite their mother's critical remarks about her own childhood) the education of both princesses was not a priority for their parents, who did not expect (due to the two girls' younger age) to involve them in matrimonial projects of high importance, and therefore it should be concluded that these portraits reflect rather the traditional education of a young aristocratic girl, who had to be prepared exclusively for the common tasks of a future wife and mother (Harris 2016, 31). This limited and permissive education, if compared to the strict schedule of her other siblings, later influenced the public behaviour of the Queen of France, who often recalled nostalgically her carefree childhood, the simple life, with few social constraints, spent in the countryside, in the middle of nature, at the residence in Schönbrunn (Harris 2016, 32). In France, her attitude of protest against the constraints of the etiquette was manifested shortly after her arrival at Versailles, but also her attempts to introduce a stronger note of intimacy in her public image (by promoting the image of an united couple, intended to combat both the memory of King Louis XV's court dominated by amorous intrigues and the rumours about the sexual dysfunctions of her husband) outraged the court, which perceived the queen's behaviour as an affront to the French courtly traditions and enhanced its xenophobic resentments. These were amplified by the king's perception as one playing a secondary role in his family, at the court and even in the state, falling prey to foreign interests (Harris 2016, 86 and 151). Marie Antoinette wanted to present herself to a large audience as self-identified with the King's subjects, wives and mothers (Harris 2016, 8), but also as a munificent queen, who bestowed a lot of good deeds upon her subjects (Hautecœur 1982, 42 and 46). She commissioned a series of portraits which had to show her in the hypostasis of a mother, among which those by Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842) had an impact on a wider audience, being exhibited at the Art Salons (Harris 2016, 150). Just like the public announcements on the economies in the queen's household, these portraits were meant to convince all the social categories about the good intentions of the queen, who already faced allegations of immorality and extravagance (Harris 2015, 8). Therefore, they are departing from the canons of the French royal

portrait, by lacking the royal insignia or their secondary role and especially by the fact that the queen's garments were not those asked by the court's etiquette, which is why (according to the memories of the mentioned artist) the French public was reluctant to them, being outraged by the frivolity of the queen's costume and by the absence of the king. Thus, they fed the rumours doubting the king's paternity over her children, but also the public concerns about their education (Harris 2016, 151), entrusted to the queen's friend, Duchess de Polignac, whose influence was regarded as negative, both due to her lack of qualifications for this high office and to the suspicions about the reasons why she enjoyed the queen's confidence (Harris 2016, 143-152), but especially due to her intimacy with the royal family, which bestowed upon her important privileges (Harris 2016, 143), traditionally reserved to the most prominent families (Harris 2016, 74). Neither she, nor another friend of the queen's, Princess de Lamballe, created Superintendent of the Queen's Household, belonged to this milieu (Harris 2016, 51-52 şi 74), and the fact that this household was administrated autonomously to the King's (Harris 2016, 73-74) and that both the queen and the king preferred the company of young aristocrats (Harris 2016, 72) without public merits and who did not belong to the most important French families gave rise to suspicions that the state came under the control of a hedonistic group, representing the interests of foreign powers. This unfavourable perception of the royal family echoed in a large number of pamphlets and caricatures and led to a continuing increase of the hostility to kingship, as France's economic situation worsened and the internal tensions and the danger of a foreign intervention in favour of the royal family enhanced. The revolutionary terror and the destruction caused by the wars of 1792-1815 led to a gradual change in the perception of the royal family, which went beyond the limits of the loyalist aristocratic circles in France and of the émigrés and is reflected by a newly appeared series of portraits, which spreads at first in this milieu and eventually becomes an important category of the visual propaganda of the Restoration regime.

In Romania, Marie Antoinette is quite rarely rendered in painting and most of her portraits are actually miniatures. The research of the House of Habsburg members' portraits from Sibiu (Sonoc 2011; Sonoc, Luca 2014; Sonoc, Popa 2015), and more recently of the paintings belonging to the French school or linked to the history of France from the collection of the Brukenhtal National Museum, carried during the last years, led to the discovery of two new miniatures portraying Marie Antoinette in the mentioned museum's collection, which will be analysed on this occasion. Of these two miniatures, that which is a revolutionary satirical composition was shown at the National Museum in Gdańsk (*Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku*), in the exhibition „Sin. Images of Sin in European Art from the 15th c. to the Early 20th c." (*Grzech. Obrazy grzechu w stuce europejskiej od XV do początku XX wieku*), during November 7, 2014 – January 31, 2015 (Gdańsk 2015, 401). In the exhibition's catalogue, Beata Purc-Stępniak regarded as hypothetical the characters' identification proposed by me and, although she accepted to date the work during 1791-1793, as I proposed for the reasons which will be discussed below, she assigned this miniature to an unknown painter from the 19th c. (*sic!*).

Previously, the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum was known to include only one portrait (oil on canvas, 62.5 x 47.5 cm, inv. 1132) of Queen Marie Antoinette (Fig. 1), purchased by Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, the museum's founder, possibly by an unknown German painter, but later assigned to the Transylvanian painter Johann Martin Stock (1742-1800) (Die Gemälde- Galerie 1844, 141, cat. 376; Führer 1893, 71, nr. cat. 21; Csaki 1901, 305, cat. 1090; Csaki 1909, 337, cat. 1132; Popescu 2000, 19 and 33, cat. 1). Elena Popescu, who argued that „mastering the Baroque means of expression, the artist emphasizes the minutely depicted decorative elements, the details and accessories, the quilling, the laces, the folds and the jewels", but noted at the same time that „the queen's portrait, without correspondents in the late 18th c. Transylvanian painting, can be assigned to it only by the Transylvanian origin of the artist, and the interest for this character comes maybe from the fact that Marie Antoinette was the daughter of Empress Maria Theresia" (Popescu 2000, 19). The mentioned researcher considered this work to be „the most Baroque among the portraits by Stock" (Popescu 2000, 33). As I noticed that the character's head is copied after the painting *Maria Antonia at the Spinet* by Franz Xaver Wagenschön (1726-1790) from the Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. GG 7084), painted about 1769, shortly before the princess was married to the future Louis XVI (Fig. 2) and that it was added to a bust which is faithfully copied after an anonymous portrait of Emperess Elisabeth Christine (Fig. 3), I stressed that the portrait from the Brukenthal National Museum's collection should be further considered as a work of an anonymous Austrian artist from the late 18th c. (Sonoc 2011, 36, cat. 9.1., fig. 9.1.). Of course, the Baroque character of this work, noted by Elena Popescu and so different from the artist's subsequent evolution, could be

explained correctly by the fact that it is a simple studio exercise, due maybe to a student of the Viennese Academy of Art (possibly even to a disciple of Franz Xaver Wagenschön), which consisted of making a *portrait d'apparat* by juxtaposing a head copied after an appreciated painter on a bust of Marie Antoinette's maternal grandmother. This was painted obviously in Vienna, most likely about 1720 (and not earlier, in Barcelona), if comparing her hairdress and physiognomy with the closest of her portraits (oil on canvas, 98 x 72 cm), by Frans van Stampart (1675-1750), also dated about 1720, from an unfortunately unknown location and with another portrait (oil on canvas, cm), dated c. 1716-1720, by David Richter the Elder (1661-1735), from the Magyar Nemzeti Galéria in Budapest. Even if there is no convincing evidence which may support the attribution of Marie Antoinette's portrait to Johann Martin Stock, first recorded only in the first printed guide (1844) of the Brukenthal Museum's gallery (but curiously not in the handwritten catalogue of c. 1800, written by the artist himself), the Transylvanian painter cannot be excluded as a possible author of this portrait of Marie Antoinette (although it remained without other correspondents in his work), as he could have seen both paintings which inspired this portrait, during his studies in Vienna, at the Academy of Fine Arts (1763-1772), where Martin van Meytens the Younger (1763-1771) was one of his teachers and at the Academy of Copper Engraving and Drawing (1771-1772) (Bielz 1956, 23; Popescu 2000, 16-17). However, at the current stage of research on the works of Martin van Meytens the Younger's studio and of the great Viennese painter's students, as well on the life and work of J. M. Stock, I consider that it would be more prudent to assign this interesting work to a late 18th c. Viennese painter.

Except for this work, previously Romania was known to own only miniature portraits, meanwhile reported only in Bucharest (7 items) and Timișoara (1 item). At the National Art Museum of Romania in Bucharest there are 4 anonymous portraits dated in the 18th c. (Antonescu 1999, 38, cat. 49-52, fig. 52), one by Jean Baptiste Jacques Augustin (1759-1838) (Antonescu 1999, 37, cat. 48, fig. 48) and one by Adolf Alexandre Lesrel (1839-1921) (Antonescu 1999, 60, cat. 88), both French painters, respectively one by Alexandre Latour (1780-1858), a Belgian painter (Antonescu 1999, 82, cat. 133).

Particularly interesting is the miniature (Fig. 6) by the late 18th c. Austrian monogrammist WS (gouache on ivory, 85 x 65 mm, inv. 2787; signature in black capitals, right, near the character's shoulder), from the collection of the Art Museum in Timișoara (Cornea 2012, 264-26, cat. 475; cf. Barocul în Banat 1992, 49, cat. 87, photo 116). This work, previously dated more loosely (in the second half of the 18th c.), is inspired by a portrait in coronation costume (oil on canvas, 160 x 128 cm), painted in 1775 by Jean-Baptiste André Gautier-Dagoty (1740-1786), kept now at the Palace of Versailles (Fig. 7), which may have been copied by its author himself as a bust the same year and is kept at the Musée Antoine Lécuyer in Saint-Quentin (Fig. 8). This is a clue (or at least a *terminus post quem*) for a more precise date of the miniature in Timișoara, in the late 18th c. (maybe in 1775-1793). The mentioned painting by J.-B. A. Gautier-Dagoty from Versailles also inspired a print (25.5 x 20.5 cm) by Jean-François Janinet (1752-1814), dated in 1777, of which a copy is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, in Paris. For the monogrammist WS, the source of inspiration was not this print, but the painting from Versailles and, as demonstrated by the presence of a light blue ribbon on the egret both in the portrait from Versailles and in the miniature from Timișoara, the painting from Saint-Quentin could not have served as a model for the Austrian monogrammist. As a result, this artist could be said to have seen the portrait from Versailles, having therefore access to the French court (sometime between 1775-1789), obviously due to the good political relations of the Holy Roman Empire with France, reinforced by the matrimonial relations of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine with the House of Bourbon.

Unfortunately, this Austrian monogrammist cannot be identified with the German monogrammist signing with the same initials, but accompanied by an arrow, who is known due to another miniature, *Portrait of a Young Lady in a Red Coat* (watercolour on paper glued on canvas, 17 x 14.5 cm), dated 1830 and auctioned on May 23, 2015 (lot 6018) by Henry's Auktionhaus AG in Mutterstadt (Germany). This artist (who is obviously more recent than the aforementioned one, who may have visited the court at Versailles) has a monogram showing the letter S positioned above the letter W and both crossed by a tip-up oriented arrow.

A first conclusion drawn from the study of Queen Marie Antoinette's portraits from the museums and collections in Romania is that most of them date from the late 18th c. and a smaller number from the first half of the 19th c. Obviously, this situation is closely related to the attitude of the French aristocratic emigration and then of the Restoration regime to the royals who were victims of the revolutionary terror. Opposing this attitude is that of the anti-royalist propaganda during the French Revolution, which denigrated the French Royal

House (as demonstrates one of the two miniatures from Sibiu discussed below, which may be considered as a revolutionary satirical composition). It should also be noted that, at the current stage of research, portraits which may be certainly considered by German and Austrian painters can be found only in Sibiu and Timișoara, while in Bucharest prevail works by French and Belgian artists, as a result of the different cultural orientation of Transylvania and Banat during the late 18th and early 20th c., towards Vienna rather than Paris.

This is confirmed, once again, by the fact that in Brukenthal National Museum's collection there is another item related to the political propaganda supported by the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, but contrary to the interests of France and of the House of Bourbon, which was restored on the thrones of France and Spain after the Napoleonic Wars, respectively a miniature (oil on ivory, 7.4 x 5.8 cm, inv. 2253) purchased in 1964 from the collector Aurelian Păcuraru of Lipova, Arad county, copied after a copy in the Louvre Museum (painted c. 1620-1630) of a missing portrait by Peter Paul Rubens rendering Anne of Austria, the Royal Consort of Louis XIII and grandmother of Louis XV, who bought it in 1682 as an original work. This miniature could be linked to the activity of pro-Habsburg Spanish circles and with the House of Habsburg-Lorraine's attempts to influence the political decisions of Europe's great powers regarding Spain during the Peace Congress in Vienna (Sonoc, Luca 2014, 280-281, fig. 1). Indeed, the conservative pro-Habsburg Spanish aristocratic circles were particularly active in the context of later events, during 1833-1848, when Austria (alongside Prussia and Russia, who didn't break the relations with the ruling queen Isabella II of Spain until 1836) supported the conservative contender and Queen's uncle, Don Carlos Count de Molina, while the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France and, since 1834, Portugal supported Isabella II (Anderle 2009, 93-97). However, this miniature portrait in Sibiu would have less symbolic significance in the latter circumstances, because both Isabella II and Don Carlos Count de Molina belong to the House of Bourbon, not to the House of Habsburg, like Anne of Austria.

1. Louis Dupré (1789-1837), *Marie Antoinette, Wife of King Louis XVI of France and Navarre*
   Oil on ivory, 6.5 x 5 cm. Ivory-clad wooden frame. Signed lower right, in black italics: Dupré.
   Brukenthal National Museum, inv. 2609.
   Fig. 12.

The character is rendered as a bust slanting slightly to the left, whose head is slightly slanting to the right. The queen wears an orange dress, with an ample décolletage, adorned with lace, which allows a glimpse of her breasts. Her face is oval, with a small nose, ruddy cheeks, sensual mouth and grey eyes. Her brown hair, tied with a pink bundle, seems divided into two braids falling on her shoulders. The queen's figure, showing a pleasant and naive superficiality, even a certain coquetry, stands out through chromatic contrast and light effects from the background in grey-bluish and grey-violet tones.

In each corner of the ivory-clad wooden frame is inscribed the royal monogram MA (in ligature), which was for me a first clue to identify the portrayed character, although it is a simplified version of the authentic monogram, surmounted by the royal crown, used during the queen's life (Fig. 9). A simplified version, which is also not surmounted by a crown, is depicted on a vessel (Fig. 10) of the queen's travel kit, currently kept at the Louvre Museum (Fig. 11).

The work is inspired by the portraits made between 1783-1788 by Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Close in terms of the hairstyle and of other physiognomic details, for example, *Marie Antoinette with Rose* (oil on canvas, 113 x 87 cm), dated 1783 and exhibited in the palace Le Petit Trianon, are two portraits kept in the Versailles Palace: *Marie Antoinette and Her Children* (oil on canvas, 275 x 215 cm), dated 1787 and currently exhibited in the antechamber of the Dining Hall (later called *Salle du Grand Couvert*) of the Queen's Small Apartment on the 1st floor of the Palace, respectively *Marie Antoinette of Austria, Queen of France* (oil on canvas, 271 x 195 cm), dated 1788. This series could be joined by a portrait from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Viena, dated 1779, which is very similar to one currently exhibited in the Billiard Hall of the palace Le Petit Trianon (oil on canvas, 276 x 193 cm), as well as one painted in 1785 for the French Foreign Office (now in a private collection), which was copied in several versions, among which that in the Konopiště castle (Czech Republic). Léonard-Alexis Autié, the Queen's Hairdresser, created this hairdress soon after the birth of her daughter, Marie-Thérèse Charlotte (December 19, 1778). However, considering the braids falling on her shoulders, which are not specific to the portraits from 1783-1788 (except that in Vienna), but physiognomically and in terms of the portrayed character's age, much closer than the latter, the painter seems to have known another portrait (pastel on paper, 570 x 470 mm) from 1790-1793, currently in a French private collection and attributed to the Polish painter Alexander Kucharsky (1741-1819), who, after Élisabeth Louise

Vigée-Lebrun fled abroad (October 5-6, 1789), became the queen's portrait painter. Louis Dupré, the author of the miniature in the Brukenthal National Museum's collection, was a disciple of Jacques-Louis David and became the official painter of King Jérôme of Westphalia and later of King Charles X of France. He is well known for the works with oriental and philo-hellenic themes, but also as a lithographer. He travelled much and, consequently, worked in various places: in Kassel (1811-1814), in Naples (1819-1820, 1824-1826), in Rome (1816-1819, 1824-1831), in Constantinople and Greece (c. 1820), in Vienna (1820-1824). During his journey through the Ottoman Empire, which inspired a series of works finished in 1825 (Dupré 1825), he was an eye witness of the Independence War of Greece, as a sympathizer of the Greek people's cause. In addition to the portraits made for the coronation of Charles X, as commissions of the royal court or rendering different courtiers or artists, the portrait of Michael Suțu (Soutzos) should be mentioned (1784-1864), former Hospodar (Prince) of Moldova (June 12, 1819 – March 29, 1821) and the portrait of his daughter, Hellene. Both portraits, dated in 1820, were made during the administration of this Phanariote ruler, who was in close contact with the Greek liberation movement, favoured the entrance of the Filiki Eteria's revolutionary troops in Moldova and fled first to Bessarabia and then to Austria, where he was arrested and imprisoned for a while in Brno and then in Gorizia (for the biography of L. Dupré, see Thieme 1914, 177-178).

There is little information about the provenance of this work. In the inventory register of the Brukenthal National Museum it is recorded as *Portrait of a Woman*, its author being C. Dupré, an artist who is not mentioned by the dictionaries and lexicons I had access to. It is known only that in 1970 it was transferred to the collection of European Painting from the collection of Graphic, the only recording being its provenance from the Graphic collection of the Brukenthal Museum. Unfortunately, it is not known yet how this miniature came to be included in this collection in 1961.

Given the period when Louis Dupré worked and the political context which favoured the making of a miniature with the portrait of the queen who was beheaded during the French Revolution, the work should be dated during the period of the Restoration (1814-1830), when Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, Prince Louis-Charles (1785-1795), Duke of Normandy and heir to the throne (*Dauphin*), proclaimed king as Louis XVII by the loyalist aristocrats, but died in detention (June 8, 1795), became, in the royalist circles, the subject of a political cult, being considered martyrs. However, the Restoration could not erase the memory of Marie Antoinette's wasting, that the new embodiment of royal generosity and charity became Madame Elisabeth (1764-1794), the youngest sibling of King Louis XVI (Hautecœur 1982, 46), who remained with the royal family during the whole period of their detention. Doubtless, she was an aristocrat of extreme conservatism, which seemed excessive even to the royal couple and there is evidence that she actively supported the intrigues of the French émigrés led by Count d'Artois to bring foreign armies into France to crush the revolution. Following the insistence of Jacques René Hébert and against the opinion of Maximilien de Robespierre, who thought she should not be trialled and executed, but only exiled from France, she was finally guillotined (May 10, 1794). In monarchist circles, she was much admired for her exemplary private life, for her charitable nature, as well as for her devotion to the royal family and to the Roman Catholic Church. Since 1924, when her Cause of Beatification was introduced (but has not yet been completed), she is officially regarded as a martyr and servant of the Lord by the Roman Catholic Church.

2. Late 18th c. French anonymous, *Two Women with Pigeons*
   Oil on ivory, 83 x 63 mm.
   Ivory-clad wooden frame.
   Brukenthal National Museum, inv. 2355.
   Fig. 13.

The importance of an interdisciplinary study of painting and literature, from a comparative perspective, is well known (Grigorescu 1979) and offers outstanding results in terms of the cultural connections within the 17th – 20th c. French culture (Hautecœur 1982), particularly for the age of the Revolution (Starobinski 1990).

Before the coronation of Louis XVI, the most various and sordid rumours about his wife made her an image of a frivolous, irresponsible, luxury loving and wasteful woman, an image which accompanied Marie Antoinette's memory, despite her efforts to counter it (Craveri 2006, 24-28). This image is due especially to the intense propaganda of the French Revolution, in which both the pamphlet (Fleischmann 1976; Thomas 1989; Bertaud 2000) and the caricature (Baecque 1988; Cuno 1988) had an extremely important role. The caricature, which developed with a particular virtuosity around 1789, as a hyperrealist riposte (often with vulgar and parodic accents) against the hyperidealistic temptation of the hedonistic aesthetics cultivated by the artists of the royal court's milieu, became a destructive political

weapon (Starobinski 1990, 154-155), targeting directly and effectively persons of public notoriety. The revolutionary French caricature is not only hyperrealistic, but also hyper-expressive, because of the impact of the physiognomic theories of Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) on the artists, respectively of Johann Casper Lavater (1740-1801) on the society, in general (Starobinski 1990, 154; cf. Le Brun 1702; Lavater 1775-1778; for the impact of the physiognomic theories of J. C. Lavater, see Shookman 1993).

Satire and the Revolution

Seen from such a cultural and historical perspective, the miniature in the Brukenthal National Museum purchased in 1965, in Sibiu, from the citizen Victor Iliescu, but previously unstudied, has a particular importance. It could be considered a revolutionary satirical composition, which echoes both the antimonarchic pamphlets of 1791-1793 and older rumours, concerning the so-called „Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace" (1784-1785) and the alleged intimate relationship between Marie Antoinette, Queen of France and Navarre, and various women from the court.

The affair is mainly about two friends of the queen, namely Marie-Louise Thérèse of Savoy-Carignan (1749-1792), Princess de Lamballe, for whom in 1774 was re-established the controversial office of Superintendent of the Queen's Household, and Yolande Martine Gabrielle de Polastron (1749-1793), Duchess de Polignac, whom Marie Antoinette met only in 1775 and who, in 1782, became the governess of the royal family's children, to the dissatisfaction of the family de Rohan (Harris 2016, 74). The promotion of both friends who did not belong to the highest circles of the French aristocracy (which had strict rules of precedence in the court's dignities) caused dissatisfaction (Harris 2016, 51-52), contributing thus to the spread of denigrating rumours. The rise of these rumours was favoured both by the fact that the queen's close friendship with the Princess de Lamballe dated already since the former was still the wife of the heir to the throne of France and by various chapbooks (*libelles*) which promoted relationships of this kind (Fraser 2001, 131-132). The Duchess de Polignac was also presented as a lover of the queen in various pamphlets printed during 1789-1793, but also in couplets reproduced in contemporary memoirs (Fleischmann 1911a, 66-69), which actually reflect the impact of these antiroyalist writings on the public opinion. Less frequent are the rumours about the relationship between the queen and Marie-Paule-Angélique d'Albert de Luynes (1744-1781), Vicountess d'Amiens and Duchess de Picquigny, then Duchess de Chaulnes, reputed at that time, with the contribution of Louis Binet, to have sexual intercourse with the queen (Rupp 2009, 117, fig. 14). The rumours about the existence of intimate relations between Marie Antoinette and various ladies at the French court could be explained by the fact that during the 17th-18th c. in various countries of Western Europe pornography became an instrument of political propaganda, and such „news" were frequently peddled to attack the aristocracy or the adverse political party (Rupp 2009, 116), since the discourse about the depravity of the political elites used to associate references to this kind of libertinage practiced by female representatives of the aristocracy (Rupp 2009, 118). In France, the political propaganda made use of rumours to such an extent that Queen Marie Antoinette appealed to a quite well known character at that time, namely Françoise-Marie-Antoinette Saucerotte (1756-1815) alias „Mademoiselle de Raucourt", actually an actress of the French Comedy, who was said to organize an „anandrine sect", joined by Madeleine-Sophie Arnould (1740-1802), a famous opera singer (Rupp 2009, 119). Such rumours, which were later exploited in literature, were fuelled by real facts, such as the situation of the mentioned actress (Rupp 2009, 120). In addition to the confusion and to the terror which spread among women, such political attacks and pornographic pamphlets drew attention to a phenomenon occurring in the most diverse social milieus (Rupp 2009, 121).

Not only the licentious writings on women's love affairs, but also the paintings with such a theme (depicting frivolous „news") enjoyed the appreciation of many collectors, sometimes even of the aristocratic milieu, where since the 16th c. paintings with mythological scenes appeared depicting the theme of „the forbidden love". A work with such a subject (Fig. 14), by a 17th c. anonymous artist from the Netherlands, entitled *The Friends* (oil on canvas, 93 x 74 cm, inv. 847) and purchased as being painted by Frans de Neve (Gemälde- Galerie 1844, 91, cat. 367; Führer 1893, 41, cat. 391; Csaki 1901, 230-231, cat. 830; Csaki 1909, 252, cat. 847; Spek 1941, 24, cat. 847) comes right from the painting collection of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say wherefrom and when this interesting work was purchased, which in 1844 was believed to present a young man and a young woman and which, after the necessary rectification of its interpretation was made (in the gallery's guide published in 1893) did not attract the researchers' attention. Conversely, finding among the paintings of the same collection some with a homoerotic message involving men is even more difficult, but still possible, by studying the structure of a few paintings' composition.

The miniature in the Brukenhtal National Museum's collection shows that its anonymous author was aware not only of the rumours about the queen's intimate relationship with Duchess of Polignac and Princess of Lamballe, but seems to have been informed also on a subject whose impact was even stronger, concerning the existence of such a relationship with a person who was actually detested by the queen, Jeanne de Valois-Saint-Rémy, the so-called „Countess de La Motte-Valois" (1756-1791), who was involved in the infamous „Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace" and was the author of memoirs published in London in May 1789, in an English and in a French version (Memoirs 1789; Mémoire justificatif 1789), believed to have been written with the support of an aristocrat exiled in London, Viscount Charles Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802) (Maza 1993, 207). An earlier work, issued in Paris in 1785 (Mémoire 1785), representing her apology for the justice, written with the help of her lawyer Jacques-François Doillot, was printed and distributed free of charge, but as the interest aroused by this affair was so great, those who managed to obtain a copy of it used to resell it for exorbitant prices (Schreiber 1988, 125). The Countess de La Motte-Valois is the alleged author of other apologetic writings from 1789-1790, such as a pamphlet hostile to the queen (La reine dévoilée 1789), or two petitions addressed to the National Assembly (Supplique 1790; Adresse 1790), of which the majority were published also in London, amidst the aristocratic émigrés, hostile to Marie Antoinette.

In the anonymous miniature of Sibiu, the two women are caricaturally portrayed in a tondo, sitting in close proximity one to the other. The blue-eyed woman on the left wears a blue dress with an ample neckline, adorned with lace, a bulky wig on her head, powdered and decorated with a golden hair jewel (made, it seems, of a braided string), earrings made of pearls and a necklace consisting of 3 strings of pearls on her breast. She could be easily identified as Marie Antoinette, due to her physiognomy and the hairdress she preferred about 1769. Around her left arm, whose hand is holding discreetly a knitted handkerchief, is wrapped a brown-reddish mantle with golden embroidery, whose edge she seems to hope to cover her breast. Over her bare body, the woman on the right wears a reddish hooded and sleeved mantle, a white bourgeois bonnet on her head, adorned with a light blue ribbon. Her right hand rests on the queen's shoulder and her left hand on the upper part of the the latter's breast, while her index finger touches gently the necklace at the queen's neck, at which she is gazing. The character's physiognomy recalls Princess de Lamballe rather than Countess de La Motte-Valois, although (considering the gesture of stretching her finger to the necklace on the queen's neck), the artist seems to have wanted to render the latter. In front of them, above a cage made of braided twigs, a mating couple of pigeons is depicted, at which only the queen is looking. In the background there is a cherry-coloured curtain hanging, in gradient, whose folds are in green tones, to suggest light effects. The composition is well structured and the caricature portraits stand out due to the contrast between the colour of the flesh and the dark background. The corners of the ivory-clad wooden frame are adorned with a floral motif, which is in fact a vegetal styling of Queen Marie Antoinette's monogram (A+M ligated).

Both the jewels and the gestures of the characters, as well as the depiction of the mating pigeons suggest quite transparently the rumours spread by the anti-monarchy propaganda of the French Revolution during 1791-1793. In the 18th c. French erotic jargon, the jewels (*les bijoux*) represent the female genitals (Maza 1993, 205). An obvious pornographic work anonymously published in 1748 by Denis Diderot via the Parisian bookseller Laurent Durand (1712-1763) is entitled *Les bijoux indiscrets* and is a retelling of the adventure of the female genitals (Maza 1993, 205-206, n. 110), which are made to give thanks to a charmed ring received by King Louis XV from Sultan Mangogul of Congo. A well-known French revolutionary caricature, *Enjambée de la Sainte-Famille des Thuilleries à Montmidy* (c. 1791), occasioned by the royal family's attempt to flee abroad and their capture only 64 km from the border, („the Flight to Varennes", June 21, 1791), shows Marie Antoinette carrying her whole family on her back as she takes a huge step from the roof of the Tuilleries Palace to the Montmidy fort in north-eastern France (which was a bastion of the counter-revolutionary émigrés), while below, between her legs are placed Duke de Coigny (one of her alleged lovers) and the protagonists of the „Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace", respectively Cardinal Louis Prince de Rohan, Bishop of Strasbourg and Countess de La Motte-Valois, who is holding, in her raised hand, the diamond necklace, at which both men are staring (Cuno 1988, 185-186). Coming back to the miniature in Sibiu, the pigeons are a symbol of love (as a bird dedicated to Venus), but also the messengers carrying the secret correspondence, which in this situation does not allude only to the love letters, but also to the queen's correspondence with her relatives in Vienna, respectively with the enemies of revolutionary France – one of the accusations against both Louis XVI and herself which contributed to their being sentenced to death. The ribbon decorating the bonnet of the

queen's friend is light blue, like the queen's dress and the lent of the dynastic Order of the Holy Ghost, suggesting symbolically a close relationship not only with the queen, but also with the French Royal House and, maybe, the aristocratic origin of the character, who would be „of blue blood", despite her plebeian costume. The hooded mantle suggests the secret, either in terms of the person wearing it or her intentions and actions. The role of the quite explicit gestures is to clarify the allegations of an outrageous sexuality, the whims and waste of which would have led to France's economic ruin and to the impoverishment of the people. The knitted handkerchief which the queen is hiding in her left fist, as well as the gesture of holding an edge of the mantle, in an attempt to cover her breast, would suggest her concern for discretion, a concern not to conceal her fleshly desires, but rather to avoid the shame of betraying her husband, the King of France and indirectly, the interests of France, ruined by her debauchery and whims.

The study of the characters' physiognomy allows some remarks on the author's sources of inspiration. The hairdress of Marie Antoinette is not one which she preferred in the 80's-90's of the 18th c., but in the period right before her marriage, when she still lived with her family in Vienna, as seen in a portrait of 1769 (pastel on parchment, 64.8 x 49.5 cm), by Joseph Ducreux (1735-1802) kept at the Versailles Palace. With a hair jewel similar to the golden one depicted in the miniature of Sibiu, Marie Antoinette is rendered in a portrait dated 1775 and attributed to J.-B. A. Gautier-Dagoty, from the Musée Antoine Lécuyer in Saint-Quentin (but in this case the adornment is made of a pearl string). The problem of the sources of inspiration for the other woman in the miniature of Sibiu is more difficult. The character's physiognomy recalls the portrait of Princess de Lamballe (oil on canvas, 214 x 158 cm), made in 1776 by Antoine-François Callet (1741-1823) and kept at the Versailles Palace (Fig. 15). This identification is confirmed by the comparison with a portrait engraved by Friedrich Fleischmann (1791-1834) coordinated by Louis-Pierre Henriquel-Dupont (1797-1892) after the portrait made by Karl Anton Hickel (1745-1798), the painter of the Viennese court, who, in 1786, worked in France, under the patronage of Queen Marie Antoinette and of Princess de Lamballe. In 1864, the portrait engraved by Fr. Fleischmann was used to illustrate the biography of the Princess, written by François Adolphe Mathurin de Lescure (Lescure 1864). As far as Countess de La Motte-Valois is concerned, a physiognomic comparison with the portrait painted c. 1780 by Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun (oil on canvas, 29.5 x 23.5 cm), with an anonymous coloured print (16.5 x 12 cm) dated about 1785, from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (Fig. 16) and with a print (17 x 11.5 cm) by François Bonneville (documented in Paris during 1791-1814), dated about 1796, also from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Fig. 17) shows that the author of the miniature in the Brukenthal National Museum's collection seems not to have known her physiognomy. This is in fact irrelevant, as the artist intended to make a caricature which should allude both to the queen imprisoned in the Temple Tower and to the „Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace", as well as to her alleged intimate relations with women in her entourage.

The bourgeois bonnet worn by Princess de Lamballe (who is shown wearing it in all the portraits I know) seems to be inspired by the late 18th c. bourgeois costume. It was also adopted by Marie Antoinette during her detention, already in the last days of the period she spent in the Tuilleries Palace (October 6, 1789 – August 12, 1792), where on June 20, 1792, the mob stormed the palace, insulting the queen who wore the bonnet with tricolour cocarde and forcing the King and the Dauphin to wear red „Liberty bonnets" (Campan 2008, 488), as a sign of loyalty to revolutionary France (as depicted in by a 19th c. anonymous painter, Fig. 18). She continued wearing it during her detention in the Temple Tower (August 13, 1792 – August 1, 1793) and the Conciègerie (August 1, 1793 – October 16, 1793). The queen is shown wearing it in 1793 in her last portrait, by Alexander Kucharsky, while she was imprisoned in the Tower Temple, in a pastel (25 x 20 cm), once in the collection of Count Karol Lanckorońsky (1848-1933), copied maybe the same year by Sophie Prieur, whose painting in oil on canvas is kept now at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. The queen wore it while she was transported to the scaffold, on October 16, 1793, as shown in a pen and ink drawing (150 x 100 mm) by Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), kept at the Louvre Museum. During the so-called „September massacres" (September 2-6, 1792), which began shortly after the royal family was brought to the Temple Tower, Princess de Lamballe, who in her double quality of Superintendent of the Queen's Household and confidant served faithfully Marie Antoinette both during the period when the royal family was imprisoned in the Tuilleries Palace and later, during the detention in the Temple Tower (Saint-Amand 1901, 286) was killed on September 3, 1792 by the mob, outraged by her refusal to swear to hate the king, the queen and the monarchy (Decker 1979, 246). Her severed head was stuck on a pike and carried in front of the window of the queen's room (Fraser 2001, 389; cf. Campan 2008, 544-546).

Thus, the author of the miniature in the Brukenthal National Museum's collection seems to have known the two portraits from Versailles (rendering Marie Antoinette, respectively Princess de Lamballe), maybe also the queen's portraits by Alexander Kucharsky, but not (in my opinion) the Princess de Lamballe's portraits by J. Hickel and Fr. Fleischmann. It is difficult to say if the artist could have known the drawing by J.-L. David or have seen the queen during the last part of her detention (most likely, during her trial) or, as J.-L. David, while she was transported to the scaffold. He may have only had some information about her costume during this period, which he used for rendering the other character of this interesting miniature.

„The Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace" (Campan 2008, 296-320) caused a great damage to the prestige of the French monarchy, bringing to public attention the waste and the debauchery of the court, led by a king without virility, resulting in a detrimental privatization of the state (Maza 1993, 210), which confirms indirectly the fear of lascivious and intriguing women, who had an influence on the public wealth and power (Maza 1993, 211). This was doubled by the scandal of the Countess escaping from the prison Salpêtrière and taking refuge in Britain, described in *Mémoires justificatifs de la comtesse de Valois de La Motte, écrits par elle-même* (published in London, in May 1789) about her alleged intimate relationship with the queen (Fraser 2001, 255-258). The trial against those who were involved in this affair outraged the majority of the aristocracy and of the clergy, which considered it an attack against a cardinal, member of a princely house and turned this social class into enemies of the queen (Campan 2008, 318), whose popularity dwindled more and more, being finally limited only to the circle of her family and her closest friends. In this context, amidst the outbreak of the Revolution, a large number of bawdy pamphlets were published, directed against the queen, the link of some of them with the „Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace" being obvious (Maza 1993, 207). The mentioned memoirs were followed by two apocryphal writings (attributed also to Countess de La Motte-Valois, but which actually seem to be a product of the revolutionary propaganda), in which queen Marie Antoinette is shown as a calculated politician, whose intentions were to undermine the Kingdom of France and to hand it over to her brother, Emperor Leopold II, and personally as an obvious bawdy character, with an insatiable passion for men and women, among which Duchess of Polignac and Countess de La Motte-Valois are presented as the most prominent mistresses (Maza 1993, 207).

The rumours concerning intimate relations between the queen and the Duchess de Polignac were peddled later by the anti-royalist pamphlets issued during the Revolution, as the anonymous one of 1791, whose reading the mothers had to forbid to their daughters and which, according to its title sheet, would have been published „au Manège et dans tous les Bordels de Paris" (Fureurs 1791, 8). The mention of the Manege as a distribution place of the said pamphlet alludes obviously to the well-known passion of the queen, who was portrayed already in 1771 in riding costume, by Joseph Kreutzinger (1757-1829), in a pastel on parchment kept now in the Empress' Salon at the Schönbrunn Palace, then in 1788 by Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller (1751-1811) in a painting made in Paris (oil on canvas, 65.5 x 54.4 cm, inv. MV 8211) and exhibited in the Queen's Small Apartment on the 1st floor of the Versailles Palace, to which should be added two equestrian portraits by Louis-Auguste Brun (1758-1815) from the Queen's Small Apartment in the Versailles Palace, both dated in 1783 and rendering her at hunting: one in the Billiard Hall on the 2nd floor (oil on canvas, 99.5 x 80 cm, inv. MV 9082) and the other in the Green Room (oil on canvas, 60 x 66 cm, inv. MV 5718). Of course, the mention of the Manege, „the riding school", had also an obvious bawdy overtone, resulting from its association with the brothels.

This lewd sense of the word „ride" is hinted, also in relation with the alleged immorality of Queen Marie Antoinette, by a pornographic caricature (Fig. 19) dated c. 1790, in which she is depicted in the company of General Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier (1757-1834), Marquis de La Fayette, the supreme commander of the National Guard. The general, a moderate revolutionary, had an important role in tempering the popular fury already during the women's march to Versailles (October 5, 1789), as he tried to act during the incident on the Champ de Mars (July 17, 1791), which occurred shortly after he was accused by the Jacobins of involvement in the royal family's attempt to flee, materialized in the mentioned „Flight to Varennes" (June 21, 1791). He was associated with the both events in the indictment of Louis XVI (Campan 2008, 560), which resulted from the instigating statements of J. R. Hébert on the occasion of the queen's trial (Campan 2008, 593-594). In my opinion, this caricature reflects the attitude of the Jacobins towards the general, with a direct allusion to the so-called „massacre on the Champ de Mars", seen as an act of supressing the collection of signatures for the abolition of the monarchy, organized by the Cordeliers. Consequently, I believe that this caricature should be dated somewhat later, in the period 1791-1793, most probably by the end of 1793,

around the trial and the execution of the queen (October, 14-16 1793). For the general's triumphal welcoming by the queen, I think the anonymous caricaturist sought inspiration, most likely, in apotropaic phallic Roman Age bronzes, such as the amulets (Fig. 20a) and the wind chimes (Fig. 20b-c) available in the Secret Cabinet of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, or in Roman provincial votive reliefs with the Thracian Hero, namely the type showing his welcoming by a female character (Fig. 21).

The use of artistic models borrowed from the Roman Antiquity by an anonymous artist strongly involved in the anti-royalist propaganda of the French Revolution should not surprise: few decades earlier than 1789, the year considered by Jean Starobinski as „the dividing line in Europe's political history" (Starobinski 1985, 56-57), not only the artists dissatisfied with the Baroque and Rococo forms of expression, but also the cultured public (including, after 1789, the counter-revolutionary émigrés) were using Roman art as a new source of inspiration, which had to correspond to the aspiration towards rationality, simplicity and linearity, towards a civic art, with a moral and educational impact, features of the Neoclassical style, which reached its full maturity during the 80's (Starobinski 1990, 92-108; cf. Guy Marica 1971, 15; Honour 1976, 78-86). Although in 1795 Constantin François de Chassebœuf (1757-1820), Count de Volney, himself a philosopher, a historian and an Orientalist, put the blame of the Revolution on this very cult of the Antiquity (Honour 1976, 74), some of the most innovative artists remained indifferent to the political events or even sided with the Counter-revolution (Honour 1976, 69) and others distanced themselves from the cause of the Revolution due to its excesses or even became its victims (Honour 1976, 75). The Revolution brought freedom to the citizen-artist, but deprived him of his means of existence, due to the changes which ended the Ancien Régime and the royal and aristocratic patronage and made the artistic production accessible to broader social categories, of a less refined instruction, of a low discernment of artistic values and even more refractory to the aesthetic innovations, creating therewith a fierce competition among the creators, whose number greatly increased with the activity of the dilettantes (Guy Marica 1971, 16). In order to survive, many artists were forced to dedicate themselves to minor genres, especially the graphics, which contributed greatly to the widening of the artistic creation, as well as to express their protest and mobilize the crowd (Starobinski 1990, 14; Guy Marica 1971, 16). The force of the revolutionary French caricature as a political instrument (Starobinski 1990, 155) is due to its direct and open message (Honour 1976, 77). Although the author of the miniature in the Brukenthal National Museum's collection seems to have good knowledge of the Roman Age reliefs and decorative arts, his work has nothing to do with the revolutionary classicist art, as it is intended to address emotional reactions, of hate against the debauchery and luxury of the French royal family.

For chronological reasons and despite its obvious message, this item which alludes to rumours and passions so often reflected in late 18th c. writings and caricatures aiming to create emotions, to move the people and to cause violent collective reactions could not be considered as belonging to the so-called „progressist Romanticism" (Iavorskaia 1965, 6), as this direction of the Romanticist painting is connected (according to a Marxist view on the western arts' development during the 19th c.) with later contemporary events, such as the European peoples' fight against the foreign occupation and oppressive regimes during the first half of the 19th c. (Iavorskaia 1965, 9-12, 18-19 and 21), in opposition to a „conservative Romanticism", seen (following Karl Marx's view) as a reaction against the French Revolution and its ideals (Iavorskaia 1965, 6). The latter direction is less clearly defined by N. V. Iavorskaia, who seems to consider the so-called „Troubadour Style" which idealised the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as a reaction against Neoclassicism, glorifying chivalry, royalty and piety (see Chaudonneret 1980; Pupil 1985; Sainty 1996; Cau 2017) to the detriment of sentimentalist works of decorative art intended to arouse frivolous emotions by depicting the gallantry of the aristocratic life style or showing a bucolic perception of the peasantry, inspired by the works of Rococo artists like Jean-François de Troy, Jean-Antoine Watteau, Nicolas Lancret, Jean-Baptise Pater, François Boucher, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, Luis Paret y Alcázar, Jean-Frédéric Schall etc. Conversely, the Troubadour Style could be associated with other miniatures portraying Marie Antoinette, painted during the Restoration, as the above mentioned ones by Jean Baptiste Jacques Augustin, Alexandre Latour and Louis Dupré, which, unlike this satirical composition, could be connected with the political cult of the royal martyrs promoted at this age.

Targeting the sexuality of Queen Marie Antoinette, the caricaturists and the pamphleteers emphasized those aspects which, for the French people, were contrary to the legal, ethical and religious norms (Colwill 2002, 155), with the obvious aim of creating and maintaining a mood hostile to the queen, to the kingship and to the Ancien Régime, all the more so as this public perception of the queen was

associated with the rumours about the alleged impotence of Louis XVI. This, in traditionalistic terms, placed him in the lowest ranks of humans (Colwill 2002, 149). Such a presentation of the queen's sexuality as a monstruos reversal of the traditional gender roles (Colwill 202, 156-158) has also a political meaning, since it is linked to the discourse of Montesquieu and Rousseau on Oriental despotism, a government characterized by arbitrariness, due to the usurpation of an inactive monarch's power by women and eunuchs and to the de-virilisation of the society, by transforming men into obedient servants (Maza 1993, 169-171 și 180-183). At the same time, paradoxically, it is connected with the gradual diminution of the women's political rights, until their total abolition with the establishment of the Jacobine dictatorship (autumn 1793), which resulted in the execution of prominent female personalities such as the queen herself, Jeanne Bécu, Countess du Barry (the former mistress of King Louis XV), the Girondines Charlotte Cordelier and Marie-Jeanne Phlippon Roland or the feminist Olympe de Gouges (Maza 1993, 171-172). This discourse, hostile to the political involvement of women, justifies the queen's denigration in the „Affair of the Diamond Necklace", although actually she had nothing to do with the intrigues of Countess de La Motte-Valois and her entourage (Maza 1993, 176-177). Appealing both to the traditional imagery about the sacredness of the French kingship and to the discourse of Rousseau, hostile to the influence of King Louis XV's mistresses, Marie Antoinette was regarded as similar to „public women" who, by the power they exerted on the king's sacred body, opened the breach through which the chaos invaded France (Maza 1993, 201).

Due to the political significance of the satirical composition in the Brukenthal National Museum's collection, it must be dated according to the historical context which generated it. Within only few years, from 1791 to 1793, both Jeanne de La Motte-Valois and Marie Antoinette, as well as Princess de Lamballe and Duchess de Polignac died, with the important remark that only the latter suffered no violent death. Associated in the „Affair of the Queen's Diamond Necklace" with Giuseppe Balsamo (1743-1795), called „Count Alexandre de Cagliostro", Jeanne de La Motte-Valois became his female equivalent, but more dangerous due to her entourage of fake aristocrats, whose target was the ascent through sexual and financial intrigues (Maza 1993, 200) and which mimicked the French court and its morals (Maza 1993, 199-200). Pursued by the police for insolvability, she committed suicide (August 23, 1791), throwing herself from the window of the room located at the third floor of the hotel where she lived in London, which made her in the 90's of the 18th c. to become a recurrent figure of the anti-royalist pamphlets, portrayed as an archetypal victim of the queen's and the Duchess de Polignac's evil political plans and sexual excesses (Maza 1993, 207). The latter, overwhelmed by various honours and privileges and appointed Governess of the royal family's children, attracted the hatred of the courtiers, but had the wisdom of leaving France right after the fall of Bastille and settled in Vienna, where she fell ill and died on December 9, 1793, strongly touched by the execution of her friend, Queen Marie Antoinette (for Duchess of Polignac's biography, see Colas des Francs 2008). Of the women in the queen's entourage, the Duchess de Polignac was most often the target of the pamphleteers' attacks on an immoral life and on her intimate relations with the queen or other women. Princess de Lamballe was killed, as already mentioned, during the so-called „September massacres", whose victims were political and common law prisoners, regarded as enemies of the Revolution and partisans of enemy states. Marie Antoinette, accused of a series of deeds recorded in the denigrating pamphlets (organizing orgies in Versailles, embezzling millions of livres from the public treasury in order to send them to Austria, plotting to assassinate Duke Philippe d'Orléans, incest with her own son, whom she proclaimed King of France, organizing the massacre of the Swiss guard in August 1792), was sentenced to death for high treason and beheaded on October 16, 1793.

Taking into account the political context which fuelled the rumours which this miniature in the Brukenthal National Museum's collection echoes, I believe that it could be dated 1791-1793, most likely at the end of the year 1793, like the mentioned pornographic caricature showing the triumphal welcome of Marquis de La Fayette by Marie Antoinette. The unusual presence of the queen's stylized monogram on the frame of a satirical composition, whose obvious target was to denigrate her, seems to find its explanation in the intention of turning this miniature into a licentious „devotional object", to ridicule the portraits and „the relics" as the hair strands (Campan 2008, 448, 580, 681-682, n. 87 and 711, n. 155), the clothing accessories (Campan 2008, 571 and 707, n. 144) or other small personal trinkets (Campan 2008, 580 and 711, n. 155) given by the royal family to its members or to its faithful followers and kept in the royalist milieus. They became paraphernalia of a political cult developed around the royal couple and the heir to the throne of France, which the revolutionary propaganda sought to counter by all means, frequently using the caricature and the pamphlet, which contain the echoes of slander

and rumours, often sordid, about the royal family and about the royalist aristocratic milieus, still peddled in the early 20th c. for profit purposes by the authors of chapbooks (Vèze 1901, 136-137; Fleischmann 1910; Fleischmann 1911a; Fleischmann 1911b) and transferred in late 20th c. and 21st c. into various cinematographic productions.

Conclusions

Already in late 18th c., the Ancien Régime's loyalist political cult of the royal family is remodelled in the French royalist milieu, and its forms of expression are inspired by the cult of the Christian martyrs, having a private and subversive nature in the territories controlled by the revolutionary authorities. Due to the matrimonial and political relations of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine with the House of Bourbon, to the activity of the French émigrés and to the hostility towards revolutionary and Napoleonic France, echoes of this political cult take the form of small decorative art objects and access the monarchic and loyalist milieus in various European countries. In collections from Romania there are portraits of Queen Marie Antoinette dated either in late 18th c. (being thus contemporary to her) or later, during the 19th c., but without being necessarily related to the Restoration period, when this cult became public.

The queen's most recent portraits could be linked rather to a Romantic perception of the queen as a victim of an extravagant life, of luxury and debauchery, but also of her arrogance towards her subjects and of her inability to understand the catastrophic situation of France. To a large extent, this perception is also due to the stereotypes of the French revolutionary propaganda, which pointed to the waste of the royal court, but also to the debauchery which the queen allegedly patronized.

From this perspective, the revolutionary satirical composition purchased in 1965, which imitates the aspect of the „devotional objects" of this political cult, ridiculing the portraits and „the relics" kept in the royalist milieu, is a rare and extremely valuable item.

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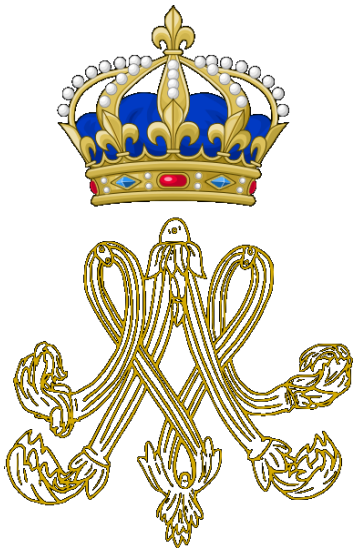

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Fig. 20b

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Fig. 21

ȘAGUNA'S MAUSOLEUM FROM RĂȘINARI. A FORM OF COMMUNITY RECOVERING

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***Abstract**: Among the 65 personalities celebrated by UNESCO (introduced in 2008) and canonized in 2011, Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna is one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of Romanian Transylvania. His achievements are closely connected to the necessity of emancipation of the Orthodox Church, guiding Romanians through culture, education and supporting the formation of the modern elite, characterized by culture and pragmatism. Till the Great Unification, a cult of Șaguna had been established, a cult where other significances were added in the interwar period, especially after the royal visits at the Rășinari mausoleum, a place of pilgrimage in the symbolical geography of Transylvania, near Alba-Iulia and Avram Iancu's house at Ţebea.*

***Keywords:** place of memory, mausoleum of Andrei Șaguna, Transylvanian Orthodox Church, commemoration practices, Rășinari*

The collocation or topos "places of memory" developed by the French historian Pierre Nora, imposed in the space of European historiography in the last decades of the previous century (as closer to community than the obsolete yet necessary positivist history) is nothing but a different approach of the historical act hidden in objects, places and imaginary of a society.

Memory and history became two notions that are continuously created together or separately and contest their influence over a community – the creator, but also the beneficiary of the two products. The human factor is either creator or beneficiary of the past (or both at the same time) through the generations that succeed (Nora 1996).

A building, a statue, a funerary monument, as well as the language or folk traditions of a people confer identity and memory, giving the impression of the durability of history, of a remembrance. We consider that places of memory are not only numerous, but also emblematic, as they have different interpretations, sometimes troublesome and conflicting. Thus, Andrei Pippidi's work came as a natural integration in the nowadays historiographical course, proving how connected was the Romanian society to the symbolical history in general (Pippidi 2000). Much more visible for our history was the connection between the places of memory and a festive culture so that Nicolae Turcan stated that history was made of those places of memory capable to form "psychological maps of the past" (Turcan 2003).

The subject was painstakingly developed by historian Mihaela Grancea, especially regarding the Romanian communist and post-communist history (Grancea 2007, 2012, 2015). Her studies demonstrated the strong connection between the places of memory and the festive culture of a nation, a tendency used by the state to legitimize its power through monuments with a sensitive emotional load. The break in the linear evolution of history of a community is the test for these places of memory that is the way in which the society defends or annuls them depending on the desire to come back to another set of values, to a different history previously eluded and thus generating the production of different statues of monuments.

In our case, in the modern history of Romanians in Transylvania, the loss of the noble elite in the Middle Ages posed serious problems to Vienna when in the 19th century Romanians had to prove their capacity to unite the rural and urban evolution into an attempt to create their own history. The Romanian elite of Transylvania had the mission to remake through a common effort a force that would act not necessarily in the political area (where the efficiency was weak), but in the material area and in the realm of mentality.

Andrei Șaguna, Complex Romanian Personality

Andrei Șaguna (1808-1873) was one of the key personalities of Transylvania who had the ability to prove the position of Romanians in the region. A great leader dedicated to his community, although he wasn't accepted easily when he came to Sibiu after the Romanian Metropolitan Vasile Moga. Șaguna, born in a family of Aromanians in the Austro-

Hungarian Empire, assumed the Romanian identity in both his hypotheses – as a church man and as a political man, and built a wonderful relationship with the Romanian Orthodox community of Transylvania.

His great accomplishments, among which we mention only the foundation of *Astra* Association and the transition of the Orthodox Bishopric to Metropolitan, were valuable for Romanian in Transylvania, so that after his passing away on June 16, 1873 the community contributed to making a symbolical path to a place of memory for believers – mausoleum of Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna in Rășinari. Moreover, as we are about to see, in time his commemorations transformed in celebrations of the Romanian nation in Transylvania.

Octavian Goga named him a providential man for the Romanian nation in the Habsburgic Empire, as Șaguna was a political man in the modern sense, among the few Romanians accepted in imperial circles. That is why his mausoleum in Rășinari became "maybe the most evocative tomb of Romanians in Transylvania for over a hundred years" (Goga 1989, 71).

Șaguna's activity as a Metropolitan and a cultural and political figure was even better assessed after his death, when generations to come had the possibility to value his achievements. Due to the difficulty of appreciating his complex activity in several sentences, we are to refer to some extraordinary writings published after his death. The most significant works were published by Nicolae Popea (1879) and Ioan Lupaș (1999), although we have to mention Metropolitan's memoirs and letters as well (1923; Tulbure 1938).

The books dedicated to Andrei Șaguna during the last decades represent a great historiographical achievement, be it the case of Keith Hitchins' book (Hitchins, 1995) or volumes written by Metropolitan of Transylvania Laurențiu Streza (2008; Streza, Olteanu, 2008) or by one of the most distinct Transylvanian historians Nicolae Bocșan (Bocșan, Leb 2005, 2007; Bocșan, Leb, Gîrdan 2009-2011).

The progresses made by the Orthodox Bishopric of Sibiu and the restoration of the Orthodox Sibiu Metropolitan (1856), the development of a theological education, Șaguna's recognition as a political man after the Revolution of 1848, foundation of the *Astra* Association in Sibiu (1861), publication of the newspaper *Telegraful Român* (*RT* 1853), elaboration of Organic Status (1868), establishment of the Archdiocese printing press (1850), elaboration of a new edition of the Bible, development of the gymnasium education for Romanians in Brașov (1850), establishing over 800 confessional schools are only some of Șaguna's outstanding achievements. These are proofs of an exceptional capacity to fight efficiently for a social, political, cultural and confessional emancipation of the Romanian nation and to point out Romanians' capacity to be integrated in the empire.

Although Șaguna managed to impose himself in Sibiu, he never forgot the support from Rășinari community, and a special member from a well-known dynasty of priests and scholars – Sava Popovici Barcianu (1814-1879), priest, teacher, author of manuals, member of *Astra* committee from 1869, the first member correspondent of Romanian Academic Society of Bucharest and the owner of an impressive library of 3000 volumes.

During his service as a Metropolitan and before this period, Șaguna served at three important churches, stages that were symbolical steps in his evolution. The first church was the old church in Rășinari, where Serbian bishops had served for the last decades of the 18th century. All of them had humble dwellings and two of them were buried there - Ghedeon Nichitici and Dionisie Novacovici (Păcurariu 2002, 107-113). The next two churches, the Church from the Josephin suburb, known as the Church from the pit, and the Greek chapel of Sibiu (on the spot of the nowadays Metropolitan Cathedral) symbolize the bishop's entering into the urban space in the same way the Greek Company made its way into the economic life of the city.

Șaguna's Mausoleum, Place of Memory

After Șaguna's death (16 of June 1873), his testament revealed his wish to be buried in Rășinari, in the cemetery of the church "St Trinity". There are two possible motives for this choice – the beginning of his activity and the fact that this community supported his trip to Vienna where he was invested as bishop. According to his will, 4000 florins were given to the grand church from the village for his crypt (Popea 1879, 178-185).

Synod of Archdiocese decided to erect a monument on the tomb in 1874, whereas both the theological seminary and the Society of Readership were to be named "Andrei Șaguna". Commemorations were scheduled for each year on June 16 and on St. Andrew's Day (*Protocol*... 1874, 28-29). Those decisions were largely respected during the period 1873-1945, as we are to highlight. While analysing the role of the mausoleum built in 1878, we notice the importance as a place of memory within a rural community that was imbued with symbolism with each pilgrimage. The neo-Gothic mausoleum was erected on the tomb in 1878, 5 years after Metropolitan's death.

The chapel was inspired by dr. Prisnitz's of Graefenburg (Germany), which was admired by Șaguna, as Ilarion Pușcariu, the vicar of Archdiocese of Sibiu, recalled later: "as the Consistory knew that Metropolitan Șaguna liked this simple, yet beautiful, monument after seeing it in an illustration" (*Metropolitan Andreiu*... 1908, 432).

The tower of the chapel of Rășinari has the following text: "Archdiocese eternally grateful, MDCCLXXVII, Archbishop and Metropolitan Great Andreiu, born on 20th of December 1808, dead on 16th of June 1873". The day of sanctifying the chapel was 18th of June 1878 and became "a day of profound sadness for every Romanian from Hungary and Transylvania".

Metropolitan Miron Romanul sanctified the chapel and stayed in the house of Sava Popovici Barcianu; the procession included flags of mourning, national and empire flags. Emanoil Gojdu, another personality, was also commemorated in 1878; Gojdu donated the money to build a new building for the central school of Rășinari (*Romanian Telegraph, R.T.,* 1878, 556, *RT.*, 1878, 562-563).

It was established that at every requiem and solemn meeting to commemorate Andrei Șaguna, the creation of composer Dimitrie Cunțan to be sung, and verses written by Zaharia Boiu, *Hymn to the Tomb of Great Andreiu* (Catrina 2011, 42-43).

Two lions were added to the mausoleum in 1904, made by the sculptor from Banat Alexandru Liuba, graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts of Bucharest, while in 1909 the sculptor Frederik Storck from Bucharest made the bust of the Metropolitan, which is inside the mausoleum (Abrudan 2010, 157-198).

Despite all these aspects of commemoration, we must admit that there was a difference between the pilgrimages before 1918 and the ones after the Great Unification, as we are to point out in presenting the most important ceremonies that took place between 1898 and 1909, especially comparing them to those from the interwar period and those of 1923.

Although there were no official statements regarding these pilgrimages (that could turn into manifestations of the Romanian spirit in Transylvania), the authorities watched them closely and in 1883 there was a suspicion that attempts were made to prevent participation of too many believers. The reason for this suspicion is the fact that Miron Romanul's manifest issued for this purpose, with the detailed schedule of the commemoration event, didn't reach many regions of Transylvania and Banat (*RT* 1883, 277).

Every Metropolitan took it as a duty of honour to officiate the requiem of the mausoleum, together with the clergy of the Archdiocese, adding an original touch to the commemorative events. In 1883, Metropolitan Miron Romanul included alms to the poor by the parish council of Rășinari. The presence of Șaguna's nephew, Constantin Șaguna, captain in the Romanian Army, was also a noticeable event (*RT* 1883, 259; *RT* 1883, 267 and 275).

Commemorating 20 years after Șaguna's death took place as established: requiem at Rășinari with the participation of clergy of Archdiocese, pupils from the Archdiocese Seminary and a numerous public, while at St. Andrew's Day a meeting of the Society of Readership of theology students took place (*RT* 1893, 530-531).

If we pay attention to the program established by the Metropolitan Consistory for the manifestations of 1898, we observe a routine, but also a much more complex program for three days (14 to 16 of June). The clergy, the Society of Readership and teachers were present, along with those involved in the organization of the tribute spectacle, Reunion of songs of Sibiu, conducted by George Dima, while Daniil Popovici Barcianu had a speech, and the commemoration was made by Zaharia Boiu. The believers were asked to keep a moment of silence in the morning, while later the bells tolled.

The commemoration transformed into a celebration of the Romanian spirit was emphasized by the presence of various personalities who participated in 1898: two bishops of Arad and Caransebeș, Mețianu and Popea, Mocsonyi family, Vincențiu Babaeș, Iosif Goldiș, Augustin Hamsea, and Nicolae Ionaș (*RT* 1898, 213-214).

At the end of the 19th century, other commemoration ceremonies are mentioned in Brașov, Orăștie, Caransebeș, and the Society of readership Ioan Popasu, the Reunion of the Romanian Apprentices (*RT* 1898, 255, 258, 262). In 1903, Șaguna was commemorated in other deaneries as Sălište and Alba-Iulia (*RT* 1903, 543; *RT* 193, 547).

A special significance had the celebration of 100 years since the birth of Andrei Șaguna, announced in 1909 in a report by the Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu (instead of 1908, probably due to the Metropolitan Congress). Along with all requiems in all churches, followed by a eulogy and school feasts, organized by teachers and priests on the 5th of October 1909, occasioned by the Rășinari pilgrimage, the Metropolitan's marble bust was inaugurated. The bust was Frederic Storck's work and it was handed down by Dr. Ioan Stroia to Vicar Maniu Lungu with the keys to the mausoleum, highlighting the importance of the community (*RT* 1909, 391).

While the Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu was prudent as always and addressed the invitation

especially for the members of the Metropolitan Congress of Sibiu and Romanian society, the priest Pompei Moruşca expressed his desire that all the priests would participate, as they are all "in leading positions of this people of peasants" (*RT* 1909, 400).

Meţianu's fear was motivated, as the authorities sent 50 gendarmes to Răşinari on the day of the pilgrimage, clearly disturbed by the presence of the president PNR, Gheorghe Pop de Băseşti, deputies dr. Vasile Lucaciu and Ştefan Pop, dr. Iosif Gall and Antoniu de Mocsonyi, as well as the Bishop Papp of Arad. Some personalities from the Romanian Kingdom were also present at the banquet after the commemoration: professor Dissescu, former ministry of education, Nicolau Brânzeu, former prefect of Piteşti, and Constantin Mille, head of *Universul* newspaper.

A special commemoration service took place at the church of Sibiu for the Romanian soldiers, the second church where Şaguna served, a service held by military dean Pavel Boldea. The Răşinari pilgrimage marked the end of three days of "celebration, pious veneration and gratefulness towards the greatest bishop of our church" (*RT* 1909, 438, 447-449).

After the festive meeting of the Society of Readership, where an important role was played by the director of seminary dr. Eusebiu Roşca, there was a concert held by the Reunion of Romanian Soldiers in the hall Unicum, where the choir of the cathedral, conducted by Timotei Popovici, sang a concert that ended with dances till late (*TR* 1909). The founder of *Astra* benefitted from the same attention during the General Assembly of the Association in 1909 in Sibiu, where Miron Cristea's speech is worth mentioning (*RT* 1909, 459).

At the meeting of the county, it was decided that the *Morii* Street would be named *Andrei Şaguna*, an aspect that impressed the Romanian deputies. *TR* published on 23rd of October 1909 the article from the German publication *S.D. Tageblatt* of the 16th of October 1909. More and more news reported in *RT* mention Şaguna commemoration at the Romanian chapel in Vienna and his commemoration by students of Cluj at a literary soiree (*RT* 1909, 565, 482). Other religious faces of Moldova participated at a requiem commemorating Şaguna (*RT* 1909, 452).

The interwar period represented a special chapter in Transylvanian history. The royal visits were very important to Şaguna's commemoration in 1940. The pedagogical section of the Institute was reorganized as the School Andrei Şaguna; the Association of the Transylvanian Clergy was named *Şaguna* in 1922 (*RT* 1922, 1). His name was associated with another commemoration for the "rest of thousands of dead that bled and died in this horrid war that ended with the completeness of our Romanian people" (*RT* 1919, 1).

Several years after 1919, the windows of the mausoleum were broken because of the enemy's attacks. Visiting Răşinari, professor I. Simionescu described the following (in *Viitorul*, Bucharest): "the crypt surrounded by 12 firs... around the church ordnances fell. Windows of the crypt are broken to this day by the power of the explosion" (*RT* 1923, 3).

Later on, during the Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan (1920-1955), the mausoleum continued to be a place of memory, a passing bridge from a difficult past to what must have been a certain future. For the mentioned Metropolitan, the pilgrimage to Răşinari was a mandatory aspect for knowing and respecting the symbolical geography of Romanian Transylvania. Nicolae Bălan lined his ordination as Metropolitan on February 20, 1920 to a pilgrimage to Răşinari, as a sanction for his accomplishment. Other tombs were also visited – Ghedeon Nichitici and Gherasim Adamovici. The new Metropolitan wanted to point out the connection in time between the founder of Transylvanian Metropolitan and the one chosen in a favourable context, after the Great Unification of 1918 (*RT* 1920, 4).

Moreover, after the unique experience of organizing in 1925 the first pilgrimage to Holy Places, the Metropolitan Bălan received the visit of Metropolitan Vasile of Jerusalem, who visited Sibiu, then Sălişte, Ocna-Sibiului, Sadu, Râu-Sadului and Răşinari. The festive reception by Răşinari inhabitants was described in almost biblical terms: "men and women on their knees on the beautifully adorned streets receive the blessing of archbishops in the procession that is formed on the way to the grand church". The requiem officiated by Metropolitan Vasile for the rest of those buried at the old church of Răşinari and for Andrei Şaguna was in Greek.

Metropolitan Bălan was a devotee of participating at Răşinari pilgrimages together with clergy and believers of the Orthodox Transylvanian Church. We also mention bishops of Huşi and Rădăuţi, as well as Metropolitan Nicodim of Moldova who participated at Bălan ordination as Metropolitan of Transylvania in 1935 (*RT* 1926, 1, *RT* 1935, 2, *RT* 1920, 4).

In 1933, commemorating 60 years after Şaguna's death, the most important event was the concert of the mixed choir of the Cathedral and School *Andrei Şaguna*, conducted by Timotei Popovici (*RT* 1933, 1). In 1941, the article of *RT* written by Professor Dimitrie Marcu about Andrei Şaguna's personality highlighted his quality as a spiritual father for the Theological Institute, then the Theological Academy. A requiem for Andrei Şaguna

and Alexandru Mocioni was held in the Cathedral (*RT* 1941, 1, 3).

The Vienna Dictum and the refuge of the University of Cluj at Sibiu changed the tone and the image of the pilgrimages, as they resemble more those before 1918. The ceremonies of 1942 and 1943 were special. Those of 1942 are actually an instrumentalization of the image of Metropolitan Șaguna after losing the Northern Transylvania in war battles. And this is due to the fact that the political power couldn't avoid using his image, as Andrei Șaguna and Avram Iancu were the symbols of the Romanian national spirit in Transylvania. The image of the Romanian people wronged again was given at the commemoration of 50 years after the Memorandum's trial. The Government was represented at the event by the vice-resident of the Council of Ministers, Mihai Antonescu and the minister of National Culture, Ioan Petrovici, along with 500 student from Bucharest. For all those present, Șaguna was an energetic professor that raised the awareness of the Romanian people in Transylvania and the confidence in the future (*RT* 1942, 3; *RT* 1942, 1).

In 1943, the requiem at the mausoleum of Rășinari was held by Nicolae Bălan, who was accompanied by the most prominent members of the university Cluj-Sibiu: Ioan Lupaș, Ioan Moga, Ioan Crăciun and a lot of people. For them it was a "stop that supported the souls in oppressive times full of questions" (*RT* 1943, 4; *RT* 1943, 3).

In 1944, the pilgrimage wasn't mentioned; *TR* stated only the speech of Nicolae Bălan during the commemoration of Andrei Șaguna, while in 1945 the same festivity took place in the festive hall of Sibiu prefecture. Deacon Nicolae Mladin, future Metropolitan of Transylvania, had a speech of commemoration (*RT* 1944, 1; *RT* 1945, 2).

The references regarding the participation of the royal family at the festivities of 50 years commemorating Șaguna's death in 1923 are presented lastly due to their importance. Together with the announcement concerning the royal visit at Sibiu and Rășinari, there was a statement regarding the "prestige of our Church" (*RT* 1919, 1; *RT* 1923, 1). These commemorations were announced in the Romanian Orthodox Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Sibiu by a report of Metropolitan Bălan who mentioned the "festivities worthy of such a name", in the presence of the royal family.

The royal family was accompanied by Ionel Brătianu, Octavian Goga, Valeriu Branişte, Miron Cristea, other Metropolitans and political men. On the day of the pilgrimage, 29th of June 1923, hundreds of carriages and cars headed towards Rășinari, being welcomed at the entrance by four triumph arches. Șaguna's portrait was evident from Metropolitan Bălan's speech, while King Ferdinand named Șaguna the "apostle of the Romanian people" (*RT* 1923, 1-2; *RT* 1923, 1; *RT* 1923, 2; *RT* 1923, 2, 5).

King Carol II visited Sibiu several times, but he participated only at the pilgrimage of 1923, along with his parents. Although in 1919 Prince Carol visited Sibiu and the surroundings, his car broke and he was unable to continue his journey to Rășinari (*RT* 1919, 2). Being in Sibiu on the 5th of July 1932, Carol II took care that a wreath would be put on Șaguna's tomb (*RT* 1932, 2, 3). Present on the opening of the fundamental stone of the School *Andrei Șaguna* on the 6th of October 1934 at Metropolitan Bălan's invitation, on his way to Păltiniș, King Carol II laid a wreath at Rășinari mausoleum (*RT* 1934, 3).

From the events presented above, we note a tendency to maintain Șaguna's memory in Sibiu by erecting a monument or a statue, proposed by synods in 1873, 1878, 1886 by raising funds (*RT* 1924, 3). In 1906 the fundraising reached 42,000 crowns (*Protocolul*... 1907, 40-41). In the interwar period the initiative was taken over by Nicolae Bălan, who sent in 1933 a call for country prefects. As a result, 160,000 lei were raised, while the Country Council of Sibiu voted the sum of 50,000 lei (*RT* 1933, 6). Later the subject was silenced. Nevertheless, we have a monument in Șaguna's memory, erected in 1973 by Gyenfe Imre.

Conclusive Remarks

We may see the importance of Șaguna's personality for Transylvania from the numerous articles in *Telegraful Român*, the Metropolitan being regarded as the "great church and political man of Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary", "Messiah who brought us to the kingdom of light", "our providential man", while Rășinari is referred to by Dr. Petru Șpan as a great pilgrimage place like Mecca for the Romanian Orthodox people, "eternal glory to the great recall of our people". Among other things, Andrei Șaguna was praised for his "realistic political life", "priest of our awakening, prophet of the signs of time", "peak of the past, one of the deepest sources of energy and guidance of national life after him" (*RT* 1903, 265; *RT* 1898, 474; *RT* 1898, 213; *RT* 1903, 533; *RT* 1908, 267; *RT* 1933, 6; *RT* 1943, 1).

Nicolae Iorga said the following referring to Șaguna's personality: "A man can replace a people. He proved it, but the time has come when a people must replace the man" (*TR* 1909, 565). 200 years after his birth, in 2008, Șaguna was included among the 65 personalities celebrated under the aegis of UNESCO; in 2011 he was canonized.

All his work was directed towards the

emancipation of Romanians of Transylvania, while his mausoleum in Răşinari has been a place for community recovering.

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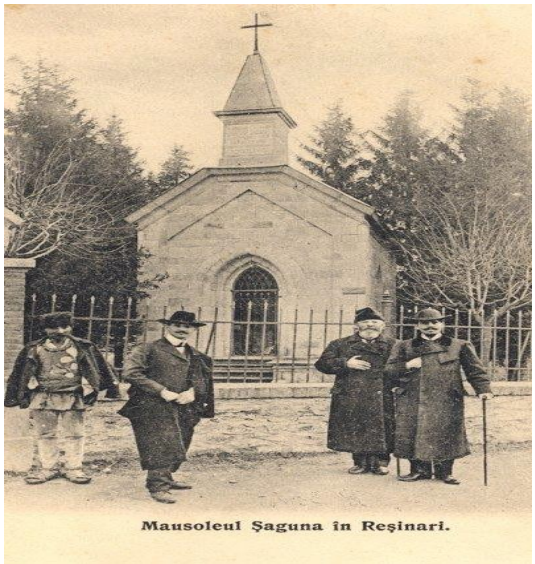

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LEGENDARY PLACES AFTER THE GREAT WAR. THE HISTORICAL MEMORY OF THE "MĂRĂȘEȘTI BATTLE" (1917)

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***Abstract**: In 20th century Europe there were two great generations of memory. Each of them, in its own way, had had a taste of the direct experience of war. One generation was represented by the victims. From its midst rose a wave of images and commemorating narratives. The cult of memory would become the expression of a universal phenomenon in the Interwar years. Imposing monuments (mausoleums) were built in all belligerent countries, and their message evoked suffering, carnage and sacrifice. The second generation of the war memory operated later from the 1970s. The latter feel more connected with the tragic experience of the Second World War. The memories of this experience linger in the rhetoric of resistance. In the European West, resistance means the fight against the Nazi and represents the origin of a renewed political culture in the countries humiliated by the war. In Eastern Europe the same idea, used in propaganda favours the instauration of the totalitarian left. The Second World War commemoration events and glorious public shows reawaken the memories of the First World War as well, albeit as a secondary topic and subordinated to ideological guidelines. In totalitarian Romania, nationalist communism includes in its propaganda the commemoration of the past sacrifices in order to justify its own historical paradigm. From now on the game shifts the attention from the authentic memory of the 1914 war to re-narrated memories, converted monuments and redefined history. The so-called glorification of Mărășești reflects the transition from memory to remembrance of the representations of a battle on the Romanian front. The paper aims to analyse the way the legend of Mărășești was started and disseminated in the public space, and then transformed into a propaganda topic.*

***Keywords:** war, memory, monuments, propaganda, army, politics*

The battle of Mărășești is evoked in the military history as the most ample battle that took place in 1917 on the Romanian front. Far from being an isolated confrontation, it represents, according to some strategists, a continuation of the battle of Mărăști. As General G. A. Dabija noted, but for Mărăști there would not have been Mărășești. From the operational point of view, the two battles cannot be separated in space or time, nor should they be. It would have been an easy thing to consider them a joint and decisive event ("the Battle of Moldova") if there had been a coherent united command at the head of the Romanian and Russian divisions. But this type of command was absent (or was only sporadic and unsynchronized), which caused difficulties in all the sectors of the front (Dabija 1937, IV, 642-643).

The battle lasted, properly speaking, for 29 days. There were at least three decisive sequences during this period: the beginning of the battle (24 July/6 August 1917) with the German attack of the 1st Corps against the Russian infantry Division 34 which was unable to hold the effort. As a result, the Germans were able to deeply breach through the Romanian positions (10 km width and 3 km depth). The climax was reached on 6/19 August when the enemy (5 divisions of infantry commanded by General Kurt von Morgen) made their main hit at the segment between Panciu and Mărășești then protected by the Romanians. Finally, the attacks from 7/20 August to 21/3 September 1917 reduced the intensity of the confrontation and were meant to strengthen the positions around Muncelu-Varnița. Each of these episodes had its share of heavy attacks on both sides ("Băltărețu" bridge), heroic acts (the machine-guns headed by Captain Grigore Ignat), headquarters tensions (substituting General Eremia Grigorescu for General Constantin Christescu at the head of the First Army), progressive substitutions the Romanian divisions (because they were motivated and had demonstrated a better preparation in front of the enemy) for the Russian divisions (many of them with an uneven fight capacity) (Otu 2008, 168-175).

The battle of Mărășești also caused important losses. It is estimated that the German 9th Army lost 16,000 people, either dead or injured. As for the Romanian side, the figures are comparable (17,000 death toll plus 10,000 people missing or held as prisoners). The Russian side had over 7,000 soldiers killed, more than 10,000 wounded, and 8,000 missing. The outcome of the battle was not convincing to the German headquarters. It definitely was not perceived as a victory. It was prudently worded as a "local though not decisive success"

(Morgen), or an attained objective of the 9th Army (Eben). The German correspondence insisted that the Romanian troops had withdrawn from a large area of the occupied territory as a result of the battle of Mărăşti and that they were now no longer able to initiate a new attack, but the reality was that the 9th Army's attack had been a disappointment. The reasons for the German failure (according to official historical documents) suggest the layout of the terrain, the heat, insufficient artillery, inadequate reserves, and underestimation of the enemy. Especially the last conclusion functioned as a confirmation that the Russian and Romanian armies had fought hard and well. But the reality was somewhat different from the expectations. Not all the Russians and Romanians had run away from the German army without the slightest resistance, and they did not always surrender to the enemy. On some occasions they fiercely defended every ditch, house, and hill. The resistance and courage of the Romanian army were held in high regard. Apparently, the Romanians were skilfully led so that they managed to make a better fight than at the beginning of the battle; they showed energy and defied death (Torrey 2014, 252-254). The German assessments (especially those regarding the Russians' pugnacity) make it difficult to outline the real picture. As to the Romanian share of evaluation, even to this day it cannot be separated from the patriotic rhetoric. Back then, only one voice would sing in discord to the general glory hymn: Alexandru Averescu. In all likelihood jealous of Prezan's success, the general dismisses the victory entirely: "The so-called victory and battle of Mărăşeşti! Our situation is so miserable and we are still delusional. A successful attack of the enemy now passes for a great battle with our side the victor. The enemy troop we are supposed to eradicate in the attack of Nămoloasa – which happily did not happen – throws itself on our left, pushes us back over the line of Muncel-Panciu and, with its center, it manages to fulfil its aim which probably was to intercept the communication between Mărăşeşti and Tecuci. Then we do get to stop the enemy – after it has reached its target – but three of our divisions are literally wiped off the earth! Here's the great battle and the victory!" (Averescu 1992, II, 175-176). But still, what was the historical meaning of the battle of Mărăşeşti? Was it, as Glenn Torrey sees it, the most significant victory of the Romanian army in the First World War, maybe even in the whole of Romania's history? A defensive victory the Romanians proudly nickname „our little Verdun"? (Torrey 2014, 254).

The Battlefield – the Birth of the Legend

Many people today think the legend of Mărăşeşti (a symbol of courage and patriotic sacrifice) appeared immediately after the war and was nourished by the official history books, memoirs, schoolbooks and monuments. But there is a chance the legend was born on the very battlefield. Let us peruse Mihail Sadoveanu's chronicle just a few days later: "After two weeks the enemy stopped. He dropped his arms and put his chin down in despair. Gasping, he withdrew like a beast back to his dwelling to lick his wounds. Field Marshal von Mackensen took a doubtful and sad glance at his map and closed his eyes thinking of the hecatombs he had erected at Siret. Ten to twelve German divisions were lost in this battle." (*România* 26 August 1917). Another literary figure, Vasile Demetrescu Bradul, would give his own description. Having been to the battlefield himself, he sent his wife some diary pages that found their way through the censorship commission and right to the print in Roman (November 1917) – a tribute to the heroes fallen in the valley of the Siret River. If Sadoveanu exaggerated the proportion of the defeat for the Germans, Demetrescu Bradul penned the Romanian soldier's sacrifice and strength: "As a witness to different war scenes I can still have an opinion of our soldiers. What they have accomplished and suffered so far is worth all the glory and merit military history has to bestow upon them" (Bradul 1917, 7).

The memoirs from the frontline reveal the way the fighters were contributing to the legend themselves. Constantin Argetoianu, delegate for the preliminary peace talks, crossed through the front line in the months after the terrible confrontation. He was seized by a deep emotion upon his arrival at Mărăşeşti. Never before had he come so close to the enemy. The Romanian trench was just meters away from the enemy's. One could see the German soldiers with their unmistakable helmets. The place had been destroyed through and through. In all directions there was only ruin, all sorts of holes and broken things. The old manor of the Negropontes family was reduced to debris; the railway station, the warehouses and rails had all been blown up (Argetoianu 1993, IV, 157-158).

From Vasile Scârneci's diary (an entry on November 22, 1917) we find out that the officers of the Great General Headquarters, all dressed-up and well-fed, would collect bomb splinters as battle souvenirs (Scârneci 2012, 67). In the eyes of the young sub-lieutenant, the place already had a mythical aura. On another page in the same diary, (entries between January 2, 1918 and August 4, 1919), Mărăşeşti is depicted as a place of victory the

Germans were still soiling with their presence. The place where the land had not long ago been drowning in the blood of the brave Romanians and Mackensen's hosts had been defeated still was the old border between Moldova and the rest of occupied Romania (Scârneci 2012, 76). Right after the armistice was signed, new evidence was found about the reputation the battle had gained. An illustrative scene takes place in Galați in the spring of 1918. A regiment of uhlans was just preparing to go to Ukraine. When the first squads made their appearance on the streets of the city, the people started to cheer "Mărășești!", "Mărășești!". In order to avoid further such unpleasant public outbursts, the next day the German officers avoided the downtown area and took to the outskirts instead (Ștefănescu-Galați 1921, 269).

At the Gates of History… The Popularity of Mărășești

Regarded as a great victory of the Romanian army, the battle of Mărășești claims its place in history not long after. An entire generation marked by the memories of the war contributed to the consecration of the legendary epic. Mărășești had become the new national symbol after the war, a symbol of unity, tenacity and sacrifice. Admittedly, all the ingredients were there. Without the heroic resistance at Siret, Romania would have been on its way to an unconditional surrender. Who knows how many dreams would have been buried then? Above all, the victory (however much contested) was feeding the moral of the crushed nation. Regrouped in Moldova, the army had resisted Mackensen's divisions. It was no small thing to find out the Romanian soldier had held the bayonet against the terrible German infantry man! And not only had he fought against him, but he had also defeated him because he had proved to be stronger and insurmountable.

The Decade of Memoirs and its Late Reverberations

In order to make its way to eternity, the Mărășești narrative had to pass the test of time. First of all, it had to be intensely mediatized among the masses. And who other than its protagonists would have been more suited for the first stage of its beatification? This is how the decade of memoirs started. Ordinary people, of some or no literary talent, publish their war memoirs. The legend of Mărășești attracts all the attention. It is dynamic, spectacular, adventurous and thrilling. Here is how George Cornea evokes the German bombing of August 6, 1917: "Almost 700 cannons, out of which 400 heavy artillery, were firing thousands and thousands of bombs per minute; you couldn't tell if a shell was breaking, and in the terrible and long cannoning all you could see was smoke and stones, dust and trees going up in a blaze. Mărășești begins to burn on its outskirts, half of the railway station collapses and the rails are turned upside down by the incoming bomb hurricane. The Răzoare woods go up in a blaze. Each tree burns with a big flame like a torch at the head of the dead, and the smoke is rising high up to God as a sacrifice for the souls of those who died there" (Cornea 1920, 187). Indeed, in the first years after the war confessional literature becomes popular. This genre was meant to justify not only the meaning, but also the course of the war. Cassian R. Munteanu publishes in 1919 a brochure entitled *Bătălia de la Mărășești. - Zilele de glorie ale Armatei I-a Română - (24 iulie – 10 august 1917)* ["The Battle of Mărășești – the Glorious Days of the Romanian 1st Army: July 24 – August 10, 1917"]. The author presents the process of recovery of the 1st Army in Moldova with the help of the French mission, the preparation of the Romanian divisions for the attack in Nămoloasa. Then he evokes the Russian retreat from Bukovina and the halt of Averescu's attack. After a few days of waiting and uncertainty, the Germans concentrate their forces in the region of Focșani in order to give Moldova the decisive blow. Their immediate target is Mărășești, an important railway hub which, once taken, would facilitate the access to Moldova's infrastructure. The denouement of the entire confrontation became a huge victory of the Romanian army. The enemy had lost the battle on the Trotuș-Siret front. A year after Romania joined the war, the Austro-Germans had been crushed by the Romanian peasants who had kept the hold and drive and proved they deserve an honourable place in the history of peoples. Infused with patriotism, the narrative ends with a long enumeration of testimonials and official messages illustrating the German prisoners' appreciation for their opponent's courage (Munteanu 1919).

The memoirs are perhaps the best source of representations of the battle. And the survivors' memories continued to pour in even after the first ten post-war years. The communist period also marks the memory of Mărășești. Part of the localist trend, the late remembrance of the battle symbolizes both a patriotic duty and an obligation that comes with the party membership. The stories of the former soldiers regain public attention. In the "Annals of the Institute

of Historical, Social and Political Studies",[29] the narrative of the battle fought at the gates of Moldova is told by the war veterans. Of course, not any war veterans, but the fashionable generals who, naturally, have been reservists for years now. Browsing the jubilee edition, one finds the description of the battles fought in the south of Moldova. General Iacob Teclu writes about Mărășești in the article "Marea victorie de la Mărășești" ["The Great Victory of Mărășești"]. Anyone would expect to find a reference about the way the front line was pierced, but this description is only limited to the German savage attack and the heroic defense of the Romanian side. Only towards the end does the article shed some light: it is the unusual nature of this heroic resistance that makes this battle special. Thus, the great German war machine was defeated because Mackensen changed his mind in the valley of the Siret River and ordered a defense instead (Teclu 1967, 23-34). Obviously, the phrase "heroic defense", converted into the victory of Mărășești, was not a communist invention. It had featured in all the patriotic speeches between the two World Wars. The communist regime even perverted its meaning: in the rhetoric of the "imperialist war", this victory was not about holding on to the dream of a Great Romania, but a genuine opposition to the invader's attack. A year after the 50th anniversary (1968), General in Reserve Dumitrescu Polihron (in the "Annals", the author of the narrative about the battles of Oituz) publishes his memoirs. In the Foreword, the author (lieutenant at the Military School of Officers in Craiova in August 1916) clumsily explains his omissions as the result of forgetfulness as he had neglected to write down the events when their memory was still fresh in his mind and so some of the facts ended up being lost in time, partially or completely (Dumitrescu 1968, 5). The reader is left with very little from Dumitrescu's account about Mărășești – "Ascultând chemarea" ["The Calling"]. The author was supposed to get there, but never made it. After setting out on the Suș̦ița valley, somewhere near Varnița, the march was stopped as the regiment had received orders to return to Negrileș̦ti where they were to find out they had to go to Oituz (Dumitrescu 1968, 119-123). In 1978, the Junimea publishing house in Iași launches the memoirs of folklore researcher Alexandru Vasiliu Tătărș̦i (military clerk at 28 infantry brigade during the battles of 1917). Professor Petru Ursache, ethnologist and literary historian, writes a beautiful preface to it. Vasiliu Tătărș̦i too warns the reader that he had taken his time to decide whether to put his war notes before the public or not. He dedicates long pages to the events at Mărășești which are undoubtedly authentic. But everything in his work is in line with the rules of the regime, not a word breaches them. For example, in the passage of Friday August 25, 1917, he tells of a little German ruse. They sent the Saxon soldier Max Ian Bach over to the Romanian lines with a letter written by a Romanian soldier (Gheorghe Popescu of Regiment 7 Prahova) where he urged his peers to defect. Obviously, the ruse did not work and Bach was reported to the division 14 commanded by Lieutenant Romulus Ionescu (Vasiliu-Tătărș̦i 1978, 162). It is odd that the corporal (recently promoted at August 15) never mentions similar reactions on the Russian side.

The First Histories and Their Reception

As in other belligerent countries, the first war stories were told by the soldiers themselves. In the interwar years, a plethora of stories about Mărășești appeared. The military histories are the first to record the account and here are a few examples. Right after the war (1919), General Scarlat Panaitescu signs the brochure *Rolul României în războiul mondial* ["Romania's Role during the World War"]; in 1934, General Scărișoreanu publishes a second edition of *Fragmente din războiul 1916-1918* ["Fragments of the 1916-1918 War"]; three years later (1937), General Dabija publishes the fourth edition of his book about the contribution of the Romanian Army in the World War, where the battle of Mărășești takes a full Chapter VIII. The book has an undeniable research value; it is the result of rigorous work and careful analysis of original sources. Its readers learn about the orders and operations of the fighting units almost twenty years after the end of the battle (Dabija 1937, IV, 1937).

But Constantin Kirițescu's book *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României, 1916-1919* ["The History of the War for a United and Complete Romania, 1916-1919"] remains the first book about the history of the war to give an exhaustive account of the battle of Mărășești. In 1922 the book is revised and heavily completed so as to ensure a high degree of accuracy. Kirițescu dedicates an entire chapter to the battle of Mărășești in the second volume: a long presentation (101 pages) organized around the events that take place in those (only) 14 days. The reader will find there details about the enrolment, movements, the German attack followed by the Romanian counter-attack, and heroic deeds of the Romanian soldiers in contrast to the Russians' treason. The

[29] A document published under the patronage of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

author carefully selects the facts and the accompanying pictures. He uses reproductions of Romanian war paintings ("The Attack of Regiment 32" by Remus Petre Troteanu, "Out of the Trenches and Charging" by Costin Petrescu, "The Attack" by Marincea Stănescu). He draws a complex series of conclusions, but the real meaning of the battle resides in the two final sentences as follows: "To us Romanians, who have made this victory with our commanders' skill, with the courage and generous blood of the troops, Mărășești will remain the most glorious episode of our great national war. After the tragic deployment of the 1916 campaign, after the long hard work, the anxious and hopeful waiting during the winter of 1917, the battle of Mărășești came right after that of Mărăști to prove the unwavering strength of the Romanian soul. And this proof was necessary for ourselves, as well as for our friends and foes because the flag of the great national claims we were flying high in 1916 was not meant to represent a nation that begs for its rights in exchange for suffering and humiliation, but a mighty nation that makes victory its own. With Mărăști and Mărășești we raise our heads once again and take our deserved place among our friends and allies" (Kirițescu 1922, II, 592). Its 1989 edition reproduces almost faithfully the content of the Interwar editions. Even though the communist censorship commission did not erase the wrinkled image of the Russian allies, the word "treason" is avoided. For example, in the 1922 original there is a chapter entitled "Russian Treason and Romanian Sacrifice". As for the argument between Ragoza and Christescu (the commander crisis), Kirițescu makes a few devastating accusations: "Thus, the act of cowardice or treason committed by the Russian troop was aggravated by the reckless, disloyal, unfriendly and dishonest gesture on the part of the commander of the 4th Russian Army himself" (Kirițescu 1922, II, 535). The 1989 edition revisits the issue, but the paragraph in question is deleted (Kirițescu 1989, II, 104-106). But this does not mean that the later edition lost irretrievable information. Just ten years before (1979), the Military Publishing House (Romanian: Editura Militară) was releasing a new book about the participation of Romania in the First World War. The account of the battle of Mărășești relied on new sources from the Romanian military archives. But, as with all things in those times, while the book was a high quality research outcome, the interpretation of the events followed the political conventions: fierce bayonet fight scenes demonstrate the tenacity and heroic drive of the Romanian soldier who sacrifices his life for the just (non-defined) cause of the nation (Atanasiu *et al*. 1979, 298).

During the Stalinist regime the propaganda conventions were still in place; it was only in the 1960s that the battle was progressively rehabilitated. On the 50th anniversary, Nicolae Ceaușescu was still praising the people's gratitude to the French and Russian soldiers who, together with the Romanian soldiers, had shed their share of blood in the confrontation with the enemy (Ceaușescu 1968, II, 469). Later on, Colonel Ion Cupșa would publish (1967) the monograph *Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz* – a reference book for those years because it reflected the new trends of interpretation: Romania as a victim of the war, the army's endurance and heroism. The battle of Mărășești enjoys an ample description with special emphasis on strategy (troop movements), tactics, fighting power and commitment (Cupșa 1967, 55-81). There is a new recognition of the exemplary character of the battle, but the raw facts were still subject to the whims of censorship. In other words, the memories had changed but were still serving the regime, as it were.

The School Textbooks

Before long, the battle of Mărășești made its way into the school textbooks. In the 1923 History of the Romanians for the eighth grade (by Ion S. Floru) it appears that Mackensen decided in August 1917 to breach the front at Siret: the Germans' effort was shattered against the Romanians' courage under the command of Eremia Grigorescu. The young pupils (probably in their early teens) would read about the "hecatombs" that put off the Germans who, since then, never again plotted any major action against us. Mărășești was worthy of the company of other great battlefields such as Călugăreni or Podu Înalt (Floru 1923, 521-522). In Orest Tafrali's book (*Istoria românilor*, history book for the eighth grade for boys and girls, second edition, 1935), the chronicle of the battle stretches on seven pages including a few fight scenes where the Germans, defeated, run for their lives. Colonel Lascăr Caracaș's brigade is digging the trenches at around noon when all of a sudden the Germans pop up. The brigade fight a courageous fight with whatever they have at hand and the Germans run away in terror and spread the word that they were beaten by the Japanese (Tafrali 1935, 421)! Maybe the Germans should not be very upset because during the Stalinist regime such scenes are gradually taken out of school textbooks. Even though the universal history book of 1945 still preserves the traditional view with references to the role of the Romanian monarchy during the war and the heroic fight for Moldova (*Manual unic* 1945), the subsequent edition (1947) is brushed up (Georgescu *et al.* 1947). The battles during the 1916-1917 campaigns and the

heroic tints around the Romanian soldiers become significantly marginal. Still, the battle of Mărășești is preserved in the book. Because General Eremia Grigorescu had the good idea of giving a speech about the heroic deeds of the Russian soldiers, his name survives in the books too. But other episodic characters are completely deleted. The very reflection of heroism changes dramatically. From the Romanian fight epic the emphasis shifts towards the glorious memory of the Russian soldiers who, ironically, were still fighting under the tsar's command at that time (Georgescu *et al.* 1947, 623-624)! Then, at a relatively later time, Ceaușescu's regime proposes a school book that claims to redeem Romanian heroism via one concept, namely that the Romanians fought at Mărășești for freedom and independence because their heroic sacrifice stopped the invaders at the gates of Moldova, and everything was carefully worded in line with the imposed norms: "Fervent patriotism, the infinite desire to liberate the occupied fatherland and the superiority of the Romanian and Russian joint command to that of the enemy are the main factors that generated the Romanian soldiers' heroism and endless fighting power (*Istoria României* 1975, 265)."

Literature and the Arts

In the Interwar period the Mărășești epic becomes an object of worship. Settled firmly in history, it inspires poets, writers and artists. Mihail Th. Adămeșteanu's poem "La Mărășești" ["At Mărășești"] opens a collection of patriotic verse dedicated to the national heroes. It captures all the grandeur of the event: its third verse is electrifying: "The enemies would hail on us / But we showed them it would not do / To gallop madly past our men… / The gates are closed at Mărășești!" (Adămeșteanu 1920, 3). In drama, the "Story of the Mărășești Soldier," an 18-scene performance by General Gheorghe Drăgănescu has its premiere at Arenele Romane in Bucharest under the High Patronage of Queen Maria. The action is set in 1936 in the home of the war invalid Mihai Bradu. The steward (Ionică), returned from his regiment, talks him into evoking his war memories. The plot takes the audience back in time (twenty years before) at the battle of Mărășești with vivid fighting scenes and the victory. Scene XV presents the first commemoration of the battle and transmits the message of gratitude to the heroes. The commemoration takes place at the tomb of the fallen heroes, with burning candles and lingering church-bell chimes; officers, soldiers and civilians are gathered around the tomb, heads bowing. Wreaths are placed at the foot of the tomb, and the General (Eremia Grigorescu) gives a speech around the idea that the unified Romania was born out of the Mărășești endeavour (Drăgănescu 1936, 43). It is as if that battle decided the course of the entire war! From an obscure village before 1917, Mărășești now represents the place where "the vanity of the Teutonic knight was lying defeated, he who had set Europe on fire" (Archibald 1924, 108). A magazine issued at mid-January 1919 ("Ilustrațiunea Armatei"/"The Army's Journal") publishes an editorial – "Marna-Mărășești" concluding that the Germans found their grave at Marna whereas at Mărășești the pride of Mackensen himself was crushed (*Marna-Mărășești* 1919, 21).

The Mărășești Mausoleum. The Consecration of the Battle

A place of victory also needs an imposing monument, especially since, near Mărășești, on the very battlefield, thousands of Romanian soldiers were buried. The initiative was in the trend of the time, as monuments of the war were being erected all over Europe. After the armistice and peace treaty, the monuments were given a commemorative meaning with emphasis on quiet recollection and the cult of the dead. The authorities, civilians, the military, and priests would attend the ceremonies joining the mourning families and pilgrims. But the fate of monuments is that their original meaning is later converted into something else – where there was a victory, the monument becomes a symbol of joy (Nora ed. 1997, I; Prost 199-223; Hardier, Jagielski 2001, 251-293). Thus was the fate of Romanian monuments, too since the country had come out of the war victorious. The idea of a mausoleum for the heroes' remains was well received. The news of a new monument to be erected on the very battlefield (the land was donated by Gheorghe Negropontes), south of Mărășești in the direction of Focșani, aroused a vivid enthusiasm both in the country and abroad (Voiculescu 1971, 11-13). At 24 July 1919, under the High Patronage of HM Queen Maria, the Mărășești Society was founded with the patriotic aim to rehabilitate the village and turn it into a place of national worship. Apart from its philanthropic mission, the society also took care of the historical memory of Mărășești. Every year it organized a commemorative service on the Răzoare field in honour of the fallen. The construction costs for the mausoleum were quite high. The Mărășești Society, together with other similar establishments (the National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women, the "Heroes' Tombs" Society etc.), initiated a fund raise by public subscription (Mihăilescu 2008, 263-269). If in France, for example, the Act of 25.10.1919

established the principle of offering financial aid to the communes that wanted to honour the memory of the fallen (Bouillon, Petzold 1999, 17), in Romania the bulk of the funds would come from the (already impoverished) population by donation and charitable functions. Despite the difficulties, at 6/19 August 1923, the members of the Mărășești Society, representatives of the army, along with many war orphans and widows, attend the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the future monument. In the next summer (1924) the first stage of construction was completed with laying the remains of a few thousand soldiers in the crypts. This ceremony was a good opportunity to meet former brothers of arms who had fought at Mărășești, and families who had made their pilgrimage there from all parts of the country. Unfortunately, the Interwar governments did not show a constant interest in continuing the construction. It was only at the 1936 commemoration (August 6) that the government announced it would allocate supplementary funds for the mausoleum as it wanted to make a good impression in view of the following anniversary (twenty years from the battle in 1937). As a consequence, the site reopened at 1 March (Voiculescu 1971, 24, 32-43). The mausoleum was opened on Sunday, 18 September 1938 with a numerous audience. The journal of the Mărășești Society – "Frontul Mărășești"[30] – covered the event amply, and the chronicle is triumphant: The official train left the capital at 6.20 and arrived at Mărășești at 9.50. It has brought Patriarch Miron Cristea (the head of government) with a few ministers (among them Armand Călinescu and Mihail Ghelmegeanu) and state secretaries, who are joined by the delegates of the patriotic societies, of the "Michael the Brave" Order, and by the representatives of the international press in Bucharest. King Carol II arrives in his automobile together with Prince Michael. The brass band plays the royal anthem, and the King reviews the troops. In the ovations of the audience, the state men enter the mausoleum. Here, the Patriarch, together with the bishops and several priests, officiates the mass. The King puts on the white silk coat of high patron of the People's Church in Mărășești. Then the commemoration service is held outside, under a large tent, in honour of all the soldiers who gave their life on all the fronts. The bells ring, cannons are fired, and the priests' chant is carried far away by the wind. Then there are the speeches to the people: Bishop N. Colan, Alexandrina Gr. Cantacuzino, Nicolae Bălan, Metropolitan of Ardeal, General G. Argeşeanu, minister of the National Defense, and His Majesty King Carol II. The atmosphere is overwhelming. The speeches are infused with emotion. Carefully worded, they touch all the hearts in the audience: "(…) Today's feast is not as much our celebration as it is the celebration of our heroes and their forefathers who sacrificed themselves willingly in order to save our nation (…)"; "(…) This land of Mărășești has above it, like a heavenly blessing, the crown of Romanian heroism and the selfless sacrifice our people at the most important time of its patriotic duty (…)"; "(…) We do not come here with a sorrowful heart like we do for the ordinary dead, but we come with our serene souls thinking of those who, through their sacrifice, should be a perpetual example to all the inhabitants of this country." (*Frontul Mărășești* III, 15, October 1938). As we can see, the Carlist propaganda validates the indissoluble connection between the epic of Mărășești and the Great Union of 1918. After the beginning of the Second World War, the Greater Romania was crumbling under the neighbours' blows. The historical destiny of Mărășești also seemed to be compromised. So what would have been the meaning of this sacrifice? What kind of memories would the legendary battle have evoked? This question receives an answer soon enough. Antonescu's regime concludes that territorial unity must be preserved, and the symbol of Mărășești may contribute to the preparations for the new war. The sacrifice of 1918 inspires that of 1941.

Even if the Mausoleum was erected, the circumstances of the locality were left as precarious as before. The newly declared town and its surroundings only saw promises. During the Interwar years there were several parliamentary debates, some finger-pointing, some appeals to the king and the Prime Minister. According to these, the funds collected over the years (15,697,000 lei) in various forms with the aim to rebuild the town were converted into state certificates which in the end became worthless. The long-awaited school was never rebuilt, and the general state of the small town was deplorable with no pavements, no running water, no market and almost no light. This was the situation 15 years after the war (*Chestiunea Fondurilor Refacerei Orașului Mărășești* 1933, 3-5). But it has always been a historical symbol. In August 1920, the recently declared town of Mărășești receives the French "War Cross" from General Joffre. But there has never been a shortage of political promises. In an article published in "Neamul Românesc" journal (no. 343), Nicolae Iorga proposes to rebuild Mărășești from scratch as a town of victory. His arguments revolve,

[30] At 6 May 1933 the "Mărășești" Society had changed its name to the "Mărășești" Front.

again, around the memory of the battle: that is the place where the enemy struck the hardest and Romanians from everywhere (even from abroad) gave their lives to stop the German invasion. So in the new city the downtown area has to be right on the former battlefield in the vicinity of the Mausoleum, It needs bigger factories than those before the war (which were burnt), orphanages, invalid shelters, free land for the veterans to build their new homes – all these projects are meant to perpetually evoke the heroes' sacrifice of 1917. Iorga notes: "Just like our Roman ancestors, we should colonize the veterans in the very place where they were victors. And every year we should organize festivals with fighting contests and gymnastics competitions right on the spot where a real battle took place. It would be a symbol and a powerful means of national education" (Bianu 1926).

Conclusions

The image of Mărășești has been subject to dramatic changes that have distorted the historical memory of the event. The battle only represented a victory of Romanian nationalism. The memories and Interwar representations received ideological influences from the cult of the Greater Romania. Later they became a topic for communist propaganda. It is strange how the pilgrimage of the victims of war aroused the community's interest in glorifying a bloody battle. From family commemorations and religious service the event entailed erecting grand monuments and organizing festivals for the masses. The legend of Mărășești (a narrative of bravery and sacrifice) was born on the battlefield but became perverted semantically under the subsequent totalitarian regimes. That is why the heroic sacrifice of 1917 was never understood or genuinely respected by Romanian society. The posterity has never been interested in maintaining a genuine commemoration of the battle of Mărășești, and the patriotic educational agenda of the Interwar years degenerated in propaganda festivities. The consequence of distorting the memory of the event is a long-term estrangement from its authentic symbol. The belated memories of the confrontation only increased the confusion and discontinuity from the victims' authentic memory. Whole sequences of the battle have lost their original meaning and credibility: the attitude of the Russian allies, the image of the German enemy, the peasants' heroism vs. the bourgeois commander's cowardice etc. Building the mausoleum in 1938 reflects the appetite of the Romanian authorities for the cult of heroes as much as abandoning the town in the Interwar decades probes their ignorance of the past. Virulent communist propaganda then inevitably permeated all the nice stories of Mărășești. Generations of teenagers become so-called "pioneers" of Ceaușescu's regime and pledge their allegiance before the Mausoleum; Ecaterina Teodoroiu (the daughter of a poor peasant from Gorj) is converted to national heroine; patriotic movies (usually signed by Sergiu Nicolaescu) ridicule the past to the praise of the party activists. Unfortunately, the same distortions of the memory of Mărășești (the false glorification of a historical event) have continued well after the fall of communism. Many of the monuments erected in the memory of the Romanian heroes have been constantly degrading. In 1997, 80 years later, Gabriela Oprișan (editor of the "Deșteptarea" daily of Bacău) published a book entitled "Pe aici nu se trece, 80 de ani - Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz" ["Thou Shall Not Pass through Here: 80 Years on - Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz"]. This book is probably the last document to preserve the late memories of the battle. It presents the account of Colonel in reserve Nicolae Costin, whose father had died in the battle of Mărășești. A precious heirloom, these memories of war are passed on by word of mouth (Nicolae Costin's testimony was audio recorded) and become our patrimony. But the book also includes a plan of the cemetery at Târgu Ocna where other heroes are buried, as well as several portraits of hero soldiers ("*Pe aici nu se trece"* 1997). Apart from the mausoleum (an artistic expression of glory),[31] contemporary Mărășești has other monuments as well: the obelisk in memory of the Independence war (1877-1878), the monument erected in the "Joffre" park in memory of the Romanian and French soldiers, the bust of sub-Lieutenant Gabriel Gr. Pruncu, a plaque dedicated to Napoleon III etc. (Ignat, Ignat 2012, 183-201). The viewer will notice that the past of the battle has not come to terms with the present. The city still awaits the long-promised investments. Now that the centenary is drawing near, the battle of 1917 claims the recovery of the authentic event and maybe less festive pomp.

[31] Monument created by architects George Cristiel and Constantin Pomponiu; made of reinforced concrete and covered with Deva andesite.

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TIMES, OBJECTS, MEMORIES.
OLD INTERIORS IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

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***Abstract**: When we can no longer represent a certain epoch in self-referential terms, we start talking about the objects left behind or vanished. Or, as the severe changes brought about by communism seem to suggest, the memoirists often replace the reconstruction of the facts with the detailed description of certain objects which were stolen, confiscated, abandoned in an attic, hidden in relatives' houses or even sold by their owners in flee markets for buying food. Within a self-recovery scenario, these objects are "semiophores" (K. Pomian), signalling either the end of the old world, or the inadequacy to the new one. All over our lives, we are surrounded by a multitude of objects that we are used to ignore. The routine of the daily life renders them anonymous and we only pay them attention when we part with them or when they are stolen from us.*

***Keywords:** autobiographical literature, décors, self, narrativization, memory*

Introduction

And yet, what stirs our memories? Perhaps it is the moment when the present retraces its steps and disrupts the past for a while. But given that memories can have several beginnings, dare we give them one single end? And if yes, which one: the denouement we favour or the one the others prefer? What I believe is that the most frequently revived nostalgias are those that do not constrain us to provide an end, preserving the nature of a hazy parable, instead of a rigid investigation. For instance, on the last page of the interview that Gabriel Liiceanu had with Mircea Ivănescu we can see a photograph that objectifies the very idea of a text; it seems to endow it with edges, corners, lumps, patina: this is the image of the last sheet of paper that Ivănescu put in his typewriting machine. The great poet was already blind in 2007, and his words could not surface on paper. With a final effort, the keyboard could only bring forth 28 letters. The poem could not take a graphic form anymore; it was metonymized by the modest tool that was used to bring it to life. This is what evocative objects are, 'stammers of space' (Jones 2007: 18-20), niches of time that get filled with the absence of the one who has left. The deceased gets transfigured, our memory equating them with the domestic space that they left behind. Thus, the things that once belonged to them could signify their imminent return or just the miming of this very unlikely event (Pety 2010: 258-264). Either that or the Ivănescu machine is a vestige that will lose its age rather quickly if the memories of his kin are not there anymore (Caraion 2014: 35). That is why I dedicate this paper to the unfortunate box of unborn texts and verses that are still hidden within, hoping to find, in the mind of an ideal reader, a place where their wonders are not reborn too late.

Autobiographical literature

Autobiographical literature (Pîrjol 2014: 23) preserves seconds that we put aside, thoughts that we have nourished for one another a long time before; it reconsiders objects through which the individual's identities reconcile. These are either special things or dull things in which memories emerge all of a sudden and then end all of a sudden. We go down for them into the past in order to bring them up into the present. But none of them generates successive and gradual representations, by means of which we could connect childhood directly to maturity. Capitulating, we take them with us the way they are, because we can never start all over again. Memories are not easy to find. Only the "budding" and the "fading", as extreme conditions, stimulate the game of anchoring them in one decade or another. In this line of thought, middle age is too fluid to be useful. It is not too clear either what its purpose would be: to transcribe the memory of old feelings? To think that we feel today we should have felt yesterday? Or focus on things that happened to us and on the way others have seen them? (Fitzgerald 1995: 362). Anyhow, autobiography is a rather reticently treated literary genre. It is believed to organise facts with too much premeditation, either causally, or intentionally; a specific action being thus transformed into an end in itself at the narrative level; in other words it is a continuous and apparently logical reality of the past reinvented, since the duration of an event is often not happening in real time, but in the one written in the account (Larsen et alii 1995: 129-131).

The present contribution belongs to *patrimonial studies*, evaluating the variable semantics of different interiors; still comprehensible as far as the literature of memoires can go, and chase away the

heavy silence reigning over them. The context looks favourable: few of us continue to observe our own existence, since we find more pleasant the stories that others tell. Therefore our purpose is not to shed tears over a time that is constantly shrinking, but to observe how certain houses or decors get to personify the ages that we reach or do not reach. But how do we administer the memory of a lost object and of things that are not with us anymore? (Berntsen 2009: 93-94) We integrate them in a narrative form within the scenography of some bourgeois houses. That is because remembering is topographical, some things resurfacing in our memory only when our eyes do not find them where they used to find them anymore (Halbwachs 2007: 194-197, my translation).

> Why do we get attached to objects? Why do we want them not to change at all and to continue to accompany us? […] Our material environment bears our mark and other people's mark at the same time. One cannot say that things are part of the society. Yet, furniture, ornaments, paintings, tools and trinkets circulate among a group of people, and they are objects of appreciation, of comparison, they always open perspectives towards new directions in fashion and tastes, but they also remind us of old social order and customs. […] This is not just about mere harmony and physical correspondence between the way places and people look. Each object we met and the place it occupies as a whole reminds us of a way of being that many people share […] the stability of the house and of its interior impress on the group itself the relaxing image of continuity.

The–key to the above quotation is the word "interior", to which the analysts of the late 19th century and the early 20th century resorted and created the opposition between *fashion* and *style*: the former denoting external fashion, fast, consuming, frivolous; the latter covering the more domestic, more intimate and more stable side of the mundane (Rice 2007: 83). Furthermore, in common everyday language, when we want to signal the presence of something imperturbable and unchangeable, we use expressions such as the "state of things", "order of things", "that's the way things are". Let us take an example: "Had I considered it unavoidable, I would have resigned: I have never been angry with an object", Simone de Beauvoir confessed (Beauvoir 2011: 15 personal translation). Indeed, many things hold, according to how they present themselves to us, a dose of unavoidability. In a way, they are endowed with a sort of clear fate which we cannot resist. They are impassive and that is why they seem implacable. They come from a "by itself" which we cannot measure our forces with (Smith, Watson 2001: 21, 188-189). Autobiographic literature therefore saves the objects that represent big "moments" in the history of a house, and then they become emblematicsouvenirs, handed over from one generation to another (Haden 2003: 49-69). In novels, the purpose of things is to define characters; they are the pretext of states of mind, while the documenting purpose is rather secondary (Watson 2004: 57-82). Obviously, the authenticity of fictional narratives comes rather from the intensity of the emotions, than from the exactitude of décor descriptions (Hergyán 2012: 14, 37-38, 43). On the contrary, in the autobiographic literature, the role of objects is to authenticate the account; they are "crutches" for recollecting, and make verifiable the place of the facts remembered. Consequently, historians feel less attracted to self-analyses (through which writers of memoirs incessantly build their double, (whichever the topic they deal with), favouring the writings with a wider human coverage, creating an involuntary monograph of the years they refer to. Yet they are constantly reproached the abuse of interpretation: the social construction of the reality lived by the memoirist belongs too much to the historian and too little to the confessor, while the researcher translates everything in terms of what the story-teller does not accept (Robinson 2011:24).

Objects of the interior, reflections of the self

We are told about old things, and we try to be kind to them. After all, the chinaware is marked by the prints of times gone by. But let it be clear: it is not the picturesque that attracts us, but the possibility to reconstruct the idea of the normality of distant times. By seeing the banality that defined the lives of our grandparents, we can perceive more clearly the cultural differences that make us strangers to, say, the inter-war period. This is why we do not invoke objects which are essentially valuable museum-wise, but those that may have been familiar to the memoirist. These are cold fetishes, once thoroughly personalised and well anchored in the family's memory; we are therefore our interest lies not in the expensive or cheap material they were made of, but in the gestures, locations and the care they were given and which endowed them with certain cultural shape (Clark 1998: 87-91). Autobiographic literature is thus the "formalin" of objects scattered around the private collections or museums; nevertheless preserving their essence: the social semiotics, without which we, the people of the 21st century, would not understand them at all; the latter once justifying their spatial layout, informing the decision of placing of an object in the living room or in the study room, for example.

Yesterday never ends as we constantly add to it the memories that keep coming. We return to it yet again, using it as a starting point for the succeeding phases, which somebody familiar with them might explain them (Constantin 2004: 147). For instance, the remembering some objects might mean their permanent use by grandparents, parents, grandchildren. And using the objects encompasses the habits and the way of being of people (Heinich 2009: 215-216). Or at least this is how the theory goes: when we really take possession of people's things, we also appropriate the way how they were seen, valued or taken care of. There exist many objects "from home", but the people or their holidays are absent (Cross 2004: 61-67). Can they have the same value for grandparents and grandchildren? It is rather, the text which reinvents them, since words support the objectifying of the memory and, consequently, the cultural longevity of old artefacts. Only this way, the history of the great can sometimes replace the past of the small. What might the explanation for this be? In the autobiographers' view, childhood is a preparation for the old age, its opposite. It builds a history of its own with difficulty, a story we interpret in the same way, in the light of the cultural codes that reproduce themselves incessantly (Misztal 2003: 76-78, 84-88). Memories of childhood are disappointingly similar; more important is the moment the memoirist ends them, drawing the line to maturity; worded differently, s/he sets a boundary when feeling s/he became somebody else's. Although childhood seems to be different for each of us, in reality we inherit the same attitudes towards it, from one generation to another, (Nelson 2003: 3-23). In this way we bear a false memory of our own childhood, an imaginary one to the extent to which what we learn about the others make us all value facts and objects that we otherwise ignore (Bauman 2002: 26-35). Why? There are symbolic systems that are autonomously reproduced, from one generation to another, in spite of the cultural adaptations they are submitted to (Kane 1991: 53-69). The best example is the poor communist china figure: it was not the object itself that was appreciated, but the respect that the owners of such objects used to enjoy in the past. The "ballerina" bought from the socialist shops also represented the status of those who once could afford to own the original Meissen object; consequently, anyone could dream about the respectability of those bourgeois and about the stability of the lives they once lived. In this way we show that we are not totally indifferent to the little fictional and narrative conservation of some family genealogies, even if the autobiographer had never known the grandfather he/she describes in detail. The old man's name that the memoirist does forget becomes a "semiotic object" (Eco 2011: 119). In other words, it is enough to write down the right "password" e.g. Cantacuzino, for the proper noun in question to become the embodiment of the human qualities that its mere mention brings forward: education, refinement, manners and, last but not least, the love of objects.

The story of somebody's life should not overwhelm us with facts; we are "spies" to the cultural mediations through which the evoker arranges them in a narrative (Lungu 2003: 31-32). But the autobiographic exercise will be an artificial one if we ask the memoirists to arrange their paths chronologically. Writing has a different purpose: to help them underline, rather indirectly, the trans-generational, long reiterated experiences their current memories contain. Or, ego-literature involves a big amount of disparate details (Mathien, Wright 2006: 14),while we only research the manner in which the subjects trace themselves in the past of their community, relating to their identity marks; and among these milestones, we must select only the patrimonial ones, even if the narrator does not acknowledge them as such. They can be divided into three types: *active*, still featuring in the present and contributing to the stability of the author's self-image; *retroactive*, when people assimilate themselves to goods or skills that they used to have and they forgot, capitalising on their posterity after having once ignored their topicality; *passive*, when they are not aware which patrimonial values are included in their daily life, and only the fashion of the day, the rarity of some objects or the interest showed by the others stirred their nostalgias.

It is difficult to put an end to our histories; they stealthily carry on in the questionable muteness of memory bordering the truth rather than being in its midst. Autobiographic literature, not accidentally, is not the historians favourite; they consider it frivolous and filled with extravagant nothingness. That happens until historians themselves start practicing the literary genre in question, self-proposing as a topic of study (Aurell 2006: 425-445). Historians' scepticism is understandable to a certain extent: there are many authors who do not have much to say about themselves but incorporate in their narratives persons whom they simply knew or who were only their contemporaries. Too few memoirists are real actors of the accounted events; or on the contrary, too few resist the temptation to put themselves on stage, not missing the opportunity to become the spectators of their own persons. The literature of the self, often tells about non-existent times, inhabited by good people

only, to whom only good things ever happened; and childhood was, inevitably, a perpetual Christmas. It is one thing to become aware that people used to live differently once, and it is a different thing to believe that you deserve the past you are talking about; by doing this, it is no longer important whether it is really your past or you just started liking it along the way.

We always revisit our emotions under the influence of an extremely versatile present which never allows us to believe that we know our past in a definitive way. So we will not really understand the way we were, being ensnared by what we would have wanted to be (Evans 1999: 1-1-15, 78-83). Objectively speaking, this kind of prose does not preserve the spirit of the bygone worlds, since tardy mythicizations prevail, due to repeated remembrance (Carlson 2009:177). The complete union between man and its everyday décor is also often farfetched, as if the owner would illustrate or reflect the features of the objects. Objects thus decide his profile, turning the individual into the objects' own "accessory". The individual thus tries to please the objects, not to disagree with them, tries to be their result, to become their twin. The relationship man-space-object is somehow a totemic representation typical for the narratives with mythicizing intention:

> There is never an unequivocal, external, per chance rapport between what a thing "is" and the place where it lies […] but the place itself part of the thing's existence, apparently being connected by well-determined internal *relations* (Cassirer 2008: 130, my translation).

For this reason I did not focus on the interiors recorded in autobiographic literature under the pressure of some imported melancholia. Verbs put in all tenses change their faces, one particular object breeding generation of images of memories of other memories. The remnants of the houses which existed make us see the different regimes of historicity. What do this mean? *They are not memories from the past, but representations of the manner in which we situated ourselves in this past*, as time does not stumble and does not linger; these are impasses we invent, in order to buy time and pretend that we willingly grow older. Otherwise, memoirs bring together different ways to bargain with time. They are not supposed make our grandparents young again; it is more important to find the right antecedents. But we also deal with memoirists who try to trick their recollection. They visit their memories in an absolutely discontinuous manner, browsing them with deliberate inconsistency, so that the events they narrate show signs of stress and precipitate towards a premature end (Flaherty 1999: 24). These memoirists want to have some typical experiences checked; the ones who appear in almost all confessions, as if their lives were crammed into one single story. An explanation for this is more difficult to give: do we always reach in our own past too late, or, on the contrary, our memories find our past too early? And how do we decide which story encompasses us better? Everything seems already too subjective, the historian's reticence being thus justified. In *memoirs*, childhood comes alive in a first chapter, since the necessary chronological order of a narrative ensures this first position. In the *diaries*, the same childhood springs unexpectedly between the lines, like a slip in the storytelling, often contrary to the general course of the recorded notes. Hence, the distance seen by some between *autobiographical memory* and *personal memory*: the first one being the sum of unrepeatable facts belonging to a certain individual, the latter being dominated by common aspects, to be found, too, in other people's biographies (Ross 1991: 4, 189, 196-198); or, much more drastically, we make a clear split between *autobiographical knowledge* (a sort of mathematics of the individual, with fixed dates, immutable landmarks, and unwavering certitudes) and *autobiographical memories* (a selection always renewable from the biographic pieces of information; from which this multitude, transitory representations are extracted, needing cyclic "reorganisations" of the self-image) (Conway 1995: 67-82).This is how we might explain why so many pages were dedicated to unsolvable dilemmas; such as "what adult traumas do we codify by means of childhood memories?". That is why we investigate the fluctuations of perception and the reactions to the time that seems to have no intention to be in immediate consonance with what we believe about ourselves lately. This exercise is fairly useful: since we are used to mock other people's odysseys, we no longer realise in whose present we wander. It would be therefore proper to pay attention to the trace of future that the past usually has in store for us (Chapman 2014: 143-144). To be more precise, we/I refer to nostalgia and to those who still have time for it. After all, anyone can hope that *La Belle Époque* is not just for some, everybody should have his/her share. If we have nothing to remember, we take from the past of other people what is convenient to us we blend it with our imaginary dwellings. When talking about the end of the 19th century, Amelia Pavel noticed:

> ….the new culture of the artificial landscape; the

> landscape of the home, built like a map, out of geographical coexistences […] the interiors of the end of the century mentioned above provided for its inhabitants a space and atmosphere for the daily performance of their life roles, in a system of dramatic geographical allusions, (Pavel 1990: 27, my translation).

Yet, what is the use, for 2015 people, of these digressions of an aesthetical nature? Growing up, young people no longer ground their existence in the lives of their elders. Only when they approach their own twilight, memories about the parents who had once been children, push them to return to the family's history. Paradoxically, our predecessors always seem to have been children more than we were; provided that we love their past more than they had (Gudmundsdóttir 2003: 184-219). That is why we put forward this type of recovery, restraining ourselves to textualizing the childhood, maturity and old age; capturing the way in which the relations between the three ages are reflected in objects, in accessories, in old houses. "From the semiotics of remembered things we extract representations about time, paying attention to the frames where the history of a family is not trapped in itself, becoming a little bit everybody's history." (Blumer 1986: 1-12, my translation)

So what I try to suggest here is a plea for the studying of "small patrimonies", as they are called in France. I talk about them, I do not try in any way to transform them into melancholy or Bovarism. We/I do my duty by revealing the ones who had them close; who involuntarily showed us how they knew to enjoy themselves. I assure the sceptics that I do not give in to syrupy childhood fairy-tale memories. I only take into consideration the moments when the first images of the self are used for a better localisation of the other life stages (Cameron et alii 2004: 215).The relations between the two are often paradoxical and not simply a temporal succession of relations: we can only find ourselves, apparently when being reflected in a different epoch, mirroring the years that are coming in the ones that were (Skowronski et alii 2004: 184). The mere inventory of interiors is of no use to us. Thus, the Biedermeier relics remain the privilege of the older. The old interiors build our ego, if we share their past in them with others. In his memoirs, Virgil Nemoianu comes up with another reason in defence of the research proposed:

> …my book about Romanticism and Biedermeier, and before this the doctorate thesis about idyllic model, written in the post-industrial and post-modern universe, had a memoir and autobiographic nature. They were, above all, attempts to recover my teenage feelings, to legitimate myself and to defend my existence and my way of being (Nemoianu 1994: 254, my translation).

A legitimate yet sceptical question can be raised at this point: what is this effort useful for? Does the past want to be part of what we are going to become? Don't we surrender our ego to the memories that do not deserve it?

Today's objects are used, thrown away or recycled. And we do not become friends with them, as the period encourages the exact opposite: we quickly get rid of an object to quickly replace it with another, equally temporary. Having their stories shared with no one, objects do age in silence, unless we visit them frequently and re-live their age with them. (Fivush, Haden et alii 1995: 345-356) This perspective that we suggest is, as already mentioned, included in the patrimonial studies. Such studies not only resuscitate luxury objects, but also their use, not only the decors as such, but also the morals they inspired. An object that is not socially integrated becomes impossible to tell a story about and becomes easy to annihilate from a mnemonic point of view. We/I therefore avoid uncomplicated expressivity and I aim to explore the documentary potential of autobiographic literature, rescuing this kind of endeavour from sweet nothingness. What we will find, behind the dusty chinaware, is a type of individual, different from us in many ways. When mentioning the fabrics, the china or the furniture brands of the old times, which of us will know exactly what they really are? How many readers nowadays will open a dictionary to find out what they are all about? Do we still search today for anachronic meanings, when the current words acquire increasingly opportunistic semantics, competing with the old names? Those objects in fact go back to the times they came from, and close the door to it forever. Briefly, if we want to rekindle a particular kind of nostalgia, let us look for guilt. We will surely find it and we will love the regret that is now overwhelming us (Davis 1979: 69).

An oppressive present stifles our past; or perhaps dims it, enough to make it go away. As if we had nothing of our own and we always come from elsewhere, every day, out of somebody else's life. Unlike Sigmund Freud and Jean Baudrillard, I do not hunt for bits text in order to psychoanalyze them (Clifford 1994: 260-261). It is more informative to look at a narrative museum, a museum of innocent things, that we have started to regret lately. Nowadays the *object* does no longer "spring" from the *word* that names it, the two are no longer meant for each other.

Consequently, it might be useful to resuscitate some "*museifying" and not "museified" objects*, bourgeois old trifles which create a certain atmosphere fossilising their owners. Their owners continue to live in houses where objects and photographs of several generations take care of each other, freezing their significances in a unitary, homogenous, transferable, familial time (Dassié 2010: 219-221).

Conclusions

When trying to keep our past alive, we notice melancholies in other people's memories that we connect with. After all, this is not forbidden. And a volume of memoirs volume is, often written by its possible readers, as for each memory creates from the start a certain expectation. Therefore we need to accept other people's nostalgias, as very few of us experience them these days. The speed of our living keeps us captive, and no ego is acceptable or important for us whether or not the memoirist tries to escape the character he narrates. The narrations avoid each other, and the truths coexist but no longer correspond. Is there anything left to be done? The pragmatic choice would be not to tell other people's story, forcing the textualized objects to reveal their owners. In this way when renouncing the anecdotes, we avoid renouncing the literature of memoirs. It might still have something to say, as each slip of the pen could disclose something novel that has been hidden. It is therefore advisable to keep these books close to one's heart, to obtain memories which we have not experienced. They will urge us to become "somebody else" from time to time, choosing a past that never existed for us. It would be thus an attempt to live our life somehow else than reality allowed us to. And by playing these games, we will get the impression that our future had been carefully planned and we have nothing to fear. Nevertheless, the disappearance of the loved ones diminishes our future, a time that otherwise we would have spent together, reconciling naiveties and certitudes (York 2000: 122-123). That is why the future might seem anticipated through the past and researching the time which is entrapped by objects does not seem a useless endeavour, otherwise we fail to anchor ourselves in a stable past.

Objects ever more frequently free themselves from the control of words, the same way as images are no longer prisoners of our eyes. New senses knock at our doors, mixing memoirs and imposing different significance to old interior decors. There is no question to mourn them, but knowing them facilitates the turning of unfamiliar stories into personal experiences. This cannot be easy. Perceptions no longer have substance; it is only the notions we fix them in that give them some depth. We know that more fortunate situations exist, for example in old photographs explained to us by the elder, there is still a lot going on. But this is not the case of the objects which have been exhibited in antiquity shops for a long time, these objects shrink and keep to themselves; and this is understandable to a certain extent: usually we do not have much to say about things that are self-evident. They can still be found in the back corners of our memory, rather as volatile representations than as conspicuous recollections. We can touch them anytime; however they seem to be missing daily life. They thus occupy the imaginary spot we allot them from the beginning, somewhere in a future of the past; in those *times ago* that we have long dreamed about and which we previously lie ahead.

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ROMANIAN MOTIVES OF EPITAPHS FROM THE CEMETERIES OF BANAT AND TRANSYLVANIA (1947-1989)

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***Abstract**: Our study* is the result of field investigation performed in the urban cemeteries of Banat and Transylvania. It aims at understanding the way in which the Romanian epitaph, as well as the funerary monument, reflects human attitudes and sensibilities, and also reproduces and reshapes the death rhetoric from ancient and more recent times. Our paper reflects the changes brought by the totalitarian regime in funerary art and culture. The analysis of Transylvanian epitaphs and messages of funerary homiletics reveal that death is an indispensable component of the divine plan and is regarded not as a passing into nonentity, but as passing in the After Life. The study points out the main motives in Romanian funerary inscriptions like the tomb as abode of the dead, death as departure, stellar journey and sleep, and (traditional) representations of death.*
** This study is a development of a previous work – Mihaela Grancea 2005, 239-303.*

***Keywords:** cemeteries of Banat and Transylvania, Romanian epitaph, death studies, funerary monuments, death rhetoric*

Introduction

This study is a reflection of a personal curiosity channelled into research. Recent history may be included in the category of "interesting times" for various reasons. Changes of structure during the communist period of the Romanian society shaped the attitudes and sensitivities toward death, especially regarding the Christian eschatology (we refer to influence exerted by the modern secular discourse and the pressure of the materialist-dialectic discourse over these sensitivities). However, the popular discourse seems unfazed, ahistorical, because beyond the mutations in the social-historical evolution, this type of discourse reproduces emotional structures with archaic universal value.

The totalitarian communist regime tries to uniform all material aspects concerning death and to "purify" it of any type of spirituality. The atheist discourse about death (promoted by the institutional forms of cultural policies and a new funeral rhetoric) imposes architectural standards and censorship regarding the dimensions and quality of the funerary monument, as well as politicization of funerary ceremonies of political leaders, and pursues the reduction or even suppression of Christian elements of cult (the cross, symbols that signify entering the eternal life) and funerary tradition. As a result of these interventions, death becomes a preponderant public presence. While in the western world death has an intimate setting, within the family (except for official ceremonies destined to public personalities), in communist society, the funerary event is meant to become secular and is transformed into a social event. On the other hand, this aspect is a reminiscence of the rural tradition transferred to the urban space by workers of the first generation (moved from villages to towns and cities) who were people of traditional views inherited from their native places.

Our research develops only several aspects of Romanian attitudes toward death and representations of death which are enlightening for the period of the totalitarian regime. This investigation supposes a methodological information, evaluation of studies on this subject and field investigation. The study is an attempt to detect the formalization and even vulgarization of the discourse about death, as it is evident in the "contemporary" epitaph in Banat and Transylvania. On the other hand, the purpose is to reflect indirectly the way in which death has been imagined as an absolute reverse of any other otherness. However, dying remains one of the most visible and concrete manifestations of norms of civility in a society. Despite this fact, the interest of historians for dying, for the system of death has been relatively low. Investigation of death is a difficult subject, as Thanatos is situated on a different level than life and it can't be systematized rationally. The refusal of death and the practice of eluding it are fundamental attitudes of the modern man (Ariès 1996, 362-422).

Opening up the area of historical investigation and documentary basis, as well as development of research methods by promoting the trans-disciplinary discourse have offered a special place for death as a research subject among historians' preoccupations. Firstly, there were quantitative evaluations of the phenomenon (made by historical demography), then the qualitative ones (approached from the perspective of history of

sensitivities and attitudes toward death). The new perspective opened for historians has generated obvious enthusiasm, seen in the impressive number of works in a relatively short period of time. Therewith, there are inherent problems generated by the nature of the new problems: identification of sources and manner in which they can be improved and methodological approach.

Two methodological dimensions has delineated for two decades: the serial inquiry and quantitative inquiry[32]. The investigated sources – funerary practices and monuments, homiletics, testaments, memoirs, fictional literature – has revealed sensitivities, particular gestures and forms/manifestations of piety. Texts of testaments have oriented the field of research on other categories of important sources for the complexity of attitudes around the funerary event: literary, plastic, archaeological and liturgical sources. The interpretation of texts has to eliminate formal elements to discover the background of common representations. The intention to study the Romanian epitaph as a revealing section of discourse about death has determined us to enlarge the area of this study beyond the conventional limits mentioned at the beginning. We hope that this demonstration would fulfil its stipulated scientific finality – revealing the meditative character of epitaph in the communist period.

The text of the epitaph is the reflection of a more complex register of sensitivities than those directly linked to perception of death in the recent history, seen under the pressure of the second age of secularization, which is efficient especially in totalitarian systems in which Orthodox churches (like the Romanian Church) didn't oppose mostly because of lack of autonomy (Rémond 2001, 226-227). Inevitably, the discourse about Death is at the same time the discourse about Life.

Grave as Abode of the Dead

The problem of the survival of the soul after death, as well as the final journey has represented a substantial subject in the religious systems (Cumont 1966, 410-412), where the cult of the dead was affirmed by combining religious representations with philosophical reflections and magical practices (Chamoux 1985, 501 sq). The matter of survival of the soul involves dealing with the status of the body after death. And this is no secondary matter, as people couldn't deal with the idea of losing the body definitively (given the material reality of the body compared to the ethereality of the soul). Placing the body in a space with multiple social and spiritual functions becomes a priority for the community. The grave, the place where the remains of the dead are buried becomes a place of preserving the body for a future rebirth or Resurrection in case of Christians. From this perspective, the tomb is the abode of the dead, the place of awaiting the revival. For the living this is a place of memory, the space where the dialogue with the dead person is still possible (we refer to tradition of remembrance and reliving the memories, even if these periodical visits at the grave trigger attitudes of grief – kissing and holding the cross – scenes of affection transferred over the grave).

There is one detail (maybe linked to the visitors' need of comfort), which suggest the desire to spend more time at the tomb of their beloved ones – the bench near it. Along with the diversity of plants on the grave, it gives the impression of humanizing the space of death. Some cemeteries seem places of serene acceptance of death, microsystems in which there is harmony of the small gardens (with insects as its inhabitants), birds living in various species of trees, and tomb stones sometimes invaded by ornamental vegetation. All these are complementary elements of a place with claims of circumstantial paradise. Such places are the Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu and the new Orthodox cemetery in Săliște, situated near a forest and a hill.

Cemeteries have become cultural institutions since the 17th-18th centuries. This status had been developed due to accumulation of roles: cemeteries are not just micro-universes of the dead where their bodies wait for Resurrection in an aestheticized space, but also symbols of being part of community. The most significant part of the cult of the dead and heroes is exerted within this space; this cult makes a cemetery a place of memory. It is here that the most efficient part of the pedagogy of the dead takes place. Regardless of the numerous treaties written in the

[32] Overcoming the area of tangential approaches of French historiography of the '50s (studies from the perspective of history of art) focused on the investigation of death we mention Lebrun 1971, Menahem 1973, Ariès 1975, Ariès 1974 and 1977, Vovelle 1973 and 1976, 1983, Baudrillard 1976, Chaunu 1978, Favre 1979, Goli Vernant 1984, Thomas 1985, Terpenning 1985, Vernant 1989. The demarches of the '80s have been developed by Wagner 1991, Thomas 1992, Vovelle 1997. The anthropological perspectives on dying are present in Becker 1973, Moody 1975, Jankélévitch 1977, Nassehi, Weber 1989, Metcalf Huntington 1991, Baumann 1992, Augé 1995, Camille 1996, Albery et alii 1997, Petrucci 1998, Dressel 1996, van Dülmen 2001, Bogdan 2002, Davies 2005, Grancea 2005, Rotar 2006-2007, Grancea 2007, 45-67, Grancea 2007, 571-581, Grancea 2008, 267-294, Grancea 2009, 326-351, Grancea 2007, Grancea 2010, 82-93, Grancea 2010, 209-236, Grancea 2011, 114-121, Cristescu 2011, Dumitran, Rotar 2015.

17th-18th centuries in the west on *ars moriendi*, of the efforts to convince and to comfort by homiletics of the 17th-20th centuries, of the coverage of the nowadays medicalization of death (Conrad 2002, 232-235), a visit to the cemetery was and still seems to be more efficient in learning to die, involving the reflection on the human nature (romanticism abused the subject of reflection, a subject with a special significance in imagery and attitudes regarding the "beautiful death"). Within this area of pedagogy of death, the epitaph has the substantial role in demonstrating the reality of dying. Embellishing the space of the cemetery is not part of the system supposed by the "beautiful death" (from the beginning of modernity), but it concerns the social respect for the community of the dead as part of the community of the living. The respect of religious nature dates back to the faith that graves are abodes of the dead, "sleeping quarters" (Amlacher 1883, 47), where the bodies wait for Jesus' return in glory and Resurrection. Protestants insist on this aspect; the church and the administration of the cities make efforts so that a cemetery would become a space of sacred and silence, not a domestic place. We notice thus that the cemetery is not a place cultivated by eccentrics as in the case of the 19th century for which cemetery was a "true aphrodisiac" (André Heller), but unfortunately a gathering place for groups of Satanists[33].

In the context of beliefs that considered essential the preservation of time, aiming for a future reunion with the soul, an impressive funerary culture has developed in several cultural spaces, founded on the cult of the forefathers. Thus, one of the oldest functions of the spaces of interment becomes that of space of memory and commemoration. The functionality of the funerary monument (social, religious, cultural and "pedagogical" – the latter more obviously developed in pre-modernity) is dedicated especially to ensuring the earthly dimensions of the survival of the dead. Besides, the role of perpetuating the memory of the dead was materialized by the funerary monument since antiquity (more evident during the Roman Republic); later funerary monuments reflect the desire to contribute (through epitaphs and iconography) to configuration of the status of the dead in the afterlife (Brilliant 1979, 89).

Roman epitaphs, including those from Dacia, impose concision and stereotypes and are often reduced to the name and age of the dead, sometimes his/her career, physical and moral virtues and a greeting (Branga 1979, 655). The pattern of Greek epitaphs is to be found in the southern part of Carpathians from the 3rd century, probably influencing the funerary culture during the next two centuries. An epitaph from a Cluj-Napoca cemetery asking the strangers to stop and meditate on their own life and on the fact that death is "everyone's duty" (Ardevan, Hica 2000, 243-245) demonstrated the influence of the ancient tradition of heroicizing the dead. This conviction is also found in the epitaph of the 20th century – see the frequency of citing George Coșbuc's verse from poems *Gazel* or *Decebal to the People*[34]. Nevertheless, classical studies and influences of the western funerary culture actuate the Roman epitaph and shape its variants in a different system of beliefs in the funerary inscriptions during the next centuries. We refer to an attitude which remains permanent, regardless of the belief behind it.

It has been considered that the perpetuation of the memory of the dead in the mind of the living (in the case of heroes and public personalities) is necessary to use stone for erecting funerary monuments. Due to its nature, stone offers the impression of permanence and durability; it is relevant that stone has a significant impact in the imaginary of religions, being imbued with sacred (Eliade 1992, 207). The stone has a special value assignment in old beliefs that supported the idea that souls live in stones; on the other hand, some civilizations stated that souls live in tombs as in a house (Eliade 1992, 209). Both in the Old and the New Testament the stone suggests the divinity, the original stone. While Jesus is the Rock (signifying the indestructible force), the apostle Peter is the rock on which the Church was built (Matthew 16:18). Maybe it is no coincidence that after Baroque and the 19th century funerary monuments were made of "noble stone" (even average (Reformed or Roman Catholic) citizens of Orăștie have white or black marble tomb stones and obelisks), in the 20th century the Transylvanian cemeteries of Catholic and Reformed communities and then the Orthodox ones have monuments that imitate the raw uncut stone[35]. The monuments that have the appearance of raw stones

[33] I found signs of Satanist practice in the Municipal Cemetery of Alba Iulia in 2005, in Cemetery no 2-3 of Reșița in 2006, in the Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu on the tombs of young people who died of violent death.

[34] It is also the case of an epitaph on the funerary stone of Ștefan Nicolae (1905-1984) from the Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu; see also the variant that combines verses with the tradition of funerary inscription that narrates the moment of death on the tomb of Simion Mureșan (1945-1993) from the (old) Orthodox cemetery of Ocna Sibiului.

[35] See the frequency of this type of monument in Central Cemetery of Cluj and Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu since

with irregular cuts reappear in the funerary offer especially in Cluj, Sibiu, Baia Mare and Satu Mare after the syncope of the communist period. It is however a case of a somewhat vulgar fashion (including the "artistic" approach) and less a re-significance from the spiritual perspective of the motif of the Stone.

Starting with pre-modern times (when education gains importance especially in Protestant milieu), the funerary inscription has the role of transmitting a message. Besides, the funerary iconology limited to a register of stereotyped symbols and ornaments, which are vulgar reiterations from Baroque, Mary and Christ medallions are signs of dead people's religion/religiosity. The portrait of the dead remains fundamental in the effort of perpetuating his/her memory. Until the photograph as a general practice for tombstones, the artistic portraits had the role of commemoration. Elites prefer statues in natural height, busts or bas-reliefs; however, the wide spread of photographs become a general practice for most people. Among the first utilizations of the photograph in the structure of the funerary monument we mention sepia photos on the obelisks of the 19th century; in the 20th century, the medallion is a frequent funerary frame.

As a rule, the photographs from youth were preferred, those made in happy moments of life. The choice of "beautiful" photos has the aim of creating a "favourable impression" about the lost one even for strangers. This involuntary fickleness facilitates the (partial) reconstitution of the atmosphere of those times. From this perspective, the pictures of deceased children are impressive, as the emotion is transmitted by the personalized epitaph and the photograph. Unlike the photos of adults that are mostly static, the photos of children give the impression of everyday life (captured while playing or dressed up for a family event or a holiday). After 1989 the funerary medallion with the photograph is replaced by an approximate variant of photogravure.

The type of tomb frequently used nowadays supposes a funerary stone or a simple hill that delineates the space of the interment, as well as a headstone with an inscription. The tombstone is dominated by the sign of the cross. The general elements of the Christian background are accompanied by details that may transform the tomb into a luxuriant edifice – an example of bad taste or an expression of decency. The Romanian traditional funerary monument has a defining element – the cross. During the communist period the cross was of small size, especially when the beneficiary erected the monument during his life and didn't want to affect his/her social status. There is no cross on the headstones of deceased who had high ranks in state or party structures; the cross was replaced initially (until the '60s) with a symbol of political identity – the red cross with five corners, the sickle and the hammer (see suggestive cases of tombs of the illegal communists and officials of that period in Central Cemetery in Cluj and municipal cemeteries Calea Lipovei and Calea Buziașului in Timișoara, municipal cemetery Rulikowski in Oradea, Military Cemetery Ghencea in Bucharest).

The headstone reflects the evolutions of a period so that the prosperity periods determine embellishments of the funerary monument and usage of expensive materials. During the communist regime the tombs were similar due to social uniformization of the period. Even the vaults of municipal cemeteries have the same aspect so that the general image of such cemeteries (see especially Cemetery no. 2-3[36] and 7[37] in Reșița) give a macabre impression. The funerary inscription includes data on the dead and several stereotypical lines on the evanescent character of life, sometimes consecrated sentences from biblical or religious texts (it is the case of verses from Psalms, fragments from Jeremiah and the Revelation) or expressions that sum up the essence of the discourse or present relevant fragments from meditation literature.

There are few artistic funerary representations during the totalitarian period, while after 1989 it is preferred to display the portrait of the dead or scenes selected from the "popular" biblical representation with photogravure. There are also exceptions marking the need to make memorable the image of the dead in others' minds. For example, an attempt to impress the strangers by an epitaph is in cases when it is considered that the dead passed too quickly in the "world of the shadows" (this is a fragment from an epitaph for the teenage poet Silviu Valentin Luluș a). In the Central Cemetery of Cluj-Napoca there are several remarkable funeral monuments. One of them is the representation of the child Ovidiu Vlad (1962-1974) protected by Mater Dolorosa of postmodern inspiration. Another impressive monument is on the tombstone of Relly

the 19th century in Reformed and Catholic sections and in Orthodox sections of the 20th century.

[36] Here there are tombs from the interwar period covered with a metallic structure that seems to be a materialization of the image of the tomb as a dwelling of the dead.

[37] The cemetery has narrow and superposed tombs which provoke claustrophobia.

Boeriu with no information on biography or confessional identity. We have to mention some regional versions (even in the style of Socialist Realism) of Mary and Christ iconography in Cluj, but also in the old Orthodox section of the Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu. The funeral stone of Dumitru Nanu and Maria Predescu, dominated by Mater Dolorosa is worth mentioning (fig. 1).

The artistic representations are few in other cities: bas-relief that reproduces the profile of the pupil Flavius Dodo Bulbucan (1947-1959); the bust of the young Silviu Valentin Luluşa (1958-1979) or the odd monument of black marble and granite of Cristi C. Ioan (1941-1972). The bust of Cristi C. Ioan is inserted in the superior part of the large monument, where there is the Orthodox cross, the communist star and a Christic bas-relief of Catholic tradition added later. We also mention the bas-relief of the teenager Adrian Bucurescu, dead in a work accident at 24 years in 1973, the bas-relief of the teenage ballet dancer Adam Iorga (1973-1988), all of them from the cemetery on Calea Lipovei in Timişoara. In the same city, in the cemetery on Calea Buziaşului we point out the bust of Maria Augusta Duinea (1973-1990) in white marble at the lower part of the cemetery. There is also the statue of teenager Valentin Ilica in the Cemetery Eternity in Arad (1958-1974, fig. 2). The photographs of young people have the role to underline not only the pain of relatives, but also the loss of a huge and unique human potential (many epitaphs are about the "lost hopes").

The most impressive text is the epitaph on the tombstone of the girl Ramona Elena Popescu (1979-1990) from the cemetery *Calea Buziaşului* in Timişoara: "Mother, I am writing from afar/ And I ask forgiveness that I left/ When you hoped for my support / With the grieving soul/ Dear mother / I left you;/ And in vain you'll be waiting/ I can't come in your way. / […]" A pattern frequently repeated in funerary texts for deceased children and young people is taken from the headstone of Marius Florin Pelea (1966-1977), Municipal Cemetery Calea Lipovei in Timişoara: "I was climbing the ladder of life/ With all my childish flight/ Why in my beautiful flight/ The wire of hopes was broken?"

Some cult mythological representations may be explained by the fact that the modern man had no knowledge of the original (profane) significance of some representations, which partly explains the vulgarization of the guardian angel (made of plaster and gilded with bronze resembling the dwarfs in the garden) or the metamorphosis of the bird – ancient psychopomp symbol in all universal religions becomes a divine messenger in Christianity, materialization of the Holy Spirit and/or double of the soul of the dead – transformed today in a marginal decorative detail with lost significance; symbolism of the confessional identity. The seduction of the aesthetics of the Catholic and Protestant monuments may contribute to borrowings of symbols from other confessions so that symbols specific to ancient funerary cultures (Egyptian, Roman, and Greek), Catholic and Protestant are to be seen in nowadays tombstones, most of them executed as bas-reliefs: willow, laurel, lamp, pigeon, wreath of Life/Immortality, Book of Life (Grancea 2016, 785-798). All these identity marks appear frequently on funerary stones from Orthodox cemeteries from the 19th century and represent cultural borrowings or transfers especially seen in multi-confessional municipal cemeteries in Satu Mare, Baia Mare, Cluj, Sibiu, Oradea, Arad, Timişoara and some Orthodox cemeteries in Ocna Sibiului and Orăştie. Only tombstones of Orthodox priests are in line with Orthodox traditions and symbolism[38]. In the interwar period, the sculptural representation played an important role in reproducing the image of the deceased: busts, bas-reliefs and sometimes statues are the central element of the funerary monument (from the 18th and 19th centuries). They are used in the structure of Catholic and Reformed monuments in Transylvania (in case of rich people who placed allegorical statues at the basis of their obelisks – cases of Lutherans and Catholics in Cimitirul Buziaşului in Timişoara – or in extravagant tombs of Hungarian rich people in Central Cemetery in Cluj). The statues from the interwar period are representations of allegories of suffering more than representations of the deceased people. These statues are on tombs of people of a high social status or of those dead under tragic circumstances (accidents or violent death)[39].

[38] See especially the crosses and flowers on the headstones of the priests in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu and Orthodox Cemetery of Sebeş, Alba county.

[39] See the limestone obelisk of families Kráyer Család and Sykora (the last member of the family Sykora Alma 1875-1954), a funerary monument which seems to be guarded by a giant bronze angel before flying. The limestone obelisk of the families Vilsmeier and Metz (the first deceased is Anton Vilsmeier, the name of the last written name is Dr. Alfred Metz 1904-1961) is guarded by two limestone funerary statues, representing a frequent theme in western culture: two women dressed by the classic canon imposed after Renaissance and exerted in the 19th-20th centuries. One of them is reading in the Book of Life, while the other prays for the souls of the dead. These obelisks are in Cemetery Buziaşului, Timişoara, while other imposing obelisks are in the cemetery Calea Lipovei of the same city. We mention the limestone obelisk of Kubitsek family, the monuments of Catholic families Pacha, Schmidt, Sattler, Victor Augustin Lache (1950-1986), prof. dr. Ion Goia

The motif of "cold grave" (a frequent element from the interwar period especially in provinces from the Romanian Kingdom) is predominantly used in the epitaph of the communist period as a sign of secularization and its influence. The motif of "cold grave" overcomes the funerary inscriptions of the previous period and seems inspired by texts that express a temptation of nothingness: "Earth, earth, / Greedy earth, / We are of you/ And soon you ask/ The little of us/ Greedy earth". This fragment sums up the preference for similar epitaphs in Sibiu and in other towns near Sibiu. Definitions of the "last abode" may reach tragic notes, as in the case of the epitaph from Dana Mircu's tomb (1967-1989) in Timișoara: "Don't leave me, dear mother, / As the grave is cold/ Not warm as your thought/ And the earth is heavy." The most frequent epitaph is present in municipal cemeteries of Sibiu, Cluj, Satu Mare and Timișoara: "Under this cold stone/ In this silent tomb/ My most sweet and cherished/ On this earth/ Is sleeping".

The motif of "cruel death" is usually connected to the archaic theme of inexorable destiny: "Here is our destiny/ Now or later, / On our grave/ A hollow wind will blow" (frequently found in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu in the '80s and '90s). This motif is also found in a text reproduced on the family tombstone of Badiu family in Municipal Cemetry of Sibiu: "Man! / Don't fret; it is not you the master of your life; the destiny has your steps; it urges and stirs you; it lifts and lowers you; it puts you to sleep; today it brings you to peace and quiet. Herodotus"

The epitaphs of believers or families of priests propose definitions of tombs from a Christian perspective: "Here/ Are laid toward rest until the common/ Resurrection the bodies that were temporary/ Earthly sanctuaries of the souls/ of the sleeping in the Lord our God [...]" (family of priest Vințan: Iosif, 1901-1974 and Zinaida, 1906-1973, Orthodox Cemetery in Orăștie.)

Death as Departure, Stellar Journey

Since the archaic communities death has been associated with the natural phenomenon of physical decomposition of living organisms and with the beliefs and rites which claim the existence in other dimensions. Some rites were meant to bring back the impact of post-existence over the community by separating the deceased from community and eliminating the danger represented for survivors. The few knowledge regarding human anatomy and pathology, extrasensory experiences like invading the oneiric world with images of the deceased (Bâlă, Gheţan 1972, 42) have determined the belief in the existence of the soul conceived as immaterial presence released by the body after its death. The belief that the man is made of a corruptible body, which may be perceived with the senses, and an immortal spirit, revealed by dreams and during the mystical trance, represents a fertile area for metaphysical speculations stimulated by the belief in anthropomorphism and anthropopathism of gods who may be joined by people after their death (Nicoară 2000, 121sq). A special form of manifestation of the cult of the dead is/was the divination practices through the communication with the dead (necromancy) (Dodds 1998, 102sq). The belief about the survival of the soul after death and the After World represents a spiritual invariant in the history of mankind, whose fundamental obsession (to retrieve from the decomposition brought by death and passing of time – Ibidem, 22) is the very *raison d'être* of the imaginary, especially of the funerary one (Ibidem, 26).

The survival of the soul after death is not synonymous with its immortality. In the After World the soul survives a while until the reincarnation or until the Judgment Day, then it disappears or becomes immortal (Eliade 1993, 79sq). Being conscious of its death and perceiving it as the moment of ceasing life, all religious representations have focused on the essential notions of the human existence: death had been regarded as a finality of life (in religions of the ancient Egypt), as an essential stage in perfecting existence (in Brahmanism and Mahayanist Buddhism), as a migration in another existential time (in beliefs of "primitive" societies), as the moment of the Judgement Day (in Mazdism and in a certain degree in Judaism, Christianity and Islam), as a transfer with body and soul in the celestial condition (in heroic Greek and Roman cults), as a cessation of body existence (in Judaism), as an annihilation of existence (in classical Buddhism) or a reintegration in nature (in all secular and religious forms of pantheism and atheism) (Benţa 1999, 86).

Representations regarding the After Life are connected essentially to what is happening to the soul after the death of the body. The rites of passage of the soul in the After World present a series of techniques

(1892-1982) in the Central Cemetery of Cluj. The latter is a proof of survival of the funerary baroque which overused the Greek-Roman mythology. Although there are lots of similar exceptional representations both in Cluj and Sibiu, we point out the monument on the tomb of Lotte Binder (1880-1930) in Sibiu (fig. 3 a, b, c) made by Margarete Depner and a similar representation on the tomb of Depner family in the Evangelical Cemetery on Strada Lungă in Brașov, a monument erected during the communist period (fig. 4)

determined by symbolical geographies, by placing the After World in this system of representations and topographical traits. This type of imaginary of interference that stimulates and challenges geographical representations with religious ones (funerary to be specific) justify the resemblance of leaving the mundane life in post-existence by starting an unprecedented journey. This explains the preoccupation to prepare the dead for his last journey (van Genepp 1996, 137). According to A. van Genepp's theory (Ibidem), these rites of passage are analogous with those linked to this journey (Ibidem, 34-44); the rites of passage insist on separating the dead from his/her community and connecting him/her to a new community of the dead. Besides, in the semantics of homiletics, of the obituary and the nowadays daily life, the referral to the death is in terms of "left/ pass away". The geographic imaginary concerning the mundane space supposed throughout antiquity, Middle Age and even in premodern centuries the existence of remote exotic lands inhabited by humanity in the hypostasis of the Other. This "remoteness" is defined by the perspective of subjective perceiving of space; often the "far away" of a territory is determined by being part of the political or axiological system of those who rebuild a space which supposes a real, consistent existence. This perspective stimulated the idea of plurality of worlds and constituted the basis of the mythical geography of the Other World (Eliade 1993, 92). This interference of imaginaries has been the object of research from different perspectives and using new methods (comparative and trans-disciplinary - Carozzi 1994; Minois 1998; Schweizer 1999).

Many representations of the geographic imaginary have fuelled the funerary imaginary since the ancient times. Thus, the Orphic imaginary inspires the popular imaginary to the point that some specific elements are found as symbols in Christian apocryphal writings and in mural paintings in catacombs (Boulanger 1992, 119), in products of the funerary post-Renaissance and modern culture. While with the help of famous *emblemata*[40] the complex function of symbolic representation is accomplished, the symbolic representations fructify the artistic imaginary of the subsequent centuries by cosmographies of the 16th century partially influenced by iconologies in circulation. The register of representations of geographic imaginary[41] is thus enriched. This type of archaic and premodern imaginary is doubled by bookish and re-evaluated motives, adapted by the classicist perspective and then by the romantic one concerning the spaces of

[40] The 16th century was a difficult period for Europe, of religious and political conflicts (the Turkish threat) and theoretical constructs determined by the need to offer universality to cultural signs. Thus, symbols and allegories constitute images with the function of mediation in cultural communication. The Greek-Roman ancient world becomes the source of geographical and geopolitical illustrations. The repertoire of figurative art of antiquity is used to confer perennial significance to political/public decisions. Therewith, attempts are made by a system of consecrated symbols to protect the human lives and influence their attitudes. We mention the fundamental book of Andreas Alciatus *Emblematum Liber* (Lugdunum, 1522), a corpus of euphemisms and graphic representations with symbolical value. Alciatus inspired the most prolific drawers of the era like Virgil Solis (famous for his 154 engravings illustrating verses of Ovidius in *Metamorphosen* - ed. S. Feyrabend, Frankfurt am Main, 1587). Sambucus' *Emblemata* is successful (edited in Anvers by Ch. Plantin in 1564, illustrator Hans Holbein. *Emblemata* written by Jean Boissard, edited in Frankfurt in 1593 (Theodor de Bry as illustrator and editor) has remarkable influence. The representations of Greek-Roman mythology are made in the Middle Age in a specific manner, regardless of the archaic significance. Cesar Ripa's *Iconologie* (Rome, 1593) is edited many times in the 17th-18th centuries. Ripa's book orders the previous images and is rather a dictionary of symbols, attributes and personifications, a guide about the allegorical communication. His book is the key to all artistic representations of the subsequent centuries, including the funerary art of Baroque and Romanticism.

[41] The book that approaches other geographies than the European one is widely published from the end of the 15th century. In the period 1481-1610, the repertoire of geographical literature is of 524 books, 125 of them are about the New World. America becomes subject of knowledge, challenge for the representation of the European geographic and religious imaginary. Cosmographies and journeys are responsible for spreading the new perspectives despite the fact that the European traveller is influenced by patterns of the Christian world; more information about America entered the European elite and then the common conscience. Among great books of journeys of the New World, Giorlamo Benzoni's *Novae novi orbis historiae* (Geneva, 1578) is worth mentioning, as the book has an anti-conquistador attitude also shared by Jean de Lery (Lerius), a Genovese Protestant missionary who went to the New World in 1556. Both authors have a significant role in shaping the "black legend of Spain", but writing with clichés in defining radical otherness are more influential in imprinting representations of geo-cultural imaginary. Thus, works of the 16th century like Münsterian cosmography, revised editions of Ptolemy's works, Abraham Ortelius' atlas (*Orbis Terrarium*), Honterus' cosmography gather cartographic data, information about flora and fauna, the image of the savage and phrases like *humani sanguinis avidissimi* (contributing to the diabolical image of the native people of new lands, with no access to salvation).

otherness. Motives from the imaginary of antiquity enters the cultural circuit of the following centuries after a process of *interpretatio moderna*, a simplification and application of representations to the sensitivities of the era (we add here the role played by classical studies in education of the 18th-19th centuries). Thus, we detect the survival of themes of funerary imaginary of antiquity, this being a case of cultural reflexes and not a case of exercising archaic beliefs. An artistic reference is expressed in the poetic epitaph of the young Silviu Valentin Luluşa (1958-1979); we cite only several fragments from the consistent funerary inscription on his grave: "[…] I am going to the big and black land./ I will be separated from light, by the cold Styx,/ By the river passed only once./ […] And there in the dark, in cold, far away from the world/ Near the Styx that flows foamy/ In the dark land from far away/ Where there are only lost souls and hearts./ Only rarely a soul shines in the darkness,/ A strong sound chills,/ An unforgettable sound heard for the first time/ I wonder fearfully: ‹What is this sound?›/ And a voice answers me: ‹Unchaining from the soul›/ When the soul arrives into this bleak land/ It unchains from sorrow, suffering it had known!"

It is impressive to find the belief in millennial existence of the soul, belief in the After Life and stellar journey in Christian funeral imaginary in the post-war period and nowadays epitaph. This is probably due to successful secularization. The motif of death as departure in an undefined journey is represented broadly in epitaphs of Romanian cemeteries, which proves that it expresses the sensitivity of the era, the conviction that death is a disturbing, tragic and unnatural phenomenon, as it brings breakup between the loved ones and the pleasures of life, of the known order of things. Refusal of death seems to dominate the communist era. Even after 1989 naïve texts are present in cemeteries. Monuments that have only fundamental data of biography of the dead are preferred, as well as fragments from sacred texts or vulgar copies of the traditional guardian angel. The angel is sometimes a tamed Thanatos, a rare manifestation in funeral art during the communist period[42].

However, the epitaph is a constant presence: "You left our house/ Without saying a word/ You left us with our souls aching/ As long as we live on this earth." The epitaphs of the '80s and '90s of the 20th century are attempts of personalizing the funerary inscription. Death as motif of departure is present in cemeteries of the south-eastern part of Transylvania (Braşov, Codlea, Rupea, Agnita, Avrig, Mediaş, Victoria, and Alba Iulia) and in the cemetery Calea Lipovei in Timişoara[43] as a reflection of diversification of the funeral offer and of the status of "common place" of this motif. Among the variants with local circulation we mention: "Your departure/ Is the shattering pain,/ As thousands of tears flow/ And more and more it asks" (the epitaph is on 25% of monuments in the Cemetery of the Parish St. Apostles Peter and Paul in Satu Mare); "Bashing was your departure/ With no farewell words,/ While we were left on the road of life/ Keeping forever your memory in our souls" (Pop Ciprian, 19821-1982, Orthodox Cemetery in Copşa Mică; identical texts are on funeral monuments in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu during the same period).

Death as Sleep

Speculations about tomb as abode of the dead and about life of the soul in another dimension have been made since the dawn of civilization. The belief in a future life in the underground may have origins in the belief of the Great Mother of human beings and her imagined as a place where the earthly remains of the dead rest (Eliade 1992, 237; Frazer 1913) according to the relations *homo-humus* (Eliade 1992, 240-242). The old belief in death as sleep may come from Neolithic when the interment of the body was made in a position imitating the foetus, practice linked to the belief in the rebirth of the dead by the Earth Mother (Ibidem, 238), but also to the symbolical perception of death as sleep from which the deceased is going to wake up later, in the After World. Although researchers like A. Loisy contest the existence of a relation between the revival of the dead like the sprouting of the wheat buried in earth on one hand and agrarian rites on the other (Loisy 1996, 91), this analogy is accepted by other researchers in cases of mysteries related to Chthonian divinities (Rohde 1985, 157). This analogy is also present in Christian texts, in John's Gospel (John 12:24) and in Apostle Paul's texts (1 Corinthians 15:37), the latter specifying that the Resurrection in Jesus Christ is in

[42] The angel in the Romanian funerary monuments may be regarded as a reminiscence of the cult of the guardian angel. This cult is obvious in the impressive number of statues in the 19th-20th centuries – see the angels *Highgate Cemetery* and *Bunhill Fields* in London, *Zentralfriedhof* in Viena and in *Père Lachaise* in Paris. In Banat and Transylvania we have the huge angel of death in the Municipal Cemetery Calea Lipovei in Timişoara of 2.5 meters (moved there from a Catholic cemetery) and Thanatos from the funerary monument in the Evangelical Cemetery of Braşov (fig. 5).

[43] Elisabeta Covâjdean (1930-1987): "You left this world/ Without a word/ You left me with pain in my soul/ For as long as I shall live on earth".

the spirit, not in the flesh (Ibidem, 15:42-44). The popularity of the comparison between the sprouting of the wheat and Resurrection explains its long usage in the rhetoric of Christianity referring to the problem of death and Resurrection. Used later in a catechesis by Cyrillus (Bâlă 1972, 85), the bishop of Jerusalem, this motif is still present in nowadays Orthodox homiletics and becomes representative for the Orthodox religious imaginary attached to values of traditional community.

The motif of death as sleep is traditional in the space of eastern Christianity; John of Damascus in *Right Faith* (4:15) stated that death is more sleep than death. Furthermore, all Byzantine sources – both theological and literary of the 7th-12th century – support the idea that death is sleep before eternal life (Constans 2001, 94). The same theme attenuates and complements the Judaic-Christian belief that death is the effect of the original sin. The theme of death as sleep is one of the most frequent motives in the epitaphs.

Under the influence of religious imaginary of eastern origin and Babylonian astrology, new eschatological representations of stellar nature appear. While in the traditional Greek-Roman funerary imaginary, as well as the Judaic one, the souls of the dead reach Hades/ Inferno, respectively She'olah, in a confused and tenebrous post-existence, in the eastern underworld, post-existence is articulated in the stellar space. The eschatological gnosis, Semitic conceptions about the duality of the anima complex and imaginary influenced by astrology, project the world of the dead as an After World in the cosmic plan: Sun, Moon, Milky Way and planets (Eliade 1992, 169 sq). The frequency of the theme of stellar journey of the souls of the dead proves the degree of spiritualization of religious beliefs and may be explained by the fact that the infinite space of the sky is rich in mythical-religious values, being a hierophany of sacred, transcendence (Ibidem, 113). The synthesis of faith, expressed naively as the access to paradisiac post-existence is represented by the epitaph of national circulation: "Man is a mystery, / His life is a dream. / The sky is open/ To gentle souls" (multiple uses in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu and in other cemeteries of Banat and Transylvania). This epitaph is probably the most wide-spread and long-lived funerary inscription in all regions of the country, expressing sensitivity, a belief situated in the official discourse and in the tradition of popular reflection; it is also influenced by bookish romantic motives assumed and degraded between the two world wars (Paschia 2003).

The stellar journey, its position in paradisiac post-existence, is ensured only by the "kindness of the soul", by innocence normally attributed to deceased children, young people or women dead too soon and profoundly grieved by family members[44]. Besides, on funerary monuments of dead children (regardless of the personalized degree of the epitaph) there is always a closing: "Sleep peacefully, gentle soul". This demonstrates that the funerary inscription remains a way of measuring the extension or the recoil of collective sensitivities. Even if the post-war epitaphs from deceased children tombstones are less discursive than the ones from the inter-war period, they express immense pain. We compare the epitaphs from *Bellu* cemetery in Bucharest to the ones in *Eternitatea* in Iași and other cemeteries like the Orthodox one in Orăștie[45], in Calea Buziașului cemetery, Timișoara[46], in Săliște[47]. The example from Orăștie reveals the post-war specificity of expressing the unbearable pain caused by the loss of a child, as well as the belief in the paradisiac post-existence.

The motif of stellar journey may be linked to the belief according to which the stars are the souls of the dead. The belief is found in the popular imaginary - a falling star means someone's death. This analogy is expressed in epitaphs for dead children. On the other hand, popular beliefs state the idea that souls are simple sparks detached from "eternal fires"/ stars and that is why the sky is the ultimate abode (Ibidem, II, 184). The theme is consistently illustrated in the Romanian epitaph through association of deceased people with manifestations of light[48].

Thoughts generated by existential anguish,

[44] Usually during the interwar period the epitaphs mention the kindness, gentleness of the soul. One example is from Calea Lipovei, Timișoara, Alexandru de Costres, royal leutenant, dead on April 4, 1926: "[…] Sleep peacefully, kind soul!/ Here rests a rare heart/ Which beat so warm for me once/ Nowhere do I shed such bitter tears/ Than at this cross where I devote my gloomy soul/ Grieved wife".

[45] The epitaph on the tombstone of Doina Dan (1931-1937): "The obscure destiny wandering around/ Touched your divine breath of life/ And a thought shivers me./ Why the Supreme Power allows such pain on earth?/ How sweet, discreet and beautiful you were,/ Poetic sparkles vibrated in your head,/ And full of grace, enthusiasm and fondness,/ But all of this will be no more! When the sky ignites in the empire of stars,/ Your big blue eyes appear sparkling,/ Vibrating will sift forever/ Glints in the flame of eternal light./ You, divine girl, will sleep serene/ Under quiver of flowers and scintillating of light".

[46] There is a monument to the lost child here.

[47] The same motif is expressed in the epitaph on the headstone of Matei Buortesch (1947-1989): "On the long road of eternity/ You left too early,/ But in our hearts/ You remained forever young".

[48] From this point of view, the perspective proposed by epitaphs composed for those who died "too early" is

especially regarding the end of life and the post-existence of the soul are substantial motives in epitaphs, especially in post-war period, heavily influenced by literary and popular discourse about death. Moreover, such thoughts have been expressed since antiquity[49], which means that facts and work, values corresponding to the norm remain in the collective memory. This perpetuation of memory of the dead is the condition of immortality from the historical perspective. This is where springs the belief that social excellence ensures glory or existence somewhere among the stars, in a paradise conceived as a gathering of heroes, wise and talented people.

This ethical and civic conception due to the traditional vision presents the significance of the end from moral (less metaphysical) perspective. Thus, remembering the positive aspects/ social virtues of the deceased person or deeds that remain in collective memory represents an attitude that attenuates the pain of the alive relatives. It is the conviction that the life of the dead had a finality and his/her life wasn't in vain from social-moral perspective. After such a life, seen in texts of the epitaphs as a "struggle", death is seen as peace for the dead. The motif of the tomb as a place of rest after a turmoiled life has an impressive cultural longevity. The funerary inscription from Tibiscum to the veteran P. Aelius Ulpius made reference to the same "toil of life", and it was copied from another text[50].

In the Transylvanian space, the motif of a dignified life also justifies the last rest of the body and the paradisiac post-existence. The motif is met in Protestant cemeteries and it is consistently represented in the epitaph of the 17th-20th centuries, including the later Orthodox funerary rhetoric. The Protestant epitaph is ethical throughout the 17th-18th centuries, as it insists on the relation between death, work and life. The socio-confessional identity Here and There is determined by work and its interactions (Davies 2005, 29-30). Actually, most epitaphs talk about finality of life and the permanent game of becoming and destruction, about the Life beyond life. The dying body prone to dissolution is outlived by the prestige acquired through the affirmation of the cultural code of community.

The theme of revision and reunion in another dimension is the most efficient consolatory theme regardless of confession (in the 17th-19th centuries present both at Catholics and Protestants). This theme excludes the idea of placing the After World elsewhere than in the paradisiac post-existential spaces. In the cemetery of the town Victoria, Brașov County, there are epitaphs of Reformed inspiration; their message is also present in Reformed sections of the cemeteries in Sibiu and Târgu Mureș. The following epitaph from Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu may be considered representative: "Breakup is our fate/ Meeting again is our hope" (Maria Stângă 1904-1976, Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu).

The theme of tomb as abode of the body – well-known Roman motif named *hospitium membris* – was adopted from pedagogical and eschatological perspective by Christianity. The tomb becomes the place of awaiting the Resurrection. While this quality of the grave is stated in the epitaph of poets and believers, the evaluation of further funerary inscriptions requires the definition of the tomb as a tragic final destination or at best as temporary stay until Resurrection, which means for most of the authors of the epitaphs meeting again their beloved.

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fascinating. Thus, in Victoria, the epitaph on the tombstone of Ioan Albu (1950-1986): "The entire universe is nothing but a game of small rainbows./ In the winch of celestial world/ I sit on a sparkle". On Elisabeta Poștale's tombstone (1928-1972) in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu the epitaph is addressed to her living husband: "Think of me as a star/ Detached from you/ And carried in the endless darkness". The same epitaph is on the tombstone of Elena Jivcov (1960-1988) in Calea Buziașului, Timișoara. Another epitaph defines the personality of the dead person from the perspective of living people: "You were near us once/ A big sphere of light/ And you ebbed leaving behind you/ Only tears and sighs./ We'll never forget you/ Our dear Mimi/ Hațegan Maria (1955-1977), Municipal Cemetery, Sibiu. Nicu Sain Căpruț (1940-1971) will be even after death " […] forever my love/ Shining star" in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu. The image of a deceased teenage girl is similar to the previous one: "… a star has fallen/ in my soul/ it fell…/ so that it would be/ no more/ everybody remained untouched/ they didn't know/ the star/ was life itself" (Raluca Roxana Blaga, 1969-1985, Horea Cemetery, Baia Mare). The motif of stellar journey is also present in the epitaph of the young Ilie Ioan Chețan (1956-1979): "[…] You, oh big soul, fade away/ And lifted to the stars/ Leaving us afflicted/ With heavy tears in our eyes."

[49] The proof resides in a fragment of an epitaph from Tibiscum: "*iamque levis pereat vanarum fabula rerum, / permaneat modo re congesta fama laborum"* ("and from now on the frivolous story of vain things must perish/ and remain only the fame based on work and real facts") – *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* III/1 1984, 174.

[50] *"Hanc sedem longo placuit sacrare labori / hanc requiem fessos tandem qua conderet artus. / Ulpius emeritis longaevi muneris annis, / ipse suo curam titulo dedit, ipse sepulchri / arbiter hospitium membris fatoque paravi(t)"* ("This abode he decided to devote to his long toil,/ Instead of rest to put his limbs at last/ Ulpius, after long years of service under arms,/ Took care himself of the stone and tomb,/ Making abode to his bones" – Tudor 1968, 41.

And this is due to the fact that in traditional Romanian backgrounds the epitaph is considered the last occasion of the dead to talk to the others so that the biographical and testamentary character of the epitaph becomes evident (Mureșan 2004, 10).

Representation of Death

What prevails in the epitaphs of young deceased people is the certainty that they would benefit from the promise of paradisiac post-existence in the After World. The following epitaph from Calea Buziașului cemetery is telling: "Ioan Kadi/ deceased on April 25, 1990/ 25 years old/ Cruel death/ Arrived soon/ With her sharp scythe/ Hit me/ Oh! My beloved/ Nephews, brothers and parents/ I leave you with God/ As I walk around saints". The text is also interesting due to the fact that it reproduces in an old manner the dates of the dead (in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the year of death and the age of the deceased were written on the tombstone) and the traditional representation of death. Therewith, this funerary imaginary of medieval and popular inspiration is obviously influential in the subsequent periods. It is also alluded to in two epitaphs from Calea Lipovei cemetery, Timișoara: in Valentin Luluş̦a's epitaph as "the woman walking with the scythe on her shoulder" or in Cornel Belea's epitaph (1923-1975): "The merciless fate separated us/ The frightening scythe fulminated/ Cutting our intermingled destinies". The same traditional representation is obsessively seen in cemeteries of Cisnădie[51].

Certainty about After Life is also expressed in epitaphs, especially in believers' cases, families of priests. For example, Ilie Iliesi (1966-1989) in Calea Lipovei, Timișoara: "I served God/ And went to Him". Sometimes there is a conceited note in this certainty based on the conviction that respecting the moral social code is rewarded with deliverance: "Here awaits Resurrection/ Priest professor Iacob Borcea 1926-1976/ Teacher Victoria Borcea 1917-1986/ Ana Popescu 1932-1960/ We walked in humanness/ under the mirage of time/ Romanianism and union/ was the creed of schools in Blaj/ Corina Borcea 1938-1993/ Keep customs, doina, games/ Customs and Christian law/ And sanctify ancestors' places/ By Romanian utterance" (from the Greek-Catholic Cemetery in Blaj, Alba county).

Few epitaphs reflect uncertainty and scepticism about the future of the man's soul after death: "From the shadow of the dark world/ You, mother, flew toward the sky/ Be near us, kind Mother/ In the hour of frightening judgment" (Ionel Băcilă 1904-1966, Orthodox Cemetery, Blaj).

The motif of saving death or the good death appear often in the Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxon epitaph in the 18th-19th centuries, referring to the death that put an end to sufferings. On the other hand, the motif is not popular among Romanians, although there is an exception: "Early death for those in pain/ Is a quick meeting with God/ Sleep peacefully, kind soul" (Doina Ciurbea 1954-1972, cemetery of Cisnădie).

The prevailing representation of death is traditional – "cruel, merciless, frightening", with terrifying attributes. The sources for this type of representation are the popular tradition and the literary sources. To mention an old representation of death with influences on the analysed period – Homer's description of abduction of a mortal and his relocation in the World of Gods (*seductio divina*), where he benefits from immortality given only to some mortals (Rohde 1985, 71-75). The mythological theme of divine abduction appears in funerary art so that the dead are allegorically identified with victims of *seductio divina*. The discussed motif is connected to the astral soteriology, the identity between death and sleep, and the death of the young ones. This death is represented as being caused by the divine egoism or destiny. Death as a divine abduction, initially refused by Christian thinkers by *interpretatio christiana*, pervaded the Christian imaginary by adequacy of the example of rising to the sky of Jesus Christ and by the cult of the saints "called by God". *Seductio divina* manifested its influence on Christians through the belief that the soul of someone loved by God follows the christic model and accomplishes his/her communion with Jesus Christ and thus with the divine (see a variant in the Evangelical cemetery in Brașov – fig. 6 a/b).

Although the Christian vision is evident in epitaphs of believers and dead children, most of them are tributary to the traditional representation of death: "I was eager of life/ And everything on earth/ But the cruel death/ Abducted me too soon" (Constantin Bogdan 1949-1978). This is a typical epitaph on the young deceased people's tombstones in Municipal Cemetery of Victoria. Another used funeral inscription for dead children in Municipal Cemetery of Sibiu states the following: "Abducted today among the living/ Among the games of children [...]". However, this is the beginning of many epitaphs, but

[51] "Death is cruel and ugly, desired by no one" (Mihai Prodea 1933-1985); "Oh, Death, you were cruel/ when you grabbed among us/ the beloved one/ and put him in a grave" (Gheorghe Pripon 1921-1983). Motives of regional circulation are more dramatic; see a pathetic variant of the theme *ave viator*: "Stranger, stop and look at me, abducted by the cruel death among beloved ones" (Alexandru Vitan 1899-1973) etc.

their ending usually expresses the belief in acquiring the "angelic" condition in the After World. The echoes of the archaic theme of kidnapping survive through the motif of divine envy because of human qualities. This motif is inserted in an epitaph: "Jubea Dan Andrei/ 1968-1989/ Hero student/ Fallen in December Revolution/ for the dignity of Romania/ We loved you too much/ And awakened the envy/ of the Sky/ Eternal stars and pain/ In our souls/ Father, mother and sister" (Calea Lipovei, Timişoara).

The motif of abduction by death is explicit in the following epitaph: "[…] The woman who walks with the scythe on her shoulder/ Chose from the black line my number/ I look the death in the eye/ As there's no sense in avoiding her glance./ There's no blind submission in front of death/ It was meant to be/ The black destiny awaits for you all/ Enjoy that you don't cherish my fate yet" (fragment from the epitaph of Valentin – Silviu Luluşa, 1958-1979, Municipal Cemetery on Calea Lipovei in Timişoara). While the medieval representation of death is refreshed after the Great War[52] even in the Transylvanian space[53], after the communist period it disappears.

Conclusions

The coexistence between the ways in which death is perceived - in the manner of popular Christianity as an infernal evil with the perspective on acquiring deliverance - is one of the most fascinating aspects reflected in the research of epitaphs. This coexistence represents a paradox which makes the rhetoric about death rich and dramatic.

The still powerful echoes of archaic mentality don't perceive death as a rupture that annihilates the sense of life; on the contrary, it considers death a corollary phenomenon derived from the natural order of the world. This vision is emphasized by the messages of funerary homiletics, where death as an indispensable component of the divine plan is regarded not as a passing into nonentity, but in the After Life. The relocation in the eternity is a mystery. The exploration of death as the "last journey" sets the deployment of ritual acts according to a script configured by the imperatives of the "journey" to the After World – space of communion with the divine and happy reunion with the dead relatives (the idea is present in the imaginary of popular discourse revealed by the Transylvanian epitaph of the 19th-20th centuries of Orthodox or Protestant churches). Besides, the liturgical Judeo-Christian texts represent death as a journey through which the dead are "relocated" into a more generous space than the mundane world.

Although the Christian texts gave a meaning to the separation from the worldly existence as a way of transcendent deification, the World of the Dead is not the same with the world after deliverance. Elements of traditional mentality about death have echoes in Eastern Europe in structures of popular culture and popular Christianity so that death gains a complex functionality. Traditional church doesn't view death as a physical decomposition of man, only of human organic nature; death is the Gate to make the transition to eternity, to face the divine justice in order to decide the position in the After World. Death as a way of relocation in a superior existence is manifest in the funerary cult. Both the analysis of practices and beliefs connected to death and of epitaphs in the space of Romanian religiosity reveal the fact that in people's conception the dead remain in a state of dialogue with the living, beyond the physical death due to commemoration and remembrance of the dead. This delusive and consolatory conception partially accepted by the Church highlights another facet of death from analysed epitaphs as "cruel and untamed" (Ariès), an elementary force which separates the man from life and from beloved people, causing great suffering of all times and spaces along with the disquieting perception of finitude and irreversibility.

The headstones have verses that describe the exceptional character of the deceased or the circumstances of his/her death, especially in cases of accidental deaths perceived as "early deaths". Usually the lamentations of the living expressed in epitaphs are verses of folklore inspiration, secular expressions rather than funerary texts of Christian inspiration. The funerary inscription is more an expression of a feeling of universal type and reflects a primary and trivial funerary imaginary, reduced to clichés. These texts of funerary culture are relevant not only for social mutations, but also for institutionalization of thanatophobia.

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[52] *The Kiss of Death* (*El petó de la mort* in Catalan and *El beso de la muerte* in Spanish) is a sculpture of white marble in the cemetery Poblenou in Barcelona, made in 1930 by Jaume Barba. The winged death resembles the medieval representations and seduces the young man.

[53] See the monument of a young man of 19 years old who died in 1932; his name is difficult to see because of the degraded state of the monument. The tombstone seems to have been purchased in Budapest by the money gathered by community; it is vertical with no trestle, of 146 cm and represents a young man with brushes and palette in his hand, while behind him is death represented as a skeleton grabbing the young man and pulling him into the darkness. The young man died after falling from the scaffold while painting the nave of the church St. Francisc in Orăştie. The funerary stone was discovered by me in 2005 and researched by Laura Coltofean in 2013 (fig. 7 a/b/c).

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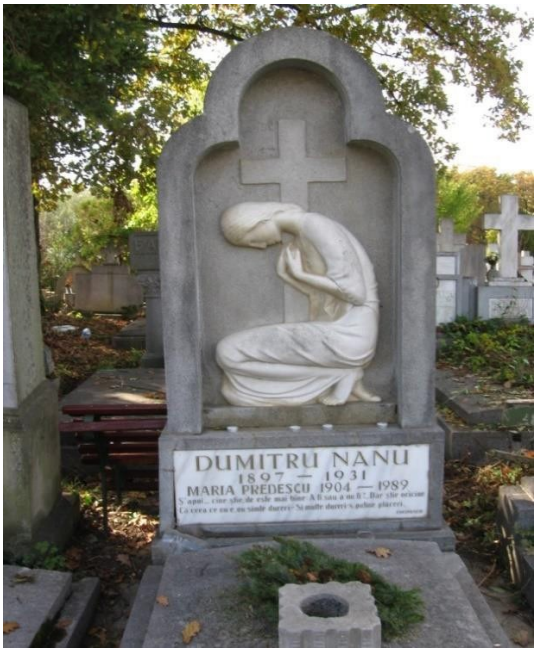

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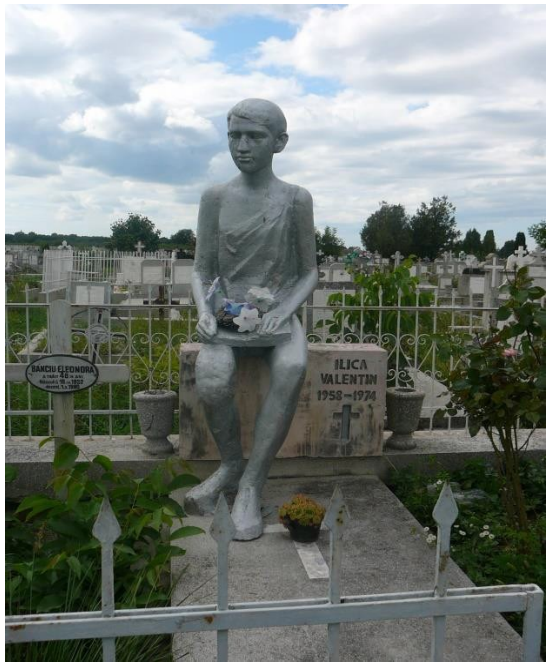

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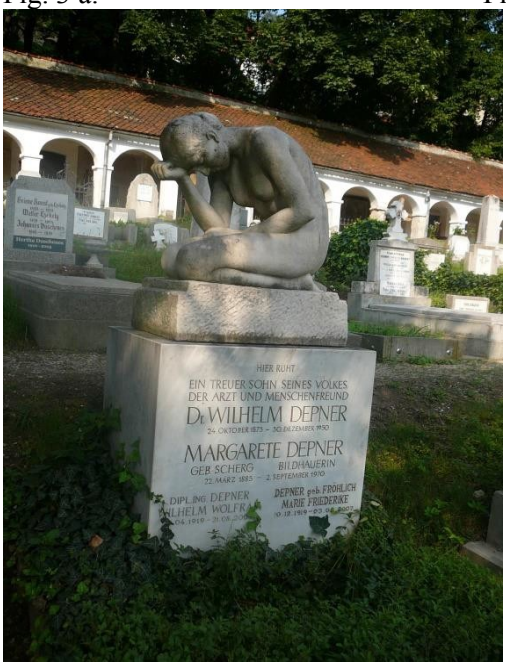

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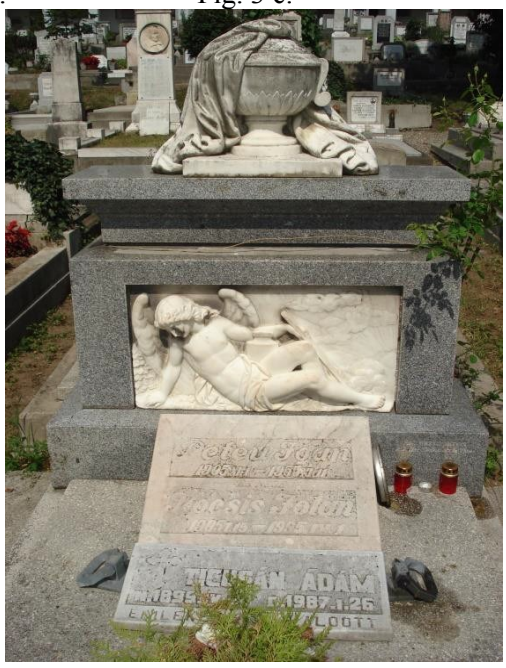

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6 a.

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Fig. 7a.

Fig. 7 b.

Fig. 7 c.

OBJECTIFYING REALITY AS A MEANS TO SURVIVE LOSS: PRIVATE CURIOSITY ROOMS

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***Abstract**: The present paper is based on a research undertaken two years ago in the Făget ethnographic area, investigating local museums, small museums, and local collections. The two collections which are the object of my analysis (one in Făget, the other in the village of Curtea) were apparently meaningless, unknown to locals as well as professionals, without impact on local communities. They were both curated by two women, both widows, having no support on behalf of their families. The collected objects create a protective environment, which allow the two women to engage in narratives on their former lives and on their loss. The objects behind the personal narratives form a heterogeneous, heteroclite collection, which might conceal hoarder personalities, but are also a type of new curiosity rooms, which resemble ethnic museums as well as former cabinets.*

***Keywords:** life story narratives, private collections, loss, cultural heritage*

Traditional culture and loss

Romanian traditional culture deals with death and loss in a highly ritualized form, maintaining an intricate system which ensures that the dead are well taken care of. The most important books of Romanian folklore collecting forefathers (see Marian, 2008 or Burada, 2006, among others) include detailed descriptions of the funeral rituals, but briefly address the post-funeral actions, even though the first ones are densified in time, occupying three intense days, while the latter ones are prolonged for seven more years. So, based on the amount of time invested in developing post-funeral rituals, the idea that these are as important as funeral ones does not seem so far-fetched. Without taking into discussion the complex ritual which ensures that the soul of the dead reaches the other side, the present paper addresses issues of loss and how the living are dealing with it nowadays from an ethnological perspective.

As stated before, folklorists writing in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century focus mainly on the funeral ritual, while the steps following it are, apparently, less important. But the living are as important as the dead in the complex traditional funeral system, the living being the guardians and the memory administrators. The cult of the dead exists through the living. To sum up, traditional funeral rites include death signs, the actual dying, dressing the dead, the funeral flag, the fir tree, funeral songs (*bocirea*), preparing the casket (which includes the rod and different objects to be carried on to the other side), the wake, the church service, the repast (*comândarea*), the days of the remembrance of the dead (funeral services at three, nine, forty days, six months, one year, seven years, as well as during every important holiday and on Saturdays). After seven years, the dead one enters the bigger kin and is remembered altogether with all the dead of the family, as a rite of aggregation (see van Gennep, 1997).

These frequent remembrance days' function is to rebalance the loved ones and, on a social level, to ensure social cohesion while facing a trauma. From an ethnological perspective, loss is managed by remembering processes which are initiated on a ritual basis and founded on repetitive actions, which ensure the dead are kept away from our world while dearly remembered. What is to be noted is that these actions attract their memory and repulse their presence at the same time, as a sort of play of come-and-go. The remembrance days include a religious service most times, giving of alms and offerings of meals for the dead, while weeping or sharing stories about them. Narrative is an important process which ensures the memory of the dead is kept alive.

Women are more present and culturally encouraged to participate in the funeral and post-funeral rites. In this regard, Nancy Scheper-Hughes writes:

> "It is expected that women will be more emotionally responsive than men; consequently, society relegates more emotion work, including love work and grief work, to them. In the extensive psychological literature on grief and bereavement it is assumed that the sexes differ in emotionality." (Scheper-Hughes, 2004, 188)

Men's and women's behaviours are managed and directed by social rules, which impose a certain type of reactions to loss and pain. While women are encouraged to express emotions, men are restricted to retaining grief and not publicly show their feelings. As Scheper-Hughes observes, women are given the

role of grievers, they are to behold and express, by weeping and suffering, both individual and collective pain:

> "Bereavement customs worldwide commonly assign women to prolonged and ritualized grieving, both during the funeral services and long after they are over. It is widows who commonly cut their hair, cover themselves with ashes, mutilate their bodies, or shroud themselves in black for the remainder of their lives, while widowers walk freely, indistinguishable from 'ordinary' men." (Scheper-Hughes, 2004, 188)

Also, in the Romanian traditional culture, women are masters of the time dedicated to the dead. They make all the preparations for holidays consecrated to the dead and become managers of non-ordinary time. Even though their involvement during funeral and post-funeral rites is considered to represent a lower social status (Scheper-Hughes, 2004, 188), their role as time and memory administrators rebalances their status and offers them societal rehabilitation, making them equal to men, who administrate daily time (especially the agricultural one, as they work the field, while women are masters of the household).

Post-funeral rites are less intense and frequent, considers Gail Kligman (Kligman, 2005, 190) while discussing funeral rites in Transylvania, grief and loss become bearable, therefore people return to normality, the absence of the dead becomes ordinary and is replaced by memory and the narrative about the dead.

In other cases – which are to be analysed in this paper – the absence of the dead is tolerated by objects which are transformed by their owners (two widows) not only into space fillers, but memory fillers as well.

Private cabinets

Private cabinets are the predecessors of museums as we know them today and appeared in the 18th century in Western Europe as a means to exhibit curiosities from the exotic and non-European worlds. Thus, curiosity cabinets had a "particular interest in displaying a wide variety of natural and man-made objects in one place – the plenitude of the world represented in the microcosm of a single room or space" (Crane, 2000, 67). In the Zedler Universal Lexikon, dating from 1732, this type of cabinet was defined as a "building in which intellectuals live communally and study". Later on, Robert Chartier defined it as a "storehouse for beloved objects". A curiosity cabinet was, above all, a private collection of random exotic, out-of-the- European-world objects, whose utility nobody knew, as nobody knew what correspondent they had in the European world. It was the beginning of the end for Eurocentrism, as well as the beginning of anthropology/ ethnology as an academic science. While being interviewed by Didier Eribon, Claude Lévi-Strauss confesses that he enjoyed collecting interesting objects since childhood. In his opinion, ethnology is a discipline destined to collect objects for museums (Eribon, Lévi-Strauss, 1988, 153).

Susan Crane (Crane, 2000) considers that, in the beginning, cabinets were utterly private, in spite of their heterogeneous nature and the fact that objects from all over the world could be found there, reflecting a rather universal character. In relation with a museum, a cabinet is more reclusive, it is managed by a self-taught person (not a scholar, thus) and has less well-defined character.

In Romania nowadays, there a hundreds of private collections which are more or less known by the public. In an attempt to create a national database which should contain a complete list of private rural collections, the National Museum of the Romanian Peasant (MNȚR) has implemented a project setting this goal more than seven years ago. The list is incomplete and the collections which were presented to the public are insufficient. A source for maintaining the heritage, these collections are also an identity resource, as well as an economic one, if valorised at their full potential. The project was continued until 2011 and more than 80 rural collections were identified, but the database is on an ongoing update process (http://www.muzeultaranuluiroman.ro/acasa/programul-cultural-colectii-satesti-din-romania.html, accessed on 31 August 2016). Also, the museum offered training courses for people interested in collecting traditional objects, so that their passion could be transformed or commodified.

Not related to this project, but with the same stakes (of identifying local collections, local museums which could be valorised and which are representative for the regional heritage), I worked in 2013 and 2014 on a project with the title "Living Heritage" (http://livingheritage.uvt.ro/, accessed on 31 August 2016), which enabled me to find alongside my colleagues two private collections in the ethnographic area of Făget. The stories that follow are about people and objects, as well as about loss, grief and struggle to maintain normality, while acquiring objects.

Babi Mărie

Curtea is an important village near Făget, with more than 1,200 inhabitants. Maria S. (nicknamed *Babi Mărie*) is one of them ("an old lady

on a bike" – as she characterizes herself), who is skilled at baking pies and traditional bakery (*sucituri*). Having being married three times, Maria is not particularly a good example of how a woman in a traditional community should live. We undertook two life story interviews and found out not only her personal narratives, but also received advice on how to behave as ladies, how to conquer men and how to bake pies.

But, more importantly, Maria (fig. 1) has shown us her museum (*camera muzeu*) in a house which looked impeccable and seemed a museum in its entirety. This museum room occulted a private collection which the owner didn't suspect could qualify as a private collection, or a collection at all. It was a random accumulation of objects which can be defined as traditional (majorly pottery, as well as wood cutlery, household objects used for cooking or gardening, wooden furniture, or nice wooden chests). Perfectly organized, the exhibits hung on the walls in utter order, but only a connoisseur could tell what was what. While telling the stories of her lost loves (the first husband left her because she was too feisty, the second went to war, and the third died leaving her childless and with a huge house and garden to take care of), she also tried to justify the gathering of strange objects which nobody used anymore. Some chairs were saved from the garbage, where a neighbour had thrown them, others were bought for a very small price from people who did not need them anymore. The process of gathering objects is complex and it resembles hoarding, in my opinion, the objects being collected for no purpose of becoming exhibits. (Fig. 2 and fig. 3)

"Hoarders demonstrate difficulty in categorizing possessions and/or information properly" (Wincze, 2001), which "may result in hoarders characteristic piles of unrelated objects ranging from worthless (i.e. trash) to extremely valuable (i.e. cash)" (Hartl *et al.*, 2005).

Nevertheless, the objects collected by *Babi Mărie* have several characteristics in common – their oldness, their belonging to the rural world and their "traditional character". This type of hoarding is, therefore, unilateral, and not that heterogeneous. Without being objects that have a personal story or a connection to *Babi Mărie*, her collection stands by itself. Therefore, I presume that even though it seems we are dealing with a museum type collection, we are in fact dealing with gathered/ scattered objects which compensate a void. The hypothesis of Hartl *et al* is that hoarders struggle with attention problems and have gone through traumatic experiences more than non-hoarders, while Tolin *et al* (2008) demonstrate a close connection between hoarding and the low economic status. Also, some researchers demonstrate there is a connectivity between creativity and the process of hoarding (Hazel, Hooley, 2014), stating that individuals who collect are more likely to be more resourceful and original than people who do not present this disorder.

As mentioned before, *Babi Mărie* had marriage difficulties and was abandoned (different types of giving her up) by close people. Even today, her family (nephews and nieces by her siblings) is not particularly present in her life or in her house. Objects occupy her time and space, collecting them, dusting and rearranging them ensuring that she performs tasks on a daily basis under the excuse of taking care of the museum room. It is also an exercise in collective memory, for the objects (mostly plates and jugs) which *Babi Mărie* collects are traditional and pertaining to her native village, and also several of them were given as alms in remembrance days for the souls of the dead. They all have imprinted the name of the dead, so *Babi Mărie* is a type of guardian of their remembrance, as women play the main role in managing the memory of the dead (see Marian, 2008, and also Andreesco, Bacou, 2011). She narrates little about them, but recognizes them, participates in their repasts and gladly receives the food/beverage they contain. Alms are offered not only to satisfy the soul of the dead, they also ensure that the living eat and drink, in some situations being offered to poorer people. So, for *Babi Mărie,* receiving it is not only a matter of respecting tradition, but of survival, as her pension for working in an agricultural cooperative barely reaches 300 lei. The museum room becomes a testimonial of her struggle to maintain a living, as well as to engage in activities which seem to matter.

Mrs M.

M. I. is the widow of a local poet from Făget, as well as the curator of his memorial house (fig. 4). Traian I. was a renowned poet of the city and director of the local Romanian Writers Association branch (USR). Not particularly known on the national or even regional level (his name is not included in the Dictionary of Writers from Banat or in the Dictionary of Romanian Writers, for example), Traian Iancu has left behind an interesting memorial house (and a miniature museum of Romanian literature) with a mixed collection of objects, books and photographs which not only recreate the city of Făget now disappeared, but also offer a brief passage through the history of Romanian literature (Fig. 5).

The museum looks more like a private collection, I dare say, a type of cabinet of curiosities which gathers photos of important Romanian writers, icons, copies of important Romanian painters (Tonitza being one of them), books, pottery (traditional jugs), rocks and seashells, with apparently and really no connection between them or to the idea of the memorial house. But, in spite of all this controlled chaos and randomness, the collection functions as an attempt to build a remarkable reminder of an absent greatness. What is most valuable is the building itself, as we are dealing with a traditional and representative house of the Făget area, dating back to the end of the 19th century. The house is in good condition due to the fact that it is permanently used, unlike most vernacular houses from the area, which are left to destruction or burned by their owners, or used for other constructions. The space confers the objects their status (of exhibits), rather than the other way around. As Peter Bjerregaard argues (Bjerregaard, 2015):

> "Objects are obviously essential to museums, but the question is whether the objects, and the stories they carry, are the main media of museum experience. […] In all our concern with objects we have to a certain degree neglected the role of *space* as a focal point for understanding museum experience."

It is obvious that those who created the memorial house and started the collection have no training or no competence in doing such a thing, but nevertheless their collection still speaks for itself (fig. 6). The story it narrates is deconstructed and defocused, but it is still a story. Dedicated to the memory of the poet, the random collection resembles even more to a hoarder's gathering. The person who curates the collection seems incapable of throwing the unnecessary objects away or to create an order, a hierarchy or some sort of meaning. Are we dealing with attachment to objects or just with *horror vacui*? An attachment to objects is a form of anthropomorphism (see Timpano, Shaw, 2013), while *horror vacui* deals with something else. Filling the void by filling the space is a manner of creating and maintaining the memory of the dead. Again, a woman is in charge with a type of post-funeral remembrance rite.

Conclusion

Without intending to be ethnographic exhibitions, both collections can be read as such. The first one is representative for the rural life of the area, while the second connects better with the life of a small town. Both curators are widows who struggle with their condition and loneliness, while being occupied with their collections, which (strangely enough) do not fill the space (as any collection usually does) but the time. Being private (even though both were willing to share their experiences and tell their stories), the two collections ensure a certain type of knowledge and enjoyment. They address more to common curiosity (Crane, 2000, 68) than to an intellectual one, and are emotionally rather than mentally enjoyed by the viewer. Moreover, they do not make sense unless accompanied by the stories of their owners, who are, in my opinion, their extension.

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FROM THE CABINET OF CURIOSITIES TO THE AUCTORIAL MUSEUM: ORHAN PAMUK'S JOURNEY BETWEEN THE IMAGINARY AND THE REAL

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***Abstract**: To convince us that the past can be recreated by means of the interplay of objects assembled in a collection, the Turkish author Orhan Pamuk embarks on two complementary undertakings: he weaves the fabric of his novel The Museum of Innocence, and creates a museum whose exhibits tell the very same love story narrated in the text.*

Installed in a house of the Çukurcuma neighbourhood in Istanbul, the museum joins the long-established tradition of the cabinets of curiosities, by pursuing the same twofold aim: namely, to express both the universe and the selfhood. The difference lies in the common or, on the contrary, exceptional character of the exhibits and in the response elicited by their very nature. Whereas a cabinet of curiosities was all the more valuable as it contained exotic artefacts, the collection put together by O. Pamuk is made up of objects of everyday life. The cabinet of curiosities capitalized on the seductive power of the difference, whereas the Museum of Innocence proposes the emotion stirred by the familiar, by the encounter of a horizon to which the viewer is well acquainted.

***Keywords:** museum, cabinet of curiosities, compensatory items, memory, love story*

We are already familiar with writers having their ideas expressed in other types of discourse – more or less contiguous (and often complementary) to the literary one. To achieve this, some resorted to journalism (Ernest Hemingway, Gabriel Garcia Márquez, Mario Vargas Llosa); others wrote screenplays or produced films (Truman Capote, J. K. Rowling), some expounded their political views (from the prominent figures of the Enlightenment – Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Denis Diderot – to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn) or their philosophical stance (Albert Camus), and – admittedly much more rarely – some started schools of thought (Leon Tolstoy). All these approaches require a degree of involvement in the realm of social life – an overt, manifest participation in some cases, such as the committed intellectuals engaged in the existentialist movement (Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir). The same can be said of a more recent project – a project more concerned with the sphere of private life, yet one whose fabric allows us to discern the image of a fascinating city[54]: establishing a *Museum of Innocence,* to accompany and illustrate the homonymous novel, authored by the first Turkish recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature (2006) – Orhan Pamuk.

As if to convince us that the past can be recreated and re-lived by means of the interplay of items assembled in a collection (both imaginary and real), the writer embarks on two complementary undertakings. On the one hand, he develops the plot of his *Museum of Innocence* novel (2008) around the star-crossed love story of Kemal and Füsun (against the background of the sociocultural life in the 1970s-1990s Istanbul); and on the other hand, he establishes a museum (in the Çukurcuma neighbourhood, opened in 2011) with exhibits telling the very same love story, prematurely interrupted by the separation of the protagonists, then resumed after long years of indecision, and suddenly terminated shortly after their reunion, by the death of the beloved woman.

The key in which we undertake to decipher the significance contained by the novel, as well as the museum's display cases, capitalizes on the investigative tools of several interrelated areas of research: the anthropology of the object and of senses, visual culture, and mediology. Both visual culture – as it is understood by Hans Belting (Belting, 2004) or Richard Howells (Howells, 2003) – and mediology – a discipline configured by Régis Debray (Debray, 1999) – posit that any image is predicated on a *spectator*, as well as a *supporting medium* serving as its vehicular device. The novel-museum relationship is thus established from the outset: both are

[54] The motivation for awarding the *Nobel Prize for Literature* in 2006, explicitly mentioned the importance attached by Orhan Pamuk in his novel to "the melancholic soul of his native city" and its multicultural character. Cf. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2006/. Another one of Orhan Pamuk's novels interlaces the events of personal life and the life of the city where he was born and lived: *Istanbul. Memories and the City* (2011, *editio princeps*, 2003). The memoir pages are given substance by the photographs from the collections of artist Ara Güler, as well as Selahattin Giz, or the pictures taken by Hilmi Şahenk, currently stored in the Istanbul archives.

constituted of a sequence of images reflected by our gaze[55] and sustained by the *texts* or the *objects* serving as their *fundament* which both convey them – more or less insistently, more or less convincingly – to us.

The present study comprises three parts, mainly focusing on the relationship between novel and museum, a relationship centred on a shared element: the object, understood as a bearer of significance, a *semiophoric* reality (Pomian, 1987, 36-37). A second aspect investigated here concerns the *status* held by the museum created by Orhan Pamuk, defined in relation to the previous models of this type of institution, starting with the cabinet of curiosities. And finally, we shall dwell on the manner in which the tales bringing the novel and the museum face to face, are further reflected by two other complementary works: *The Innocence of Objects* (Pamuk, 2012), a volume written in the first person by the Turkish author, as a guidebook / poetic catalogue intended for both the museum and the life experiences which prompted its creation, and the documentary film *The Innocence of Memories* (2015, script: Grant Gee, Orhan Pamuk; director: Grant Gee).

The storyline around which the two "mnemonic devices" – the novel and the museum, respectively – are articulated is a very simple one: the son of an affluent industrialist of Istanbul is about to become engaged (and later married) to a young woman of the high society, educated at Paris in keeping with the times' practices. Shortly before the engagement, though, the protagonist – Kemal (aged 30), meets in a boutique a poor, distant relative – Füsun (merely 18 years old), whom he had last seen as a teenager. A strong mutual attraction quickly develops and, for two months, they share a fervent love story, sheltered from the rest of the world in his apartment in the "Compassion" building (under the pretext of him aiding her to prepare for university).

Füsun attends Kemal's betrothal to Sibel Hanim, as a family obligation (they are distantly related), but afterwards she disappears almost inexplicably, and her lover tries to find some solace by turning to objects and immersing himself in their comforting world, in an attempt to recreate the ineffable sense of her *presence in absence*. Even the most banal objects ever touched by the beloved woman, during the time they had enjoyed together in the shelter-place, become anchors of his existence. *The extended self*, as theorized by Russell W. Belk (Belk, 1988, 140), includes in this case, not one's own belongings but especially the objects owned, or the utensils once used by the other, as ineffable traces of a remote (and elusive) time of happiness. His obsessive attachment to these items causes the protagonist to regress towards the territories of infantility, marked by the need for *transitional objects* and the desire to collect, however effortfully, the *traces* of the other, as a type of control over a reality eluding one, and accessible only in a mediated way. Thus the protagonist gradually abandons the sphere of interpersonal relationships, instead seeking more and more insistently the company of those *aide-mémoires* able to weave the invisible fabric of his encounters with his absent beloved: "For most of the two hours I used to spend there, I would lie in bed, daydreaming, and holding next to my face, my forehead, my neck, in an attempt to find solace for my pain, some phantomatic object I would grasp in my hand, bedazzled by its radiance, an object still bearing the imprint of our moments of bliss, for instance this nutcracker or that old clock with a ballerina, which Füsun had tried to mend so many times, and which still carried the scent of her hands..." (Pamuk, 2010, 188).

Objects: their testimony and retrieval function

In his *Being and Nothingness*, Jean-Paul Sartre stated that the only way to know who we are is to examine what we possess; once an object turns into a possession, then the *self* and the *other* become one, while *having* becomes tantamount to *being* (Sartre, 2004). To Kemal, the alienation process slows down only at the happy times when he obsessively invokes the presence of his absent lover, and recreates her in Arcimboldian manner, by assembling the objects she had once touched or used. Originally perceived as *artefacts of the loss*, working to compensate for the couple's split, objects turn – following the death of the beloved woman – into *signifiers of retrieval*, testifying to the essential role played by material items in establishing and maintaining a sense of the past (Belk, 1990, 669-676).

Whether we are visiting the *Museum of Innocence* in Istanbul (Figure 1) or progressing through the chapters of the novel, we find ourselves in a cabinet – not of curiosities but of *intimities* –, an open tomb of sorts, reconstructing the whole array of belongings once possessed by the departed lover, with only one (but crucially important) piece missing: the mummy. The beloved woman is doubly absent: both

[55] The importance of the reception process, of the gaze that assesses, labels and imposes a classification or an axiological hierarchy, is acknowledged today. Marcel Duchamp repeatedly demonstrated that the viewer's gaze is able to transform even the most banal object into a work of art.

during the time of their split (when she acts as a Fata Morgana, a delusory appearance in the horizon of Kemal's fervent expectation), and later, by virtue of their definitive, final separation, caused by her death in an accident. In both instances, the objects testify to the lost one, they contain her, are pervaded by the memory of her gestures, attitudes or states of mind. This corroborates Hans Belting's theory about the ability of images to fill an absence, to render visible the one who can no longer be seen – the deceased person (Belting, 2004, 13). The *testimonial object* speaks of the lost woman, of their interrupted love story, while also revealing customs, behaviours and mentalities characteristic to the milieu of 1970s-1990s Istanbul. The *cabinet of intimacies* thus opens not only before those who confine themselves to reading the novel in order to identify facts, immersing themselves in the complete experience of a slow-paced, tantalizing *love story*, but also to that readership which, along the lines of an anthropological approach, proves interested in reconstructing life contexts and collective mind-sets of times past.

To the man in love, the world becomes an immense mirror, endlessly and exclusively reflecting the avatars of the evanescent figure of his long-awaited lover. Chapter 32, entitled "The shadows and ghosts I would mistake for Füsun", has a counterpart in the museum's section displaying a panel of photographs/postcards of places in Istanbul where the protagonist thought he had caught a glimpse of the beloved one. Against the black-and-white background, a female silhouette stands in stark contrast (brightly coloured in red), to suggest that in such a context, the contours of ireality are much stronger than the monotony of the reality devoid of any meaning and joy (Figure 2). The viewer's eye is irresistibly caught by the colourful spot in the postcards, and the woman becomes the symbolic centre of the picture. We find ourselves before *hierophanies*, where the sacred element (here, the beloved one) is simultaneously revealed and denied to us.

While reflecting on how to structure the Museum of the Romanian Peasant, Horia Bernea noted that the display of vestments reveals their particular characteristics, derived from a certain frailty caused by the volume (of lack thereof): deprived of a body to carry it, of a body to be clothed by it, the vestment is reduced to a "limp carcass, an object having lost its code" (Bernea, Nicolau, Huluță, 2001, 138).

Similarly, in a study insisting on the need for attaching a tactile dimension and for a performative approach in the visitors' experience and understanding of a museum, Julia Petrov points out that a vestment on a dummy is like the chalk outline, drawn of a missing person: it needs a body to fill it. A body which the visitor's gaze is able to recreate, in the form of a mental representation, thus lending life to the exhibit and restoring, to an extent, the spirit of the absent wearer of the respective outfit; this constitutes a participative approach to museum exhibits (Petrov, 2012, 230-241). The costume on display is thus integrated into, and becomes part of, a syntax whereby the absence of the body to wear it stirs the visitor's need to establish a dialogue with the item displayed – a dialogue mediated by the gaze, engaging the viewer in a relationship able to generate visual and mental significance.

The lines of the feminine silhouette – which one can perceive in the museum also by the dress placed in a case (Figure 3) – pertain to the realm of the *diaphanous*, understood in Aristotelian key as "paradigm of a *medium* and *mediation*" (Vasiliu, 2010, 65). The beloved woman is better contemplated from a distance: the more she hides, the clearer she can be discerned by the soul of her lover. Comparable to the medieval lyricism of troubadours and trouvères, so aptly termed by J. Huizinga, "the melody of frustrated desire" (Huizinga, 2007, 76-83), the love which cannot be fulfilled in the encounter with the beloved one, contains the acute, painful sense of being denied the presence of the long-awaited lover. On the other hand, this distance, this suspension of their relationship in real life (while it is continued inwardly), fuels the feelings and preserves their force and authenticity.

Unable to break the obsessive circle of reminiscence and desire, Kemal gives up his engagement to Sibel and starts visiting Füsun's family under various pretexts (despite her marriage to a young screenwriter, Feridun). For almost eight years, the ritual of his visits to the Keskin household, paid several times a week, structures Kemal's life and restores its meaningfulness. During these visits, Kemal retrieves from the home of Füsun's parents countless objects touched, casually or purposefully, by the hands of his former lover.

The custodian behavior (Cherrier, 2010, 259-272) – defined by experts as a practice consciously performed by some consumers, in an attempt to maintain intact the items likely to be destroyed or discarded – acquires new traits in this case. It normally is an attempt to preserve the past; however, it is much more than that in the case of Orhan Pamuk's protagonist, since what Kemal saves by means of every item of his collection is actually a "particle" of the beloved person, "a part of the notion of Füsun" (Pamuk, 2010, 444), as he puts it in his novel. The artefact bears witness to the person and implicitly, to the time and space she used to inhabit

(Figure 4).

Kemal is simultaneously defined through the objects (Pamuk, 2010, 211) that recreate the brief time of bliss shared with Füsun in the afternoons spent together in the "Compassion" apartment building (*autobiographic value*), and the items stolen from her house over the extended time of weekly visits, paid until Füsun's separation from her husband (*adaptative value*). Thus Kemal's collection, originally containing only a few objects, grows significantly richer as he culls seemingly insignificant items. The butts of the 4,213 cigarettes smoked by Füsun between 1976 and 1984 provide the material for Chapter 68 in his novel, as well as the components of an odd, insectarium-like assortment, placed at the museum's entrance in the proximity of several TV screens that endlessly run the gestures of a woman's hand while smoking. Each cigarette butt bears the date and an explanatory note (Figure 5), describing the particular circumstances, as well as the smoker's feelings at that moment. The attention paid to details is equally accounted for by the passion of the collector and the emotional exactness of the lover documenting their love saga. Actually, Orhan Pamuk makes sure he builds the necessary connections between the novel's pages and the museum rooms, creating an interplay of analepses and prolepses not only within the fictional realm, but also between this virtual territory and the actual exhibition: "The readers who visit my museum should not think, while reading the captions attached to each of the 4,213 cigarette butts collected over those eight years, recording their dates, that the cases contain superfluous information: the shape of each butt renders an intense feeling experienced by Füsun as she was putting out that particular cigarette." (Pamuk, 2010, 471).

The museum created by the Turkish novelist inside a house of the Çukurcuma neighbourhood (a site typical of Istanbul's life over the 19th-20th centuries), as well as the Nişantaşi neighbourhood, where the author had spent his childhood (Pamuk, 2011, 37), joins the long-established tradition of the *cabinets of curiosities*[56] (Pamuk, 2012, 254) which made the delight of princely and aristocratic houses of Europe, from the Renaissance until late 18th century, by pursuing the same twofold aim: namely, to express both the universe and the selfhood (Davenne, 2002).

The difference lies in the *common* or, on the contrary, *exceptional* character of the exhibits and in the response elicited by their very nature. Whereas a cabinet of curiosities was all the more valuable as it contained exotic artefacts, feeding the viewers' taste for the unusual and the foreign, the collection put together by Orhan Pamuk is made up of objects of everyday life: banal, short-lived tools, small objects serving the private life, embellished only by the memory of the woman who had handled them.

The cabinet of curiosities capitalized on the seductive power of the *difference*, of radical otherness[57], whereas Pamuk's collection proposes the emotion stirred by *the familiar*, by the encounter of a horizon to which the viewer is well acquainted as a surrounding environment.

The stress is now laid not on strangeness, but on intimacy. In the museum rooms and their dim light, where large groups of visitors are not accepted (in compliance with the policy in effect since the establishment) precisely in order to ensure the peacefulness and the impression of domesticity, visitors can decipher the course of their own life, by discovering familiar objects or mentally adding them to the objects populating their own biographies.

A museum with a difference

The cabinet of curiosities was designed as a microcosmos, defining man in relation to the natural macrocosmos and intended to operate as a *summary* of the world by bringing together elements from the *land, sea* and *air* and the three orders (the *mineral*, *vegetal* and *animal* ones), alongside man-made artefacts. The *Encyclopaedia* (1751) edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert defined the cabinets of curiosities as *summaries of the entire nature*.

Usually juxtaposing two distinct, opposed and complementary sections – *Naturalia* and *Artificialia* –, they were intended for the courtly and ecclesiastic elites, and designed so as to tame the unknown and give an orderly structure to the components of the universe, in a sort of demiurgic undertaking aiming to turn the *chaos* into *cosmos*.

The items in the cabinets of curiosities could be catalogued with the tools of history and natural sciences, whereas the objects so carefully chosen by Orhan Pamuk, many years before he purchased the

[56] Orhan Pamuk actually states in the guidebook created to illustrate and explain the Museum of Innocence in Instanbul that he liked the idea of such cabinets, and he saw no major difference between the items collected by Kemal, and the natural (rocks, stuffed animals) or man-made items assembled in a collection of curiosities.

[57] Let us remember that originally, they were called *Wunderkammer*, *chambres de merveilles*, precisely in order to denote the presence of *mirabilia* in their making.

building that now hosts the museum[58], pertain to an anthropological approach. They simultaneously testify to a personal history as well as a collective one – that of Istanbul's society, which the writer follows with the passion of a collector of human figures and life stories, photographs, and artefacts of daily routines.

Objects of remembrance in a *place of memory*, the exhibits of this museum and their descriptions provided by the labels and captions, as well as the novel's pages, reveal a genuine *taste for collecting* (Baudrillard, 1997, 9), summoning the figure of the beloved woman, reconstructing her presence, lending it stability and permanence, in an effort at retrieval that defies death. The connection between the owner and the objects owned is able to survive due to the belief in the ability of an instrument to retain some of the *personal identity* (Wittkower 1991, 13) of the one who used to handle it.

Setting a stage so as to define identity, whereby "the owner is integral part of the installation" (Mateescu 2009, 51-71), the intertwining of *personal biography* and *objects* holds the collection together, lending it coherence, cohesion and authenticity (Figure 6). The unmistakeable hallmark of the museum's creator – visible in the arrangement of the *boxes* of objects (the term used by O. Pamuk himself with reference to the display cases in the museum), and in his explanations about the way items em-bodied the story and how he culled them, constantly provided in autobiographic manner, in *The Innocence of Objects* – places this museum outside the common logic of such institutions. This is no longer about the democratization of knowledge, characteristic to the early museums, eager to depart from the model of the elitist cabinets of curiosities; nor is it about the discourse aiming to tame (only to gain a better ability to master it!) a *strange*, *remote and different Other* (as colonial museums used to do); neither about the intention to show almost encomiastic appreciation for the perennity and beauty of *the One near us* (as national museums do).

Orhan Pamuk states explicitly, in his *manifesto for museums* (Pamuk, 2012, 54-57) included in the guidebook accompanying and illustrating the collection (*The Innocence of Objects*), which changes he deems useful for the new stance on this type of cultural institution. The stake is not the reconstruction of a monumental, national, general history, ultimately devoid of spirit and personality, but the rendering of fragments of private life evoking the vivid portrait of the person and its unique, unrepeatable story. The last two points on Pamuk's list plead for the establishment of modest museums, to be open on streets of less touristic interest and in neighbourhoods where they can blend in the texture of the urban environment, so that their surroundings become part of the exhibition. His overt option is for a *museification of the quotidian*, so much so that he asserts that the future of museums should be inside people's homes.

The path to be followed, according to the Turkish author, is similar to the transition from epics to novels; as a parallel process he proposes that the grand history should be abandoned in favour of the everyday stories of individuals, for personal narratives can be richer than national ones. Actually, this type of discourse is subsumed under a broader approach, to which postmodern philosophers have adhered over the last decades, preferring the significant detail to the whole.

He is not the only one to employ the ability of a personal story (dissimulated and contained in a number of objects) to produce collective emotions, through the power and mystery of *empathy*: in 2006, two Croatian artists – the film producer Olinka Vištica and the sculptor Dražen Grubišić – decided to create a collection of failed love affairs (https://brokenships.com/), starting from their own experience as a couple and the separation occurring after four years of love life. They started from their own personal belongings and those donated by friends, to which they gradually added the contributions made by persons across the world, in the first years after the collection was established, a time when it travelled to several places in Argentina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany, Great Britain, Macedonia, the Philippines, Serbia, Singapore, Slovenia, South Africa, the USA and Turkey. In 2010, the exhibits were installed in a building of Zagreb – the Upper Town (a private museum), and in 2016 a branch was opened in Los Angeles, at the initiative of the renowned attorney John B. Quinn, who had been won over by the idea of the museum he had visited in the capital of Croatia.

The definition given by Olinka Vištica and Dražen Grubišić to the items hosted by their institution – *holograms of memories and emotions* – matches perfectly the project of the Turkish author. The only difference is that the path followed by the items in his collection goes from the imaginary towards the real, in order to lend the story a material quality (that is, a claim to existence).

Both the text and the images offered by the

[58] Bought and restored in order to be made into a museum after receiving the Nobel Prize, in 2006.

succession of display cases, arranged horizontally in the rooms and vertically on the floors in the *Museum of Innocence* in Istanbul, are, in Vilém Flusser's terms, instances of *mediation* (Flusser, 2003, 69). They shape a dialogue between reader and author, between visitor and the founder of the museum, and most importantly, between the tales one contemplates and the individual past of those who go through either the book or the rooms in the Çukurcuma building. The investigative framework employed by 20th century anthropologists – a detailed rendering of an unfolding *récit de vie* – here meets the writer's ability to create an exemplary couple. Kemal and Füsun join a gallery of famous characters, driven by the interplay between hazard and love, under the enthralled, ironic, condescending or fascinated eyes of the readers.

To which extent the book's chapters and the images of objects are – in Jean Baudrillard's terms – *meurtrières du reel* [assassins of reality], or on the contrary, instances preserving bits of reality: this is a question to be answered by each reader of the novel, or each visitor of the museum. One thing is certain: Orhan Pamuk has the unique gift and ability allowing him to stir imagination, conveying nuances the emotional memory retains longer than verifiable facts or data. His book and his museum are placed under the sign of the ineffable. Nothing is absolutely certain (the autobiographic dimension of the story; or the true existence of the protagonist spending his last years of life in the museum's attic and narrating for Orhan Bey – the writer turned character – the story he then retells in pages and display cases; or the romantic idea of a collection of objects held by the Keskin house), but the beauty of the game lies precisely in this constant ambiguity. Everything is shaped and informed by the interval – that is, the distance between what actually happened (even if it did happen only in fiction) and what it has turned into. It is the viewer's gaze that sheds light on this interval, absorbing the life story and placing it in the realm of what is worth being known – that is, experienced – *by proxy*. The path between reality and fiction is travelled both ways, and Orhan Pamuk puts a new spin on the text-author relationship established in the previous century by literary realism. The authors of realist novels kept their eyes riveted on the material supplied by reality, like painters who had at long last broken free from the restricted space of their studios and could now work *en plein air*, enthralled by the way in which light dictated the place of objects on their canvas. On the contrary, the Turkish writer boldly employs fiction as a pretext to trigger reality, virtually forcing us to postulate the authenticity of an imaginary story. In his case, the referential is the fiction: everything starts and ends with it, when the visitor browses through the novel while standing in the museum (copies of the volume translated in several European languages are available in most rooms) in order to gain a better understanding of the objects and persons who once handled them. The characters step out of the written pages and acquire a kind of ineffable substance, sustained by the tangible material objects once (allegedly) owned by them. It is a bold scheme, aiming to animate the world of fantasy, to certify this imaginary universe in order to demonstrate that no ontologically rupture exists between readers and the novel's characters. Just as "real" as ourselves, the protagonists supply – through the mastermind / puppeteer – an array of photos, clothes, jewels, objects, pieces of furniture, all of them operating as an identity document which legitimizes their existence and gives them the right to tell their love story.

The interplay between reality and fiction, between representation and the things represented, is resumed in the documentary film *The Innocence of Memories*, directed by Grant Gee. This leads the viewer through the museum rooms – disclosing its secrets and the details of displays – and along the streets of the city that witnessed the love story. Moreover, Orhan Pamuk himself appears in the film in a twofold stance: the real-life person filmed in his own apartment, and also a moment in a TV interview shown within the film. The *mise en abyme* technique acquires a particular interpretation since the different levels do not only multiply according to the *similarity principle*, but also interfere.

As in a labyrinth of mirrors, the novel's plot is reflected in the museum collection, which in its turn is mirrored in the documentary film. This deepening of the subject in new forms derived from other types of artistic languages, attests to Orhan Pamuk's concern with legitimizing his subject-matter, reinforcing the walls of its credibility, placing it equally within the confines of the narrative and those of actual life. To him, the image is not a *lieutenant* (in the terms of Emmanuel Alloa, 2011, 11), but a *prétendant*, that is, it is not a substitute for a reality, but it can claim to replace the original and can even create the impression that it *is* the original, rather than merely representing it. The image fills a void, placing the museum (and also the film) on the fragile border between a *locus of memory* and one of *absence* (Leahy, 2012, 250-262). The whole process thus unfolds between the ***remembrances*** of past facts, long bygone and effaced by the changing realities, and the ***anticipation*** of other existential circumstances, apt to underlie the same logic of the word/object that rescues them from oblivion and recreates them, always bringing something new to compensate for the

absence. Orhan Pamuk's intention concerning the museum – namely, the ability *to convert time into space* – is also achieved in the film, which becomes another territory for the unfolding of events tracing a history both individual and collective (since the background is constantly shaped by the mind-set and daily habits of the Istanbul of the 1970s-1990s), thus for the conversion of chronology into image.

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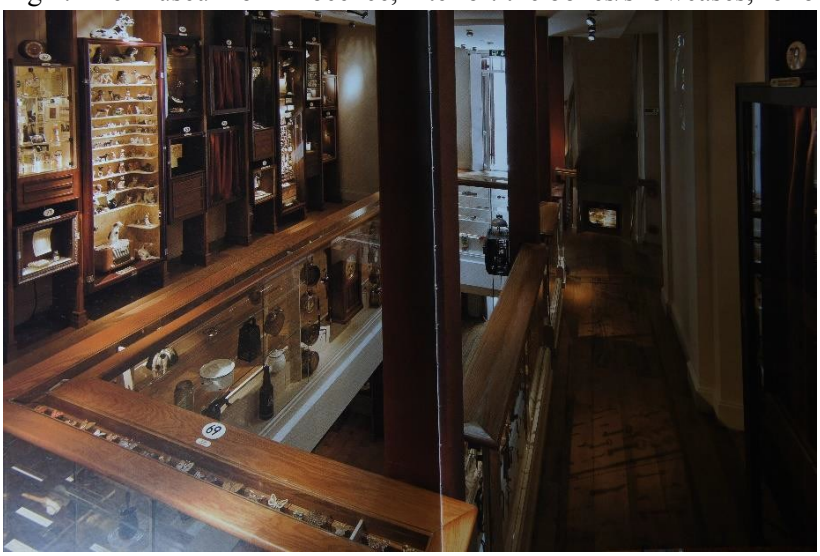
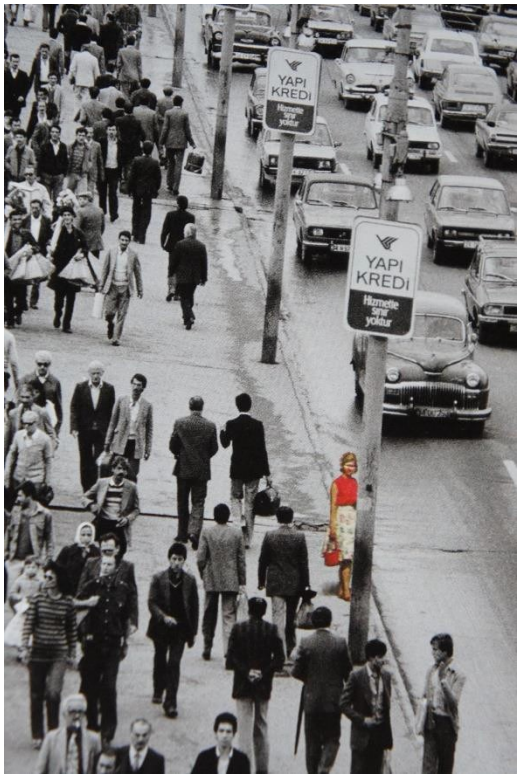
Fig 1. The Museum of Innocence, interior: the boxes/showcases, following the succession of novel's chapters





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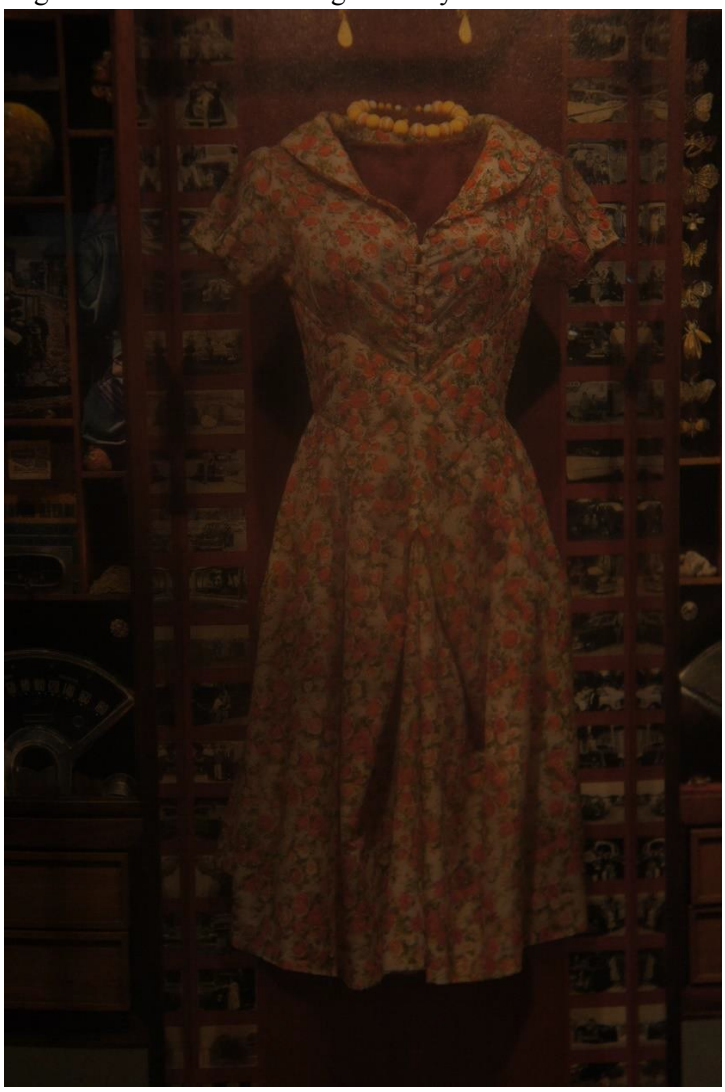

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B. MISCELLANEA

A.S. PUSHKIN'S DUEL – BETWEEN POETRY AND REALITY

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***Abstract**: The intermission between the poetic perspective on death and duelling as a matter of honour and the real aspects of duelling are pointed out in this article, taking into account the Russian cultural background on duelling and the special case of A. S. Pushkin's last duel and the poetical representation of a duel in Pushkin's novel in verse Eugène Onegin. Another important issue discussed in this article is the impact of the poet's death on the many layers of Russian life – personal, political, cultural and historical. Anna Akhmatova's famous quotation: "First thing I have learned about Pushkin was that he was shot, and then that he was a poet" is relevant in so many ways for the Russian's perception of death and duelling, especially related to poetry and the problematic question of honour at the core of the concept of duel. A quick view on some relevant aspects of the poet's life might disclose the bigger picture of something that many people called "the Russian tragedy of a poet", abating the implications of this duel and narrowing it down to the family circle and to the poetical aspects of the Russian cultural life, in this way backgrounding other possible social and political implications.*

***Keywords:** Eugène Onegin, Pushkin's last duel, Russian cultural background, law and honour, literary depiction*

Some Aspects on the Russian Background of Duelling

There is a dangerous feeling in the choice of exploring a well-known subject, as some aspects may seem redundant, while others mere speculations. Nevertheless, it would have been impossible to talk about the phenomenon of Russian duelling and to ignore one of the most famous duels in Russia's cultural life – Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin's duel, in particular being considered "the quintessence of modern Russia's cultural proteanism" (A. Grigoryev's claim in Stener 2011, 41). In dealing with this subject, historians and literary critics have had the same tendency – to point out the tragic nature of the personal poetic dimension and to neglect the social and political background, leaving intact some controversial matters that would have stained the memory of Russia's national poet and the inherent tragic aura attached to his destiny. The same strategy can be noticed in any culture when building the portrait and character of a national poet or writer. In this paper I avoid this and try to highlight the intermingling poetical devices in depicting the duel, with historical aspects and the poet's attitudes towards them.

Before entering Pushkin's poetic world and his complicated affairs of the heart and even more complicated personal duelling history, it should be mentioned that the concept and the practice of duelling was, undoubtedly, imported from France, and, as with any such case, it was tailored to the Russian context (also found in the case of Romania– Iacob 2009, 419-454), while still keeping honour at the core[59]. F. Dostoevsky spoke about this

[59] In the beginning the duels were meant exclusively for the aristocracy when the duel was legalized; it was banned by Peter the Great (see the Military Article 139, chapter 17 of 1715 - http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/articul.htm, accessed 23 of August 2017) and by Ekaterina II until 1894 (the participants were executed and their fortunes confiscated). Later on, from the middle of the 19th century people from other social strata (*raznochintsy*) began dueling. The participants were to be judged, sentenced to death and then imprisoned from 6 to 10 years keeping their titles and fortunes in times of Nicholas I, but in fact the officers deposed of their military ranks were sent to conflict regions in Caucasus, where they could regain their military status. During the 30 years of Nicholas I reign more than

phenomenon in Russian: "In our country everything began by perverting it. The sense of chivalric honour was beaten in with a stick". It was well-known that the Russian duel was merciless, with small distances between the combatants, as if it was just about dying for an honourable (questionable in some cases) affair. And the reason for this may be grounded in Russia's rapid emergence from the Middle Ages informing its ways of dealing with social conflicts. The duel was regarded as a means of making justice, given the fact that people were convinced that the righteous had to win (a reflection of the Russian fatalist worldview where fate – *sud`ba* – would decide on a troublesome matter). During the second half of the 19th century when the duel became available to other social classes, its prestige decreased, as the duel was no longer a means of quantifying honour, becoming more of a "mechanism for resolving all kinds of conflicts, both serious and trivial", giving birth to a new type of dubious hero – *bretteur* – "a special type of reckless duellist, ready to fight at the slightest provocation" (Reyfman 1995, 26).

On the other hand, the affair worth dying for in a duel was not that serious as it may seem at the first glance, and Pushkin's may be symptomatic in this respect, as were, probably, the other, the more or less 29 duels in his life[60]. The first of Pushkin's duels did not actually happen but it is important to mention that its cause was a girl Pushkin was in love with and the duel should have been with his uncle. Another duel that almost happened was with a dear friend of the poet's caused by humorous lines regarding the military life; other duels which did not take place happened during the poet's exile in Moldova due to the fact that he was under house arrest. However, the pretexts for duelling were so ridiculous when it comes to honour that one might be thankful that none of those duels had taken place and the poet died for a more "honourable" cause. Among those who were on Pushkin's duelling list we find important names like Turgenev and Tolstoy, and although not the case with Leo Tolstoy and Ivan Turgenev, it is also worth mentioning that Pushkin and Tolstoy were fortunately reconciled before the supposed duel and Fyodor Tolstoy became his matchmaker later on. The same happened with Nikolai Turgenev, challenged to a duel by Pushkin due to audacious epigrams addressed to the government, a political matter often encountered in the poet's life and not entirely disconnected to his last tragic and personal duel. To conclude with, from the 29 (others mention 26) duels, only five actually took place, only one resulting in a wounded participant, and only one had a deadly end – happening during the one and the same last duel with d'Anthès. In spite of this, Pushkin was regarded as a fierce and frightful duelling opponent, and due to his poetic stature and success, as well as his fame as a good shooter, his duelling history had a legendary dimension. Moreover, as Anna Akhmatova claimed, Pushkin's portrayal begins with the fact that he died in a duel, and this incident in the poet's biography was developed by Yu. Lotman so that the fatal duel is the main example of the way in which incidental episodes may become one's destiny, putting Pushkin's unhappy and inharmonious life in a dignified and meaningful light (Steiner 2011, 47). In this way, we may regard the novel in verse *Eugène Onegin*, a representation of the author's life and character, as well as of the cultural context in a dialogic relation.

The Russian context within the void left after the knights' era, embraced duelling as a natural replacement with a change in function, as some scholars argue, as a new need had to be met concerning matters such as honour and dignity amidst distrust, animosity and conflicts. It is obvious from the above listed pretexts for duelling that this need became, a sort of casual everyday affair as a result of not wanting to deal with conflicts or even of incapacity to solve problems in a non-violent manner. Probably this was the reason for establishing a so-called scale of honour, while duelling, mirrored in the number of steps between the opponents. The greater was the offence, the smaller the distance so that the Russian duel became soon famous due to its brutal nature and deadly end (especially between 1894-1910, as Lotman showed – Lotman 1995, 537).

40 duels among Russian officers were officially reported (Kiernan 1988, 282-283).

[60] Some historians consider the last poet's duel to be at least the 21st (Khodasevich 1997).

Another cultural aspect that may have influenced the nature of duelling in the Russian land is the Russian crave for order and righteousness, for justice and truth, a crave that contributed to a change in the nature of the duel: it was not only a way of clearing the honour, but also as judgment, of establishing the truth and re-installing the right balance. In some researchers' view, notions of truth, righteousness and sense of duty basically characterized the Russians of the 18th-19th century (Platonov 1992, 41-47). Moreover, the very idea of existence was bound to shame, and it might be relevant to bring forth a number of popular Russian sayings and proverbs in this respect: "Shame is the same as death", "Die if you have no shame", "Consciousness has no teeth but it will bite you to death" and many others, whose main idea is "the absence of shame in one's heart meant the moral death" (Platonov 1992, 46). Indeed, starting from these basic traits of the Russian character and perception of values, there was a difference between the typical Russian duel and the ritually correct noble duel. Nevertheless, there were other contradictions concerning duelling in Europe even after establishing a Codex of duelling in 1880.

The core of the duel remained a matter of honour, but with a link to blood, as Dal`s dictionary states it: "honour is a moral inner dignity of a man, honesty, nobility of the soul and clean consciousness"[61], and the inevitable examples from the Russian context are "A man with an unstained honour", "A deed incompatible with honour", "My honour requires blood". The ultimate example from the Russian high society was the duel where Konstantin Chernov challenged the nobleman Vladimir Novosiltsev for his sister's honour on September 10, 1825, and both died. On the other hand, duels not based on the concept of "honour" and with no respect for the rules of duelling (although no coherent duelling system was established in Russia) were nothing less than "ritualized death", void of significance (Lotman 1995, 529, 532). As Lotman revealed, the dual system of controlling the behavior of Russian *dvoryanstvo* of the 18th-beginning of the 19th century was law (with the psychological stimulus of fear of being punished) and honour (with the psychological stimulus of shame). The two elements of the system were in opposition, duelling was a "judiciary (counter-) institution" (Billacois 1986, 7), with dire consequences for participants that did not stop people from settling their issues in this illegal yet honourable manner.

The search for truth and righteousness is one of the traits of the Russian people, mentioned by Yu. Vyunov (Vyunov 1998, 44-58), connected to love for freedom, and, on the other hand, to the hidden and continuous rejection of official rules and values. These contradictory traits are part of what V. Kantor (Kantor 1994, 27-46) considers to be the defining features of the Russian fate – chaos and civilization – an aspect suggested by P. Chaadayev, N. Berdyaev and B. Vysheslavtsev. These aspects may be regarded as important in the wide and general practice of duelling in Russia in spite of the fact that Russians were obedient citizens, which brings us to another Russian feature highlighted by Freud – "affair with a consciousness" (Freud 1990, 168) – a feature discussed in Dostoevsky's writings, where repentance seems to be a "technical mechanism, clearing the way for other murders", as in the case of Ivan the Terrible (Grădinaru 2009, 379-383).

The history of the Russian duel includes, as Ya. Gordin points out (Gordin 1997, 134-136, 203-205), the dramatic transformation of a *dvoryanin* from a *gosudar's* slave into a man, eager to pay with his life for his dignity. The same author mentions the shift in the mentality brought about by *raznochinets-radikal* in the cultural space, rejecting the norms and principles of the *dvoryanins'* morality, fact which led to the decreasing role in prestige and number of the duels. The choice of *Eugene Onegin* as symptomatic for the subject of duelling may be supported by the fact that the novel in verse was described by V. Belinsky as an "encyclopaedia of the Russian life", different from other Pushkin's writings due to its

[61] Translation from Russian - http://slovardalja.net/word.php?wordid=43009, accessed 23 of August 2017.

typical, realistic character (Gukovsky 1957, 140). In this line of thought, Yu. Lotman introduced the concept of *bytopisanie* (description of everyday life) referring to Pushkin's novel in verse (Lotman 1995, 490-491).

The Russian Duel – Between Poetry and Reality. The Literary Representation of the Duel

The different hypostases of duelling were depicted in Russian literature, and one of the first literary works dealing with duels was N. I. Strakhov's work *Perepiska mody* (1791), followed by the works of A. A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, A. S. Pushkin, A. P. Chekhov, A. I. Kuprin, all of them capturing the social and cultural elements of the duel. They range from idealistic and satirical approaches to negative examples such as the case of Pushkin's stories *The Shot* and *Captain's Daughter* and his novel in verse *Eugène Onegin*. The social changes when it comes to taking up the practice of duelling by other social strata other than the aristocracy are represented in literature along with the new attitudes towards values such as honour and personal dignity. The so-called ideology of honour was thus eluded, which led to an incomplete system of solving various daily matters, ranging from self-esteem to wealth.

In A. Pushkin's *The Shot* the main character is in search for a pretext to fight in order to establish his superiority in the army, while his rich opponent is eating cherries during the duel to prove his detachment from this life-or-death affair. In *Captain's Daughter* the duel is depicted ironically from the epigraph to the chapter to Grinev's humorous discussion with the second, which looks like a parody of a duel, more like a representation of an ordinary social event. The author captures the cultural shift and the difference between generations and attitudes – Grinev is the representative of the new generation with a heroic (and almost humorous) attitude towards honour as an intrinsic attribute of the daily life of the middle class (*dvoryanstvo*), while his future second, Ivan Ignatich, regards the commonsensical duel, not bring judgmental, only aimed at boosting the self-esteem of the participants. Ivan is an old soldier (having been involved in the Swedish and Turkish wars) and a duel fought between two Russians seems pointless and unjust, Ivan being incapable of grasping the meaning of the duel, as it was not part of the military norms and practices. Grinev himself may have been incapable of explaining the difference between a military battle and a duel, but being a man of a different structure and education, he feels that it is a right decision, and also experiences an unexplainable attraction to the idea.

Another aspect is referred to by Pushkin in the same story: the difference between the unclear, idealistic perception of a provincial man (Grinev) and the cynicism of a capitalist (Shvabrin), according to whom it is important to kill the opponent regardless of the rules of honour. Duelling with no seconds is Shvabrin's idea, which is not according to the rules, but it is not the result of a cold-blooded plan, only the result of the less fixed duelling codex. The lack of seconds allows Shvabrin to act in a dishonourable manner which leads to a tragedy.

Aleksandr Pushkin's *Eugène Onegin* is considered a masterpiece not only due to the change in the author's realistic perspective, but also due to what Lotman called "realistic irony" (linked to another Lotman's concept used for Pushkin's biography – "contingency"; Steiner 2011, 40). Eugène Onegin, the main hero from the renowned Pushkin's novel in verse, is not concerned with superiority, being aware of the flimsiness of the pretext received from the young romantic figure of Vladimir Lensky. Nevertheless, Onegin is supposed to accept the challenge according to the principles of aristocracy, being afraid of gossips and accepting what he despises. The "trigger of honour" plays the role of a false stimulus, being one step away before the inevitable murder of a friend.[62]

The two characters – Onegin and Lensky – are opposite, Onegin being the realist with no traits of a dreamer ("[Onegin] he was leading/ a hermit's life"

[62] "Could they not speak and smile again/ Before blood left its scarlet stain,/ Part in kindness, giving quarter? …/ But the world's scornful expectation/ Breeds fear of reconciliation." Book 6:28 - Here and from now on from http://lib.ru/LITRA/PUSHKIN/ENGLISH/onegin_j.txt

Book 4:37; "Onegin's life, you see, was holy" Book 4:39), and Lensky a romantic poet with the tendency of idealizing reality ("my wretched Lensky in his heart/ was just created for the part" Book 4:50), which was, according to contemporaries, a new type of character in the Russian society. Lensky lived in a mere imaginary ideal world, and in Onegin's attempt to joke about his poem he saw betrayal and offence. Then Onegin's desire to get revenge by paying court to Lensky's beloved girl, Olga at a ball[63] results in a duel and in Lensky's death[64], earlier sung in his gloomy romantic verses[65]. The details of this duel are considered a perfection from the artistic point of view and are the subject to many interpretations. Onegin and Zaretsky[66] trespass the rules of duelling – Onegin demonstrates thus his despise for the event, while Zaretsky considers the duel a funny and sometimes bloody event, the object of gossips and farces. In this novel in verse Zaretsky was the only one to organize the duel[67], controlling everything and ignoring vital aspects that could have prevented the bloodshed[68] despite being a bearer of duelling traditions and a judge in matters of honour (Lotman 1995, 532). During the first meeting between Onegin and Zaretsky there's no discussion about the possibility of reconciliation, as Zaretsky being in a hurry. However his first obligation was to attempt reconciliation[69], as it was not the question of a deadly offence, and only Lensky was the one not to grasp the idea of a misunderstanding. Onegin was "far from happy with his role" (Book 6:9), and meditating on his act "in secret judgment… he found too much that he regretted" (Book 6:10), as he should have been "the man of honour and of sense." (Book 6:10). Instead of reconciliation, Onegin is afraid of the public opinion, given the involvement of an old duellist (Zaretsky)[70]. It is obvious that the trigger is the idea of honour in the eyes of the societies, the young poet's life being secondary in this ridiculous duel.

There was another moment when Zaretsky could have stopped the duel – when Onegin showed up with a servant as a second[71], this being considered a direct offence and a disrespect for the rules. Besides, the seconds should have met earlier in order to discuss the details of the duel, and they were supposed to be socially equal. Zaretsky had all the motives to call off the duel, as Onegin was late for more than an hour, while the duel codex said that a disputant is not to be awaited for more than fifteen minutes, the seconds being only expected to write a protocol. From this point of view, Zaretsky behaved as if being only interested in maximizing the scandalous ending of the duel, not in respecting the rules of duelling. The way the duel between the two friends is depicted resulted in various discussions and opposite opinions, even V. Nabokov and Yu. Lotman have different arguments concerning Onegin's motif and intention to kill or not to kill Lensky. Lotman considers that Pushkin had the intention of making Onegin an innocent/unwilling killer (*ubiytsa ponevole*) taking into account the details and staging of the duel. Thus, Onegin shot first

[63] "[He] looked down in an access of hate,/ pouted, and swore in furious passion/ to wreak, by stirring Lensky's ire,/ the best revenge one could desire" Book 5:31

[64] "He [Lensky] finds the shock beyond all bearing:/ so, cursing women's devious course,/ he leaves the house, calls for his horse/ and gallops. Pistols made for pairing/ and just a double charge of shot/ will in a flash decide his lot..." Book 5:45

[65] "…The morning star will soon be shining,/ and soon will day's bright tune be played;/ but I perhaps will be declining/ into the tomb's mysterious shade;/ the trail the youthful poet followed/ by sluggish Lethe may be swallowed,/ and I be by the world forgot; …" Book 6:22

[66] "Zaretsky, sometimes king of brawls/ and hetman of the gambling-halls,/ arch-rake, pothouse tribune-persona,/ but now grown plain and kind in stead,/ paterfamilias (unwed) ...." Book 6:4;

[67] "In duels a pedantic don,/ methodical by disposition,/ a classicist, he'll not allow/ that one be shot just anyhow -/ only by rule, and strict tradition/ inherited from earlier days/ (for which he must receive due praise)." Book 6:26

[68] "But he could cleverly start a quarrel,/ Reply both archly and sincerely,/ At times be silent most urbanely,/ At others skilfully promote a squabble,/ Or set two friends to hate each other,/ And lead them to the duel as a brother;" Book 6:7

[69] "Or he [Zaretsky] knew how to reconcile them/ so that all three went off to lunch,/ then later slyly he'd revile them/ with lies and jokes that packed a punch/ …" Book 6:9

[70] "Public opinion – here's our idol,/ the spring of honour, and the pin/ on which the world is doomed to spin." Book 6:11.

[71] "Zaretsky bit his lip." Book 6:27

before reaching the barrier, with no intention to kill his friend, given that not aiming at his disputant would have been considered another offence and the duel would have started anew (Lotman 1995, 535-536; Hertzen 1956, 7:206). However, an aspect that R. Jakobson pointed out (Jakobson 1975) and mentioned by Lotman as well was that once on the shooting ground, the disputants had no longer a will of their own, being trapped in the event, its thrill, and their instincts.

As for the consequences of Onegin's duel, it seems that the duel was not reported and the involved parties escaped trial, Lensky apparently not being buried in the graveyard being considered a suicide (Book 6: 40-41). Speaking of Onegin's inner state, books 7-8 describe it fully.

Form these literary works the duel appears as a punishment, revenge, a self-esteem marker, or a fight for justice and not a matter of re-establishing honour. These are the facets of duelling explored by Pushkin within the Russian mentality and socio-cultural context, where the duel was considered either a foreign affair to the Russian people, or a necessary manner for clearing the honour or re-establishing righteousness and truth, obtaining the craved balance on earth during one's lifetime.

Pushkin's Last Duel

The previously discussed aspects of Pushkin's writings are indicative to his nuanced attitude towards duel in general and especially towards "illegal", non-canonical duels, opening the door for murders covered in ambivalent terminology. Such possibilities were a Russian reality, especially in the case of remote (not only military) communities.

Moreover, Pushkin was himself was a prisoner of the same social prejudices and was acting accordingly, in order to meet the social expectations, apart from a fiery and passionate temperament that got him involved in so many duel stories. As his contemporaries and friends observed, he himself disregarded the duel codex and had a dishonourable attitude towards duelling rituals, claiming that the result was important. Whether he referred to the honourable ending of the duel or to the result itself (in a physical sense), may remain an unsolved issue. On the other hand, according to some biographers, the poet may have put forth the specificity of the Russian duel and a certain pride in its harshness or cruelty by focusing on results, as compared to the French politeness in offering the offended party the opportunity to clear the honour in a symbolical manner, socially speaking, by only being involved in a duel with no actual wounds or deaths.

As in the case of Onegin's motivation for duelling with his friend, there are multiple contradictory theories regarding Pushkin's last duel and its real reasons. The general opinion and the mainstream biographers focus on the poet's private life and on the offensive and almost harassing courtship a Frenchman named Georges d'Anthès paid to Pushkin's wife, the beautiful Natalia Goncharova, pregnant with poet's fourth child in that period. D'Anthès was Jacob van Heeckeren's adoptive son[72]. While the alleged courtship may have been disturbing, other biographers pretend that Natalia was dear to the Tsar's as well, fact that almost brought venerable Pushkin the shameful title of *kamerjunker* so that his wife may participate in balls and other forms of entertainment the Russian aristocracy were enjoying. The poet was also kept busy with his literary work and the literary magazine *Sovremennik*, refused to him before his marriage, due to his involvement with literary radicals (*dekabristy*, most of them sent to exile), fact that led to several years of exile for Pushkin as well (in Caucasus, Crimea, Moldova and then Ukraine). The Tsar's affections were regarded mildly, and therefore Pushkin's favours from the court may have been considered the payment for his future deceived husband status, as N. Petrakov points out in his book (Petrakov 2003). Analysing the letters between Pushkin and his wife, especially from 1834, it may be concluded that the

[72] The Dutch Baron Heeckeren enjoyed this Frenchman's company so much that he asked Georges' father to become his adoptive father, and a couple of years later it became clear that the procedure wasn't possible with a young man of that age. But until then d'Anthès was considered Heeckeren's adoptive son and treated according to the aristocratic etiquette. On the other hand, based on Serena Vitale's study on the letters between the adoptive father and his heir, there might have been a much stronger connection between the two than filial feelings.

poet was dissatisfied with his new position and his wife's new active social life (acting as chaperon for her sisters), expressing the desire of retiring and going away with the family. It was either a complicated love triangle or the poet's involvement with the radicals that became rather inconvenient; the result was the well-known tragic and almost glorious death of a great poet.

The machinations and the gossips may have been a terrible burden to the poet, so that he decided to put an end to the horrible situation being determined to settle it in a duel. Taking into account the two biographic viewpoints the question is whom he had or might challenge? It is certain that the Tsar was far above such a practice, the idea itself being absurd and impossible. D'Anthès, on the other hand, was available and eager to attract some attention to his status, but from unclear reasons the duel was delayed, and it seems that this was due to Georges' adoptive father intervention. The duel was necessary for Pushkin also because of its possible victimless end and a trial, he would have been sent away with his family. A fact not favoured by his wife (or either the Tsar or the alleged French lover). In this line of thought, the history of the following cancelled duels between Pushkin and d'Anthès makes sense.

During the same year Pushkin received the title of "The Most Serene Order of Cuckolds"[73], referring to a similar position held by Dmitry Naryshkin, Maria Naryshkina's husband (Maria was the mistress of Tsar Alexander I). The logical implications are not difficult to imagine (although the real nature of the relations between Nicholas I and Natalia were difficult to prove – see Raevsky 1978, 299), and the fact that the paper seemed to be published in a foreign printing house (Kunin 1988, 310) added another reason for an inevitable duel in 1836 autumn. Petrakov supports the idea that Pushkin had planned on getting an audience with the Tsar and to deflect the Tsar's intentions regarding Natalia, but the poet's intentions were not successful. Consequently an unavoidable duel with the Tsar's substitute became the only solution (Petrakov 2003).

Surprisingly, the young Frenchman pretended to be in love with Ekaterina, Natalia's sister and being around Natalia was only a way to get closer to her sister, a reasonable claim since the two got married. On the other hand, the Tsar's daughter wrote, in her published diary, that Nicholas I forced d'Anthès into this marriage (Andronikov 1973, 219; Yashyn 1963, 159-184 and Kozarovetsky 2012). Nevertheless, he continued courting Natalia and the month of November 1836 brought another duel challenge from Pushkin. The marriage between Natalia's sister, Ekaterina, and Georges d'Anthès took place on January, 10, 1837, while the last challenge to a duel took place on January, 25, The deadly duel took place on January, 27. A number of A. S. Pushkin's biographers claim that secret meetings between the Tsar and the poet had taken place after each duelling challenge, and the result was that the duels were cancelled except for the last one, for which Pushkin was granted forgiveness by Nicholas I, in a letter that he received on his death bed.

There are other speculations regarding the reason for the second duel between Pushkin and d'Anthès, namely that Pushkin was madly in love with Alexandrine, his wife's sister, considered by some the poet's secret love. Jealousy on his wife would not be the cause of this duel in this case, but her sister; and the reason for the duel being that after their' wedding, Alexandrine and d'Anthès wanted to leave with him and her sister Ekaterina, a fact that may have been regarded as a spiritual betrayal by Pushkin. Nevertheless, this theory has little conclusive evidence for supporting it.

Ironically, the duel might have been stopped, as in Onegin's case, but Pushkin made sure that no information on this matter would reach the Tsar's ears, and he came up with his second d'Anzas[74] right before the duel and pretending that it was an urgent and spontaneous matter. In this way, the rules of duelling were not respected, as the two seconds were not able to discuss the details before, and the

[73] Or "Deputy Grand Master and Historiographer of the Order of Cuckolds".

[74] D'Anzas was judged due to the fact that he hadn't informed the authorities about the duel, and the fact that he was involved in this accidentally and not on purpose. Withholding information brought him a light punishment.

reconciliation between the two participants was also impossible. As *pushkinist* Galina Sedova shows, d'Anthès second, d'Archiak, managed to reconcile the two opponents in November, and Pushkin was avoiding him so that the duel would take place. Moreover, during the Soviet times, the duel was presented more as a matter of cultural practice than something caused by domestic complications (Kennicott 2012), At the same time, A. S. Khomyakov talked about the tragic connection of Pushkin's duel to Onegin's duel – as being a "lame repetition of Onegin and Lensky, pathetic and much too early end" (Khomyakov in *Pushkin* 1974, 2: 201).

As another *pushkinist* suggests, Natalia was Pushkin's type of woman – embodiment of Tatiana Larina - and her spiritual betrayal (as in Tatiana's case in *Eugène Onegin*) was impossible to bear for the poet, while the physical loyalty was of no importance (Fridkin 1994). Serena Vitale also stated that, from d'Anthès' letters to his adoptive father, nothing else than Natalia's platonic love can be deduced (Vitale 1999), aspect that leaves the Tsar out of this triangle. Other contemporaries highlighted the fact that "in d'Anthès' Pushkin searched for death" (*Pushkin* 1974, 2: 302) and not only from personal reasons, as others suggest. Pushkin's ideals and ideological views were in contrast with those of the Russian aristocracy, and especially to the cosmopolite family of Nesselrode, which supposedly had the poet exiled during Tsar Alexander's rule which also influence Tsar Nicolas I. Thus, from this perspective, the social and political triangle would be made of the poet, his wife and the Tsar as representatives of aristocracy. The same conflicting relationship between the poet and the Russian aristocracy is to be found in M. Lermontov's case, as Lotman considered that for the young poet the aristocracy was a locus of crime (Lotman 1995, 535). This was probably the case of Pushkin as well, both poets despising the morals and the intrigues, operating as detectives undercover to expose their weaknesses and flaws (Onegin uncovers Tatiana's love and her inability to act beyond the social borders of her marriage – see Smith 2006, 147).

During this final duel for the great Russian poet, the distance was of seven meters, a distance set according to the offence involved. As a result, Pushkin was shot through the spleen, while his disputant had his arm shot. Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin died two days later, on January, 29, 1837. If many questions are answered via Petrakov's interpretation of the events, the last question arising is why was it necessary to set up such deadly conditions for this duel if the disputant was not the actual target of the poet? Was Pushkin that confident in his duelling capacity or was it a way of punishing his wife, even at such a great price? Was it a manner of proving his moral superiority to the Tsar and to the whole of Russian aristocracy with its intrigues and moral superficiality?

Other questions come up if we focus on d'Anthès and his exile from Russia, as well as his prosperous career in France as a politician. Was it a real punishment, especially if we take into account the theory that he had been the Tsar's loyal servant in this complicated matter? Was the poet's honour or his wife's honour restored due to this duel?

Some questions may have answers in the light of the Russian context and mentality, and even from the understanding of the matter of honour as seen in Pushkin's writings. One year before the duel he wrote to Repnin: "As *dvorjanin* and father of the family, I have to respect my honour and my name that I leave to my children" (*Pushkin* 1974, 2: 482). And even if this death may seem pointless nowadays, even if being a "prisoner of honour" (*nevol`nik chesti*)[75], duelling death cannot be regarded as pointless merely because its strength, reason and scope was related to honour.

Not Only Literary Consequences

The immediate consequences consisted in the poet's forgiveness by the Tsar and his family being taken care of by the Tsar, the debts being paid, while the entire family moved away from the court. Natalia got married only seven years later, giving birth to

[75] From M. Lermontov's poem regarding Pushkin's tragic destiny, which Lermontov, unfortunately, repeated later.

three daughters. D'Anthès was banished from Russia and became a politician in France. His third daughter was placed in a hospital of mental illnesses due to her alleged unhealthy interest in her uncle A. S. Pushkin, where she died.

The social and cultural perception of Pushkin's last duel has taken various nuances, while the honourable matter remained overshadowed by his tragic death. We may speak about a wide range of literary reactions – from the (sometimes exaggerated) artisticization and culturalization of the poet's death to irony and the parody of duelling. The duel became a literary motif, and all the nuances and social, cultural attitudes toward duelling were explored by Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Lermontov, Chekhov, Sologub, Nabokov, Bitov, and Kuprin. The duel as a farce and nonsense appears both in Turgenev's and L. Tolstoy's literary works, while the death of the Russian duel is depicted in Turgenev's *Duel*.

We may speak about a duelling tradition in the Russian literature, a motif important enough to gain prominence in V. Nabokov's literary universe. The sense of loss in Nabokov's literature is not only due to the loss of the native country, but also to the loss of his father in a context reminding the duel, as honour and dignity in the pure Russian perspective. The motif of the lost father and the lost literary master and authority in matters of honour – Pushkin – in similar contexts are exposed in Nabokov's last novel written in Russian *Gift* (*Dar*) –his masterpiece.

The poet's death became the obsession of the age, and various theories concerning the causes of this duel continued to appear even during the Soviet period, when the aspect of the sexual scandal was silenced. The idea of a conspiracy against the (not so convenient) poet and his radical actions was presented both in 1959 in the Soviet press and in 1963 in the French media. There is also a recent theory of the replaced pistols in order to demonstrate the conspiracy against Aleksandr Pushkin. That the Tsar wasn't interested in interrupting this duel was also clear, especially, as some historians claim, after his last meeting with the poet but whether or not other interests were involved apart from the personal ones remains an undisclosed mystery.

Among other cultural consequences of the poet's destiny, we can mention the museums dedicated to him in Moscow, Saint Petersburg and a complex museum in Mikhaylovskoye, many statues and monuments, as well as an impressive musical legacy (P. Tchaikovsky's operas *Eugene Onegin* and *The Queen of Spades*, M. Glinka's *Ruslan and Ludmila*, M. Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, and the list may go on), feature films, documentaries and film adaptations, starting with the short film *Pushkin's Life and Death* (1910), going to the Russian TV series *Pushkin: The Last Duel* (2006), from Soviet film adaptations like *Evgeny Onegin* (1958) to the British-American adaptation *Onegin* (1999).

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SENSE OR SENSIBILITY: EMOTIONS BETWEEN PRACTICE AND INTIMATE EXPRESSION IN 19TH CENTURY ROMANIAN SOCIETY

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***Abstract**: One could get a glimpse of the daily life of Bucharest high society and bourgeoisie by visiting the first anthropological museum in Bucharest, found in the Filipescu-Cesianu House. With this in mind, our research aims to discuss the cultural shift concerning the manifestation and expression of personal emotions in Romanian society during the second half of the 19th century.*
It is a well-known fact that throughout the 19th century the Romanian provinces took a significant cultural turn, importing different western items and customs, including behavioural norms. This led to interesting transformations in how individuals related to their emotions or thoughts, and how modern Romanian society shaped how they were expressed. The main emphasis of our paper will be analysing how emotions became practices in various manuals for proper manners, how they were expressed in personal journals and whether this shift towards an intimate expression of feelings can be attributed to Western customs.

***Keywords:** Romanian modern society, feelings, sensibilities, cultural paradigm, expressing emotions*

On Emotions and the Meaning of a Cultural History of Emotions and Sensibilities

Cultural practices and guidelines governing the life of an individual, or even an entire society have been around since Ancient times. Gestures, behaviour and emotions have been closely analysed and enclosed in manuals to be given as an example of how a good member of society should behave or feel.

Building on Lucien Febvre's call for a history concerning sensibilities (Febvre, 1941) some twenty years later, Robert Mandrou advocates the need to further explore a history of individual or collective feelings and sensibilities while discussing various works that made use of this type of history (Mandrou, 1959). Consequently, long before Alain Corbin (Corbin, 1982) published his work, the foundation for a history of feelings and sensibilities had already been set.

When it comes to research concerning this type of cultural history in Romania, one could refer to the works published by Lucia Terzea-Ofrim (Terzea-Ofrim, 2002) on emotions in Romanian traditional society, the 2002 issue of the *Xenopoliana Review*, under the coordination of Andi Mihalache, the study published by Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu on fraternal conflicting relations viewed through judiciary archives (Vintilă-Ghițulescu, 2013) and so on.

Before initiating our discussion on what emotions are and before analysing their uses and expressions in Romanian 19th century society, we would like to expand on what the cultural history of emotions is. Some researchers view this branch of cultural history as a history of representations using the concept of Pascal Ory. Of course, the concept of representation is not limited to the visual, it involves the usage of our senses and the intensity of emotions and how they determine or influence the way individuals or groups perceive and represent their surrounding environment. To conclude, a cultural history of emotions would entail the use of emotions and feelings to perceive and represent one's surrounding world.

Philosophers Paul E. Griffiths and Andrea Scarantino have stated that emotions are: "1. Designed to function in a social context…. 2. Forms of skilful engagement with the world that need to be mediated by conceptual thought; 3. Scaffolded by the environment, both synchronically, in the unfolding of a particular emotional performance, and diachronically, in the acquisition of an emotional repertoire; 4. Dynamically coupled to an environment that both influences and is influenced by the unfolding of an emotion" (Griffiths and Sarantino, 2005).

This approach would, of course, surmise the fact that emotions are historically, culturally, and socially shaped and determined. In addition, it would make good use of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *practice* for discussing emotions. They are something that is learned – developed on either an individual

level, or a collective one – not only through the social norms imposed at a certain time and in a specific society, but as skills acquired even as a new-born from his or her family.

Such logic eliminates the ingrained concept of spontaneity of emotional reactions or feelings by seeing emotions as environment-oriented responses. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that everything we feel or express follows a conscious strategy. On the contrary, Monique Scheer emphasizes that we are often guided by "embodied memories of past coping strategies, habits following the logic of everyday practice" (Scheer, 2012a).

Another important issue regarding emotions or sensibilities is whether they are culturally determined and localized or universal in nature and whether they can cross national and cultural borders. Herman W. Smith attempted to answer these questions in his 2002 paper, presented at the International Sociological Association Congress in Brisbane. The work concluded that emotions and sensibilities are culturally circumscribed, but have the ability to cross borders and find equivalents or be adopted in another culture's emotional make-up.

Our paper's starting point is the study published by Monique Sheer in the 2012 number of *History and Theory.* Stemming from Bourdieu's concept of *habitus,* Monique Scheer states that "the body is not a static, timeless, universal foundation that produces ahistorical emotional arousal" (Scheer, 2012b). Scheer considers emotions to be socially and culturally conditioned, with the ability to adapt and be trained, thereby allowing them to be assimilated with cultural and social practice. In this sense, her study identifies four types of emotional practices: mobilizing, naming, communicating, and regulating emotion (Scheer, 2012c).

According to Monique Scheer, an analysis of emotions as practices in historical sources is dependent on discussing and researching everyday activities: speaking, gesturing, remembering, manipulating objects, and perceiving sounds, smells, and spaces. Moreover, these activities are what Scheer nominates as emotional practices. Emotions go beyond the mere cognitive, physical, or psychological expression, and become *a priori* gains. "Emotional practices are habits, rituals, and everyday pastimes that aid us in achieving a certain emotional state." (Scheer, 2012d)

We are able to alter our emotions or conjure them by having certain items of memorabilia as auxiliaries. Alternatively, when a certain emotion becomes undesirable, we can use various external or internal manipulations to change it. We can feel something and express another thing entirely, either because we are forced by a particular social setting, or because of other personal reasons. Writing a personal memoir does not necessarily signify that it is an objective record of one's life, but means that we can choose how we wish to document life and, especially, how to remember it.

Writing in a diary or starting a journal falls into the naming type part of emotional practice. "The formulation of thought is different when one is moving a pen across paper or typing on a keyboard as opposed to when one is speaking. Writing for oneself, as in a diary, while sitting alone has interiorizing effects, whereas speaking out loud while in view of a dialogue partner has an exteriorizing one." (Scheer, 2012e)

Nevertheless, if the writer is aware or intends to publish those thoughts, how would it affect this dynamic? The first thing that comes to mind is the fact that self-censorship comes into play. The awareness that someone else will gain access to one's most intimate thoughts and emotions is going to determine the level of intimacy featured by the memoir. In addition, I would add that the writer has a tool at its disposal to paint a self-portrait of his or her own design and convey a carefully planned image.

Putting pen to paper facilitates the conscious naming and acting of various emotions or sensibilities. This, in turn, means that through naming them, emotions become typified, and localised in specific parts of the body. Of course, attributing certain emotions to particular parts of the body does not signify that their physical manifestation is the basis of that emotion. Nor the cognitive, for that matter.

Using Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, we can view emotions as the products of a socially and culturally trained body activating a set of inborn and acquired socially generated narrative. Following this logic, emotions only gain and have meaning in a certain social and cultural milieu. Additionally, their significance and impact varies depending on the bodily manifestation.

"The cultivation of a boundary between the inner and outer is achieved in a whole set of complex practices around the notion of sincerity, whose cultural variations have frequently been commented on." (Scheer, 2012f) The title I have chosen for this work suggests that writing about emotions and sensibilities means to disseminate between emotions expressed in public and those that find manifestations in various personal memoirs written by members of Romanian high society. Thus, the study aims to outline the various instances and conventions used to exude and express emotions and sensibilities in a more intimate and secluded medium: memoirs. Writing in a diary has the aura of a personal and somewhat intimate space for manifesting one's most

private and hidden thoughts and impressions.

However, it is only an apparent intimacy if we take into account that the 19th century witnessed a rise in the publication of personal memoirs and impressions. This phenomenon was, mostly, due to the success of the many travel accounts. As I mentioned before, the author's realization that his or her thoughts would eventually become public produced changes in the manner they wrote.

Whether expressed in written form or via bodily manifestations and other mediums, emotions were not only acquired through a social context, but, also, by means of a certain *éducation sentimentale*. As discussed in the introduction, behavioural norms used throughout the centuries always included rules regarding the "dos" and "don'ts" of emotional expressions.

The influence of Romantic literature, which emphasized the use and expression of powerful emotions (see the case of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*), was one of the factors that conditioned the expression of such emotions in personal memoirs. In addition, the language and the terms used to help visualise these emotions are important to keep in mind. Going from simple expressions in the manner of `I am sad` to using all sorts of figures of speech in order to convey a certain feeling, these types of writings are also integrated into various literary trends. Similar to visual representations, literary ones have to make use of certain conventions of representation in order to render the necessary imagery associated with that certain emotion or feeling.

Another matter I wish to address is that of cultural contamination when it comes to a shift in cultural paradigm. I mentioned Herman W. Smith's paper earlier because when it comes to the Romanian provinces, the custom of writing a diary or a personal memoir is a consequence of westernization, a habit that only appeared in the first decades of the 19th century.

Batja Mesquita and Asleigh Haire 2004 study takes on a psychological turn, stating that research has proven the universal character of some emotions based on vocal and facial expressions (Mesquita, Haire, 2004a). However, the paper's emphasis on this universality does not exclude the cultural differences in one's ability to recognize emotions of other cultures. The study identifies the benefits in understanding how an individual's emotional response relies on cultural and social markers.

It is quite significant to stress that, in spite of the existence of this culturally and socially predetermined emotional response, each individual has different emotional experiences. Knowing the cultural and social make-up of someone does not constitute a recipe for predicting one's emotions or sensibilities.

Writing in the First person: Romanian 19th Century Journals

Having mentioned the normating role of various manuals of good behaviour and manners, I consider it is important to mention that, when it comes to the Romanian countries, their existence is more fickle than in Western Europe.

In the Romanian countries, the rules concerning what was considered proper and the customs used in social interactions were mostly transmitted orally. The 18th century witnessed a rise in books published on the subject of what were the duties of a good Christian. One can notice that, even in the first half of the 19th century, religious norms played an important part in regulating emotions and behaviour, as seen in a Simeon Marcovici book, *Datoria omului creștin* (1839) [*The duty of the Christian man*].

The process of westernization in the Romanian countries brought also an entire corpus of social norms alongside the habit of writing journals or personal accounts. Literary critic Antoaneta Tănăsescu even states that before 1850, behavioural norms consisted of an insignificant contribution in Romanian publications (Tănăsescu, 2001).

A simple overview of these types of publications, examining the years they were published, would lead to the conclusion that they were products of western culture: N. Filipescu-Dubău, *Codul uzanțelor bunei societăți sau arta de a se purta plăcut în societate* (1884) [*The Code of Norms of Good Society or the Art of Behaving Pleasantly in Society*], Iosif Ioan Ardeleanu, *Eticheta. Studiul social prelucrat dupre autori străini cu luarea în considerațiune a împrejurărilor noastre sociale* [*Etiquette. Social Study Modelled after Foreign Authors Taking into Consideration Our Social Milieu*] (1889), Alina G., *Buna cuviință. Cum să se poarte omul în toate ocaziile vieței. Prelucrare după Contesa de Gencé, doamna Raymond, Baroana de Staffe etc. și conformă obiceiurilor noastre* (1908) [*Good manners. How Man Must Behave in All Circumstances. Adaptation after Countess of Gencé, Madam Raymond, Baroness of Staffe etc. and conforming to our customs*], and so on. One could not help but notice that most are published in the late 19th century and beginning of the 20th. Moreover, some of them defer in their titles to their western counterparts, using foreign models and adapting them for Romanian society.

The emotional practices considered an example of good social etiquette were then obvious,

as stated in N. Filipescu-Dubău's book: "That which flatters us in the manners and conversations of those of good standing, making them pleasant, is politeness or delicacy. It contains the wondrous qualities through which we procure pleasure and contentment, sweeten customs, remove whatever irritates us and put an end to oafish behaviours, gaining the love of our superiors, the affection of our equals, and the respect of those inferior to us." (Filipescu-Dubău, 1884)

Hence, on the matter of emotional practices in the 19th century Romanian society, on one hand there is an increasing number of imposed behavioural norms. On the other, personal accounts take on this task of regulating and expressing emotions.

Some researchers have concluded that the first ever written memoirs belong to politicians who were part of the 1848 Revolution. However, they have overlooked the travel account published by Nicolae Milescu (1636-1708), a boyar who was the ceremonial sword bearer (in Romanian *spătar*), about his journey in Orient all the way to China. They, also, overlooked Elena Hartulari's memoirs, written between 1810 and 1830, and published in 1926.

There is a consensus that Romantic literature had an influence over the chronological evolution of memoirs in the Romanian lands. Moreover, researchers have named members of the Romantic 1848 generation among the first authors to pen this kind of literature. These following names are often mentioned as being among the first authors to delve into this less-explored literary category: the liberal politician C.A. Rosetti (1816-1885) with *My Journal (Jurnalul meu),* Iacob Negruzzi (1842-1932) with *Memories from `Junimea` (Aminitiri de la „Junimea"),* and Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917), and his *Daily Recordings (Însemnări zilnice).*

These first attempts in writing about oneself and personal experiences always rely on evocation from memory. These memoirs transcribe their author's subjective interpretation and remembrance of a specific person or event. Additionally, the events are always represented within a certain context, therefore bearing witness to historical events and following a retrospective view on occurrences.

Before it took on the form of a whole corpus of text, Romanian first-person literature included various exchanged letters published by their authors, such as: Ion Ghica (1816-1897) with his *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri* [*Letters to Vasile Alecsandri]* or Costache Negruzzi (1808-1868), and his *Negru pe alb. Scrisori la un prieten [Black on white. Letters to a friend]*. This version of writing about one's personal thoughts and emotions was widespread among members of the Romanian high society over the interval between the 16th and 18th century, becoming more apparent over the 19th century.

These two forms of personal writings mentioned co-exist in the 19th century and throughout the 20th century.

In order to examine how emotions and sensibilities were formulated and expressed in Romanian society, I have chosen the personal memoirs written by Elena Hartulari and Iacob Negruzzi. They are both representatives of middle and high classes and their gender is significant in the process of manifesting emotions. The fact that the authors are part of the higher classes is also important to be aware of, in a society where the rate of alphabetization was quite low. Therefore, the ones who were able to conceive such literary works were quite few.

The Eternal Question: How Do Men Express Feelings?

I will start the discussion with Iacob Negruzzi's memoir. 19th century society had clear and strict definitions when it came to social roles fulfilled by men and women alike. Starting with the type of education they received, and extending to the professions they were meant to perform, the distinctions between genders were obvious. Even more so in Romanian society, which had a tendency to be even more conservative.

Son of Costache Negruzzi, Iacob was a true man of 19th century social scene, especially fit for Romanian society. In an era of nation building, men were called upon to take on numerous roles. And so, Iacob Negruzzi was a writer, a literary critic, a politician, a playwright, member of the literary society *Junimea*, and president of the newly founded Romanian Academy. He published his memoirs in two separate volumes: *Din copilărie. Aduceri aminte și impresiuni [Childhood. Memories and Impressions]* and *Amintiri din `Junimea` [Memories from 'Junimea']*.

Iacob Negruzzi began to write *Amintiri din `Junimea`* in 1889, but decided to publish them much later, between 1921 and 1923[76]. This signifies that Negruzzi operated several alterations and decided how much he wanted to share from his private life and thoughts. Using the text as a medium, he didn't just

[76] I wish to stress that this study uses the 2011 edition, published by Humanitas Publishing House, and edited by literary critic Ioana Pârvulescu.

paint his self-portrait, but also his peers' portraits.

Using his memoirs, Negruzzi took on the task of recording the cultural atmosphere in Iași/Jassy and the beginnings of *Junimea*, a society that wanted to facilitate the organic development of Romanian literature. In this way, his personal thoughts and emotions became entangled within the web of a much larger context. Through his highly subjective lens, the reader is given the opportunity to grasp what taking part in Jassy's cultural ambience meant.

I mentioned earlier *The Sorrows of Young Werther* as an example of men having and expressing emotions and sensibilities just as powerful as women's. As a consequence, even in their travel accounts, male authors have used emotions in order to convey their chosen message. One could pick up on a certain sentimental and Romantic approach among the features of travel journals from the first half of the 19th century. Everything the author encounters or perceives with his or her senses is being recorded in written form with the assistance of many figures of speech.

It would be significant to underline that feelings constituted a key point in 19th century nationalist rhetoric. By analysing different speeches given by various political figures, one can notice that feelings were manifested and conjured up to achieve a higher goal. These discourses had a specific purpose: to raise awareness about the importance of an independent and unified state and to mobilize the general population. To conclude, expressing emotions via literary mediums becomes a practice and a norm, even more so during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Reading Negruzzi's memoir, one does not fail to notice a particular similarity with the emotional French literature and Romantic passion in expressing his innermost impressions.

Additionally, an important question arises if Negruzzi's writings are seen as the product of remembrance. If the memory is reconstructed, does that mean that the emotion (in written form) is the product of the same process? The question would not concern one emotion's capacity to be replaced by another over the course of time, but whether their intensity can differ. One often changes perspective after some time has passed since a certain event happened.

Since *Junimea* is at the centre of Negruzzi's account, most of the emotions manifested in the text are closely connected with events and friends involved in the literary society. For instance: "I could also start, without jest, with today, when I felt an urge to jot down a few memories of this Society, which has occupied a quarter of a century in my life, and which is linked to many pleasant recollections of my youth" (Negruzzi, 2011a).

Friendship has a significant role in Negruzzi's memoirs due to the many episodes where he mentions meeting figures such as: Vasile Pogor (1833-1906), Titu Maiorescu (1804-1917), Mihail Cerkez (1839-1885), and so on. Upon making the acquaintance with Cerkez, Iacob Negruzzi states: "his military victories in the 1877 war made me so content, and his unfortunate end caused me great woe, he made a great impression and our friendship began from the first moment" (Negruzzi, 2011b).

His relationship with Vasile Pogor did not begin on a positive note, on the contrary: "Pogor did not make a good first impression, in fact it could be considered unpleasant" (Negruzzi, 2011c). Implicitly, this first impression changed over time, and his relationship with Pogor developed into a closely-knit friendship. Consequently, emotions never remain the same over time. Negruzzi's friendship with Titu Maiorescu also grew over time after a fraught start caused by Maiorescu's more aloof attitude. Negruzzi's attempt to reveal his admiration for Maiorescu was met with a cold reaction, leaving the former very disappointed.

Having discussed personal memoirs as self-portraits of the authors, I consider being significant to outline Negruzzi's emotions towards his younger self. According to his own confession, he "was keen on getting my name out there, to be active and make the world talk about me. It could be that the desire to be different is a natural part of youth, or perhaps I was then full of such aspirations and simply changed my opinions much later, I could not even imagine that a young schooled and intelligent young man would not share my sentiments". It would seem that Negruzzi wanted to share the impetuous drive of his youth with his readers, manifesting leniency towards his impulsive nature. He seems to be understanding with his younger self, motivating that his intelligence and knowledge determined his high aspirations.

However, his desire for professional affirmation did not produce concrete results. A few pages over, Negruzzi speaks about his lack of implication in the public conferences organized by *Junimea*. "Either I was not asked to, as I was not trusted enough, or I did not trust myself in front of the public after having grown to know those young men" (Negruzzi, 2011d). It would seem that his self-portrait entails some contradictions, perhaps due to the passing of time, or to the same lenient attitude. On one hand, he strives to make himself known. On the other, he mentions an absence of faith in himself or not being nominated by his peers as reasons for not giving a public lecture along with other members of *Junimea*.

Concerning the language used for manifesting and expressing emotions, there are some examples that come to mind: "I was overwhelmed with admiration" (am fost cuprins de o admirație), "became the most ardent of his enthusiasts" (devenii cel mai înfocat entuziast al său), "passionate as I was" (pasionat precum eram), "this process left a deep, lasting impression on me (procesul acesta îmi lăsă o impresiune adâncă și durabilă), "keen" (aprig), and so on. As we can see, the words and expressions used are explicit and have a somewhat poetic note. Negruzzi speaks plainly when it comes to manifesting and describing emotions or emotional reactions, creating an impression of complete honesty for his readers. As shown above, Negruzzi does not shy away from conveying how he feels, whether he speaks about himself or about his friends and colleagues.

Anthropologist Cătălin D. Constantin delved into the subject of writing journals and memoirs as a medium for preserving one's thoughts and emotions, with his book *Viața de zi cu zi în documente vechi de familie [Everyday Life in Old Family Documents]* (Constantin, 2013a).

One of the personal accounts analysed by Cătălin D. Constantin is the one belonging to Bernald Mihai, a Szekely soldier from Cernatul de Jos. As was the case with Negruzzi's memories, this journal also belongs to someone who was driven by a Romantic impetus. I would personally add that Bernald Mihai was even more under the influence of Romantic exaltation than Negruzzi.

Writing about the year of 1859, Mihai manifests his ardour towards the formation of new national states. He mentions how there was news going around about friends and acquaintances who chose to earn their glory on the battlefield. Many were drawn in by the fame of Garibaldi's army (Constantin, 2013b).

Emotions ran high in Bernald Mihai's confession, his patriotic attachments matched in their intensity by the love for his fiancée, Maria. In turn, this situation led to a real conundrum and an emotional storm. He was being forced to choose between the two. Eventually, his duty for country won the battle: "today, when every patriot has the duty to answer the nation's call, it would be cowardly of me to stay home without reason. I wept, because I loved her. She begged me, in the name of all that is holy, not to leave her. Yet, what was I to do: shirking my duties like other cowards did not align with my views or my character" (Constantin, 2013c).

To conclude, it would appear that men have a pronounced tendency to express their feelings using this type of indirect medium. A tendency greatly determined by the influence of literature, of various political and social factors. Continuing this discussion, I will proceed to take into consideration the emotions expressed by women in this written form.

A Woman's Emotions and Woes at the Beginning of the 19th Century

I chose to discuss the personal journals written by men and women in the Romanian countries in separate sections of this paper. The decision was not solely based on the nature or intensity of the emotional practices employed by women, but also by the differences in their education.

Reserved mostly for those with significant financial means, both education received within the family and in a school were influenced by the French Enlightenment ideals in the first half of the 19th century. Foreign private tutors were hired. Children were also sent to complete their education abroad (France, Germany, Italy, and, sometimes, England). Since Romanian society was more conservative, one could note the differences in the education given to boys and girls. For instance, boys were taught the subjects necessary for them to follow in their father's footsteps, politics or public office (Popovici, 2013a).

As for girls, they were also schooled with the help of governesses (often of German or French origin) and in private institutions, but their purpose in life was to become good daughters, mothers or partners for their future husbands. Aside from reading and writing, some notions of geography, history and literature, girls' education emphasized the need to learn how to behave properly in society. A certain *éducation sentimentale* seemed to carry more weight when it came to their upbringing (Popovici, 2013b).

This would have been the path Elena Hartulari was expected to follow at the beginning of the 19th century. But life doesn't always go as planned. So, Elena falls in love with Iorgu, one of her second cousins, following his arduous courtship. Her parents did not approve of the relation because he was of a lesser social standing than Elena, and had no significant financial means.

The love story took place in 1827, and Iorgu used an entire Romantic arsenal: love notes, gifts, declarations of love, passionate tears, claiming to suffer in the name of love, and so on. Here is how Elena spoke about the process of giving into young Iorgu's persistent pursuit: "I am she who has given you my love and faith until the end of my days; now I will leave my poor parents in tears and sadness for your love. Know now that you are still the future of my happiness; reward me with true love and mercy; I am yours until the grave" (Hartulari, 1926a).

It would seem that Elena's love had become

stronger with the passing of time, as a response to Iorgu's relentless pursuit. She states that she had confronted her parents for the sake of their love, leaving them in tears. She declared never ending devotion to Iorgu, which faded with the passing of time.

As a woman at the beginning of the 19th century, the chances of losing a pregnancy or having a child die a few months after birth were quite high. Elena was no exception. After giving birth to five boys and one girl, she buried a four months old boy. The pain of that loss had surrounded her for years on end: "I remained afflicted, suffering a year bedridden, and four years on my feet but still mostly lying in bed, aching terribly with pains so great anyone who sees me feels pity" (Hartulari, 1926b). As can be observed, the pain has a psychological and a physical manifestation and its influence was so great that it is mentioned in her memoirs.

Elena added that the suffering caused by the loss of a child did not spare her from other hardships. In spite of the difficult situation, she was still expected to care for her unfaithful husband, her ever growing household, and her remaining children. Her husband began to abuse her and the children and was indifferent to her pain: "I would tell him with bitter tears that he has no mercy, that he doesn't see me suffering so! He does not answer; still searching for a reason to anger, so he would have no business talking to me!" (Hartulari, 1926c) Elena's father and brother, made aware of the situation of her marriage, attempted to obtain her the divorce. Their failure resulted in more suffering for Elena that began to affect her physical and mental health.

Elena Hartulari's journal depicts a life which began with a passionate love and knew a few years of marital/conjugal bliss. Iorgu, a loving husband and partner at first, turned unfaithful and even violent towards Elena and their children. I would like to be able to say that such behaviour was an exception in Romanian society, but, unfortunately, the statistics would contradict me. In turn, this does not mean it is proof of a society more tolerant towards domestic abuse since her family took measures to stop it. Romanian society was more conservative, and the roles attributed to men and women were more obvious.

The premise of our article outlined the use of foreign cultural practices concerning the expression of emotions in Romanian society as seen in personal accounts. Moreover, since the analysis began with an emphasis on the fact that emotions are culturally and socially shaped, the implication that the emotions present in the works discussed are borrowed from Western Europe, as the practice of writing journals was, would naturally arise. An answer is contained in the titles of the good etiquette manuals mentioned before. Two of them state the use of French and English manuals as a point of reference, but outline the adaption to the characteristics of Romanian society. Therefore, one could not surmise the hypothesis that emotions present in Romanian memoirs were also foreign appropriations.

In turn, the practice of regulating emotions with manuals and expressing them within personal accounts was a product of the process of westernization in Romanian provinces. To conclude, this would signify that the emotions present in the works discussed are culturally shaped by a changing Romanian society, using practices that were borrowed from a different type of social and cultural region.

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VISUALIZATION OF "THE ENEMY IMAGE" IN THE CULTURAL SPACE OF RUSSIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

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***Abstract**: The article is concerned with "the enemy image" formation in the Russian Empire cultural space during 1914-1918. My research is focused on the image of the enemy and image of Russian cartoonists, artists, publicists, historians, philosophers, and literary critics during the First World War. The theoretical basis of my research is the concept of "Historical culture" and "Imagology". This paper is an interdisciplinary study, which analyses the media weapon of Russia in "information war" in "Historical Culture" discourse. The Russian journalism of that period contributed to the aggravation of the dichotomy "friend-foe" to the complete rejection of another culture, the carrier of which was the enemy. For the majority of (uneducated and illiterate) Russians the "enemy image" was specifically created in visual form in illustrative journals, military caricatures, booklets about the war, cheap prints, posters, open letters, campaign cards etc. Miniature theatre performances and cinema had completed the "enemy image", shaping the visualization for the masses.*

***Keywords:** World War I, "the enemy image", propaganda, Russian cultural space, caricature as a political tool.*

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the modern era had created more accessible and intuitive options of culture, which ceased to be for an elitist circle, but became more mass oriented. This advantage was used by Russian authorities at the beginning of the First World War, making "primitive" culture the basis of the propagandistic "enemy image". It was caused by the fact that the masses were uneducated or illiterate. That is why the majority of Russians had no opportunity to get acquainted with periodicals, booklets, and books. For them, the "enemy image" was specifically created in visualized "true" and "emotionally completed" and figural form in illustrative journals, military caricatures, booklets about the war, cheap prints, posters, open letters, campaign cards etc.

Caricature as a Political Tool

From the middle of the 19th century, Russia had a very powerful polygraphic base for printing satirical art publications. In 1914, its network encompassed over sixty publishing houses in Petrograd, Kiev, Odessa, Riga, Kazan, etc. In Moscow, Ivan Sytin's typography hosted an art school of cheap print masters. The "amusing drawings", mainly on religious and social motives, were created by famous Russian artists like Ilya Mashkov, Aristarkh Lentulov, Kazimir Malevich, Dmitry Moor and Aleksandr Apsit (Kornienko, 2014, 371).

According to Vladimir Denisov, a Russian art historian, the decisive influence on the formation of people's attitude toward the enemy at the initial stage of the war was formed entirely by virtue of cheap prints that were more popular in illiterate Russian outback than periodicals and government posts: "Before the rural areas recognized well 'what for' and whom 'they have sent people to fight' with, they saw a German already — in the helmet, with Prussian moustaches, and clothed in blue (while 'good guys' were dressed by cheap prints in protective colour). […] The government concentrated all the picture ingenuity, all the sensitive observations, mockery, and outrage in this symbol [the helmet]. Cheap prints had contributed to the increasing popularity of the war among the people" (Denisov, 1916, 2).

As a result of technical improvements in printing at the beginning of the 20th century, the satirical graphics had got a permanent audience. Caricature as part of periodical edition starts implementing its publicist function by synthesizing graphic images and printed text in a single artwork. It has no taboo topics or untouchable figures. During the war, caricatures became one of the means of political struggle, a certain "mirror of modernity, a barometer of public opinion, and an effective means of its formation (Golikov, Ryibachenok 2010, 32). According to contemporary Russian source-expert, Andrey Golikov, caricatures success can be explained by the fact that visual messages due to the larger graphic content were perceived by society at the average level of 50%, whereas the text information level was only 7% (Golikov, 2011, 53).

Caricatures acted as a useful propagandistic tool. Its main task was to "shift off the safety lock" of the peacetime aggression complex, from the

perspective of already existing national stereotypes and images of the past. Negative clichés performed a double function: firstly, they caused a sense of hostility to "aliens"; secondly, they intensified a sense of solidarity among "cronies" (Fomenko, 2014, 26-27; Douglas, 1993, 7-8). Caricaturists endowed the enemy with satanic qualities, blamed it in the outbreak of war, arrogance, greed, lies, cruelty and debauchery. Thus, by means of "negative propaganda of mockery, hate, and fear" the "enemy image" was put into minds of the masses (Kemnitz, 1973, 81-93).

In terms of the war social upheaval, according to Russian publicist, Ivan Flerovsky, caricatures had put the propagandistic mission over themselves - to cause social negative attitude towards the enemy. In the early 20th century, it worked better to "make a laugh time", but, in military time — it had to push citizens to fight (Flerovskiy, 1914, 276-280; Slavenson, 1915, 91-112; Slavenson, 1916, 26-31).

The main target of mockery was Germany. It was often allegorically portrayed as a greedy and unbridled prostitute. The magazine *New Satyricon* dedicated the caricature of "Germany is ready" (Fig. 1) to the outbreak of hostilities. It shows Kaiser Wilhelm II, who commanded a German, Michel, to put French rooster into a steel cage, as well as British lion and Russian bear for their unwillingness to recognize the rule of the Hohenzollern. The Germans were endowed with "characteristic" for the inhabitants of Prussia qualities: belligerence, arrogance, malicious pedantry, foolishness, and cowardice. The caricature was based on traditional stereotypical images and humorous homages to German people: "shmerts", "kopcheny", "kovbasa", "kovbasnyk", and “sosyska". The typical satirical image of "a true German" was a butcher with Wilhelm-like moustaches and swine snout, who was holding sausages in his hands. Caricaturists had also invented new clichés of: "civilized barbarian", "cultural beast», "educated Vandals and Huns" (Fig. 2).

Satiric images demonized the figure of Wilhelm II, depicting him as an Antichrist sitting astride a wild boar or a mad dog with a gabled helmet (Fig. 3, 4).

The renowned artist, Nicholas Roerich, had created the cheap print called "Enemy of Human Race" (Fig. 5), in which he condemned the destruction of cultural monuments in France and Belgium. He showed a red ruler of hell in Kaiser's helmet with edges on both sides, resembling horns; its legs resembled a goat's ones; his hands were holding human skulls; on his long snake tail, there was a signature: "Evil German". To the right of the giant, the artist had depicted the Belgian city of Louvain, and to the left, there was the Reims Cathedral in France, and two lines on the top: "many people were violently killed", and "many cities were treacherously destroyed". Russian satire also widely popularized the image of Wilhelm-Napoleon, as the war was seen as "Second Patriotic War" (Fig. 6). Kaiser was depicted as "failed Napoleon", crazy dreamer suffering of megalomania, who sought to conquer the world (Fig.7, 8) (Tsyikalov, 2012b, 86; Tsyikalov, 2013, 71).

After the Russian army success in Galicia, the Austria-Hungary came in sight of caricaturists. Even before the war, this country was perceived with caution and obvious hostility by Russian society due to the empires rivalry in the Balkans and Asia Minor. The Habsburg Empire was depicted as a provoker of war, a cruel oppressor of its own and neighbouring peoples. The caricature "Pleasant War" shows a mannered, elegant Austrian officer who was standing on the backdrop of the ruins of Belgrade and thinking that war is a very pleasant experience (Fig. 9). In one hand he was holding a glass of champagne, and in the other - severed head of Serbian women strung on a sword. White lapdog sitting next to him was complementing the image. Edmon Suliman-Hrudzynsky, in the caricature "Hunting", had allegorically portrayed Germany and Austria-Hungary as safecrackers who met the huge Russian bear angry of harassment (Fig. 10). The picture shows a tall German, who was pushing a baby-Austrian to a bear, and that baby did not want to go there, and resisted as much as it could: "Oh, uncle, it comes!"

After joining the global conflict of the Ottoman Empire, Russian propaganda had to change its ideological war vector from the "Second Patriotic War" to the fierce invader from the West, and to the crusade against the eastern godless people. In the propaganda rhetoric, the image of Turkey as a country with alien values to European cultural and political background, served as an evidence of the European status of Russia itself. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire seemed too weak to represent an individual threat, but the real enemy was hiding behind it - a German, who lived in the "civilized" West. The new regime of the Young Turks had recklessly drawn the "sick" state in the war on the side of the Central Powers, thus speeding up its death, and becoming an enemy of its own people. Caricaturists had openly mocked on this: "Turks began war with biting a plaster" (Jahn, 1995, 163).

The caricature "Decent Friends!" had illustrated these ideas where Wilhelm II with a sorrowful mien was supporting with his hands the "last reserve" - "sick person" (Fig. 11). A Turk was shown as a paralytic, still holding scimitar in hand due

to some miracle, and on his head, there was a fez with Islamic star and crescent symbols.

Edmon Suliman-Hrudzynsky was one of the first in Russian satire who had responded to the renewal of the Tripartite Union by the caricature "Dance On the Volcano", in which old Sultan Mohammed V was belly dancing right on the gunpowder barrels in front of the German and Turkish generals to the accompaniment of the Janissary Orchestra consisting of Wilhelm II, the Kapellmeister; Franz Joseph, the drummer, and Enver Pasha, the zurna player (Fig. 12). The author indicated the main participants of the Turkish-German intrigues and the role they had been playing (Douglas, 1995, 50).

To enhance the sickness image of the Ottoman Empire, satire artists used characteristic gender and racial clichés. The caricature "German-Turkish Tango" showed Turkey as a woman in a passionate dance that had emphasized her subordinate and dependent position regarding her husband and ally - the Germany (Fig. 13). Blinded by brutal power and "Teutonic" money the Ottoman woman and her sassy admirer, the German colonel, had fallen in love so much and "lost their minds", and even did not notice as stranded on the edge, and were about to pluck from the cliffs of "Europe" into the dark abyss of "Asia". Caustic pen of the famous caricaturist Arkady Averchenko had also depicted Turkey in female form of provincial chansonnierie. Wilhelm, the "Brave fellow", had seduced her with artificial diamonds. He used her and left her. Making its wrong "German choice", "foolish and deceived Turkey" appears in a cheap dress. She has worn heels and neglected hands. She is wandering among cheap European "cafe chantant" (Tsyikalov, 2012a, 151-152).

Bulgaria with a light pen of Russian caricaturists appeared in a repulsive form - a greedy character that was waiting for the right moment and wanted to sell itself to anybody who pays more. Finding itself in the enemy camp of Russia, Bulgaria had never been perceived seriously as an enemy neither by authorities nor by social consciousness, as reflected in visual satire. The image of Bulgaria among Russians caused not so much a feeling of hatred, but annoyance concerning the Orthodox country, for the freedom of which so much blood was shed by its compatriots. Nevertheless, due to the whim of pro-German regime of King Ferdinand I, the Bulgarians found themselves in the enemy camp. The caricature "Mad Politics" depicted a Bulgarian who was cutting with an axe a branch from the general tree of "Slavic Peoples" (Fig. 14).

Under war circumstances, the means of propaganda included a photo that in the pages of newspapers and magazines featured the horrors of reality, thus visualizing Russia in a real plane. On the pages of "Great War in Images and Pictures" after Lviv Operation in 1915, there is the photograph "Banquet of Barbarians" in which a German soldier in the familiar gabled helmet is sitting on a piano and drinking alcohol from a bottle, and near him his drunken compatriots are rushing around in a euphoric fit (Fig. 15).

Confirming the image of German barbarians and articles in which authors put forward their outrage because of the destruction of Reims Cathedral, the edition had printed the photos depicting the destruction of the French shrine (Fig. 16).

After two years of fierce fighting, Russian society was tired of the war and wanted to conclude peace, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nikolay Pokrovsky, and the Chairman of the State Duma of Russian Empire, Mikhail Rodzianko, in 1916, had signed a resolution that prohibited conducting peace negotiations with the enemy. To encourage the compatriots on the pages of printed publications photos of soldiers who support the government decision and are ready to fight till the end were placed (Fig. 17).

After the Revolution, in conditions of demoralized army and social disbelief in victory, the photos had shown a crushing defeat of German soldiers in the Anglo-French front, where the enemy was begging for mercy (Fig. 18).

The "Enemy Image" in Theatre and Cinema

A splash of chauvinistic, militaristic and patriotic sentiments in Russian society had influenced the repertoire of theatres. Titles of German plays and operas were slowly disappearing from posters. In contrast to them, "topical" plays of Russian playwrights appeared. Major drama theatres at the beginning of the war gave way to the "invasion" of miniatures that worked "as in ‘Masliana’, as if Russia's every day is a national holiday" (Solyanyiy, 1914, 825).

The Capital Theatre of Small Forms "Distorting Mirror" had very quickly reacted to the urgent challenges of time and dedicated the whole theatre season of 1914/15 to the "military issues". The program consisted of four plays, varying in content and nature satire and caricatures, humoresques dedicated to the exposure of the German complacency, narcissism, stupidity, foreign militarist pomp and drill, behind which there was no sense, flashy vulgar morality that hid selfishness and callousness (Tihvinskaya, 2005, 372-373). The play "1914-1814" by David Glickman was the most resonant. The dramatist had drawn a parallel between the modern Prussian Officer Corps and their hundred year’s ancestors. The author compared the romance

of Napoleon's soldiers with the rough realism of Teutonic vandalism. The play "German Idyll" by Boris Geyer had branded the profound pettiness and hypocrisy and spiritual emptiness of German society. Grotesque buff (humorous staged folk song) "Malbruk going to march" by the example of facial features of boastful soldier mocks the insolvency of German soldiers. The pantomime-caricature put to the music of Vladimir Erenberg "A Conqueror's Circle of Life", in the second act "activity" had brought scandal upon "German conqueror" by symbolically shaving off the famous moustaches, but it did not completely reveal the role of Russian, French, Belgian, English, Turkish, Serbian, and Austrian soldiers (Anchar, 1914, 4).

The following program of "Distorting Mirror" included the play of "theatrical and booth kind" of its regular author, Mikhail Smirnov, "The Play about King Basilian and about How He Wanted to Conquer World and Turn It into His Faith" (*N.N.*, 1914, 986). The entire performance was held in the style of stylized cheap print. The author took the ancient folk drama about King Maximilian as the basis of the play. The original story was slightly changed according to modern events. Along with the folk characters such as Mars (the God), the Star, Anik (the Warrior), the Devil, buffoons, and outrunners, Mikhail Smirnov introduces Wilhelm, Franz Joseph, and "the famous Crown Prince" in the role of a lowly son of Adolf. The author tried to show commoners the vicissitudes of diplomatic and political events related to the war in a simplified form.

The play of the famous actor Mamont Dalsky "Shame to Germany (Culture Beasts)", 1915, was very popular among people. It was performed in the capital Small Theatre named after Aleksey Suvorin, Kyiv Theatre "Solovtsov", Yaroslavl Theatre named after Fedor Volkov, and other provincial theatres. However, Russian intellectuals embraced the play sceptically, and accused the author of "the pursuit of cheap success, and expensive tickets". According to the writer Yevgeny Maurin, the play was mediocre and immoral, because through its falsified theatrical "tackiness" the audience saw "a great icy horror of unvarnished reality" (Maurin, 1914, 21-22). Its content did not match the title. In general, critics were resented with "the patriotic repertoire of present season (1914/1915) of sensible Kommersant's Petrograd that in its essence was already a combative “nail” and the caricature "on the helmets and moustaches".

In turn, Moscow left the former "noble repertoire", because it was yet not enough time since the war had started, and the merchant hail decided not to perform cheap spectacles, i.e. "to sell all the sacred and intimate". Yevgeny Maurin had mockingly introduced a colourful signboard example of the capital commercial theatre, where the quoted illiterate word "patrEotyzm" was flaunted. In his opinion, at the theatres they were playing "the greatest Vulgarity with scales in its hands. And one bowl of the scales was full of disfigured babies; disgraced women; trampled, burned, turned into ruins Belgium; Reims Cathedral, gaping with wounds; on the other bowl - moustaches, a helmet, a beer mug and a few sausages".

Scenarios of such performances were quite primitive. For example, the famous Russian writer and satirist, humourist, and chief editor of the popular magazines *Satyricon* and *New Satyricon*, Arkady Averchenko, had put on the stage of the "Trinity Theatre" the play called "Litigation". It showed the audience a colonel of the German army, Shweiner — a drunkard, thief, and burglar, who was jeering the two Russian prisoners. After Russian troops unexpectedly occupied the village, the both former "castaways" rush to beat the German.

Aleksandr Hiryakov, the Russian writer, poet, literary critic, and journalist had a moderate anti-German position. His views were reflected in the satire play-parody in four acts called "Armoured Faust". The author had reflected on that what Faust might have been if it was created not by Johann Wolfgang Goethe but Wilhelm II. The play was rather populist, therefore, in its epilogue, the German and Austrian emperors found themselves in prison, and the Entente powers lined up in front of bars (Hiryakov, 1914, 26).

The founder of Russian Expressionism, Leonid Andreev, had published at the beginning of the war the play called "The King, the Law, and the Freedom" dedicated to the war crimes of Germans in Belgium. In 1914, the drama was filmed by the joint stock company of Aleksandr Khanzhonkov (Efros, 1914, 851-854).

Cinema was another means in the production of the "enemy image" in minds of the Russian people. The outbreak of war had created exceptionally favourable conditions for increasing the Russian production of films. German pictures import had stopped almost immediately. French and Italian import had reduced sharply too. Council of Ministers, on June 1, 1915, had instructed the Minister of Internal Affairs to take care of the removal of cinematographic films produced in Germany from the circulation, and the Minister of Trade and Industry to take measures to complete cessation of imports from Germany of cinematographic films.

While the outbreak of war in 1914 brought 90 Russian paintings, then after August the 1st - 140. In 1915, the production of Russian films increased to

370, and, in 1916, up to 500, and only in 1917, due to the economic crisis, had decreased to 400. At the time of its highest rise, in 1916, Russian film industry covered a network of 3,000 commercial cinemas, which had sold more than 150 million tickets (Ginzburg, 1963, 240, 249-250).

In 1914, two pictures were filmed: "The Same War" - about schoolgirls' fight against their German teacher, and "The Mystery of the German Embassy", imbued with spy-mania, by Yevgeny Bauer. In June of the same year, the picture of Edvard Pukhlsky. "Antichrist" appears. Its plot is based on folk legends about the German Emperor Wilhelm II - «an Antichrist drinking human blood". His other film "Judas - the crowned traitor of Bulgaria", denounced the betrayal of Bulgaria by King Ferdinand and the Bulgarian government Germanophile sentiments (Vishnevskiy, 1945, 52, 63).

Soviet cinema historian, Semyon Ginzburg, gave a general description of propaganda films of that period: "A special group of military movies was associated with cheap popular prints depicting German atrocities. Indeed, during the First World War, the German army entering the captured Polish cities was marked by terrible atrocities. However, the rough tendency that had featured the cheap prints of such kind, in fact, was compromising the true material of reality, which was led into their basis" (Ginzburg, 1963, 196). The German officers and soldiers were depicted "as a kind of hellish creatures who had lost a human face" (*Ibidem*). Another central theme was the rape seen in many propaganda films. All the ranks of German army depicted in filmed cheap prints were raping people: starting with the German Crown Prince ("Antichrist"), and finishing with the last soldier ("In the Bloody Glow of War"). According to those films, German military men had entered the war "only to be able to rape and kill people" (Ginzburg, 1963, 196-197).

Conclusions

The social and cultural environment of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the First World War became more accessible to the general public. The Russian journalism (1914-1918) contributed to the aggravation of the dichotomy "friend-foe" to the complete rejection of another culture, the carrier of which was the enemy. Through the outlining of the contours of cultural differences of the enemy, its belonging to "the civilized world" was denied. An alien appeared in the form of an arrogant, criminal, and corrupt beast, the monster, savage, and barbarian. The "enemy image" was being designed and adjusted in press depending on the course of actions on the front and the international political situation.

The authors of cheap popular prints and caricatures in designing a negative attitude to the enemy, first of all, were considering that the images had to be perceived by illiterate layers of the society. For that purpose, they had focused on the enemy image identification, on its recognition, characteristics of national character; they used hyperpolarization techniques for ethnic, national and gender characteristics. Germany appeared in demonic form, as a "cunning seductress" of all other Member States of Quarter Union. Austria-Hungary and Turkey were depicted as falling into decay empires that had exposed to the charms of young ambitious militarized Germany. Bulgaria was portrayed through the prism of the betrayal concept. In the satirical iconography of the war, the main ridicule and derision objects were the leaders of the enemy countries. Certain stereotypical clichés were formed: Wilhelm II was portrayed as a healthy, strong, and thick-set man with huge moustaches, and a gabled helmet; Franz Joseph I was usually shown as a decrepit gold man, who has lost his mind, and has a long white beard, sometimes, seriously wounded, with a cane, on crutches or in a wheelchair; Muhammad V was also often depicted as a decrepit old man with fez, sometimes, as a dark-haired gnome with a hooked nose; Ferdinand Coburg I appeared as a liar with a big nose.

Miniature theatre performances and cinema had completed the "enemy image" visualization in the masses. They essentially did not differ much from rough cheap prints, and were depicting the enemy in "dark colours". Exaggerated images of Germans as monsters and the mechanical game of actors caused outrage in Russian intelligentsia and intellectuals who preferred the classical posters repertoire but not the new patriotic program that was created offhandedly. However, such performances had incredible success with the ordinary public, especially in the provinces. Feature films shocked the audience with disgusting scenes of rapes, and the behavior of Germans in Belgium in the style of "Kalisz horrors" genre, but on the other hand, such "cheap pornographic" scenes attracted the unpretentious ordinary audience and strengthened national hatred for the enemy.

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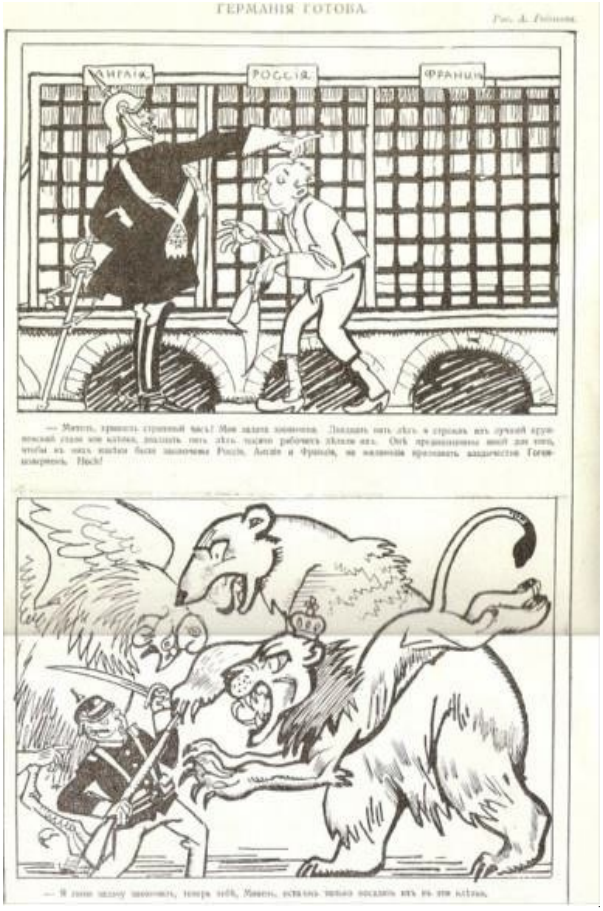

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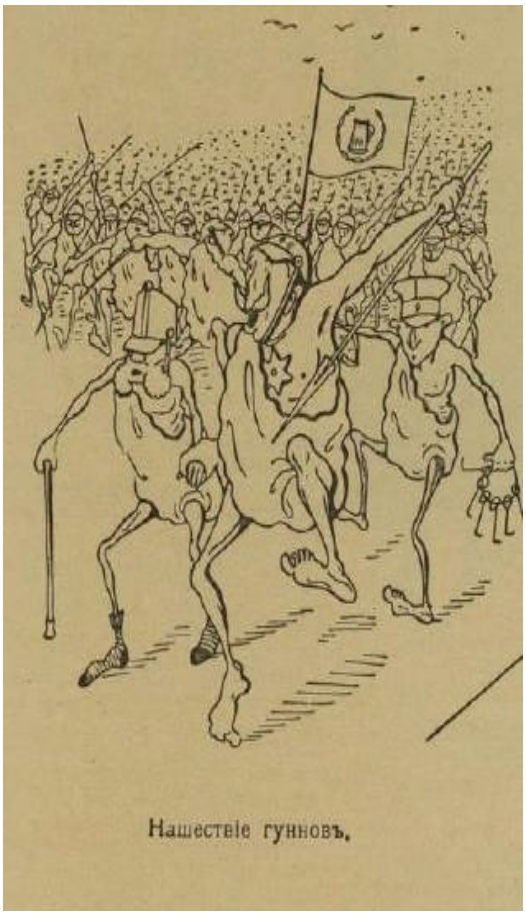

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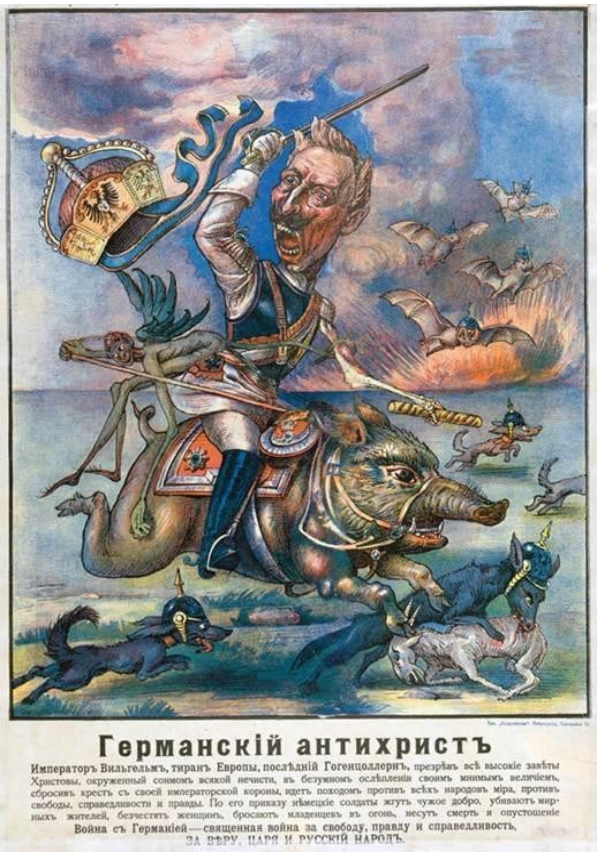

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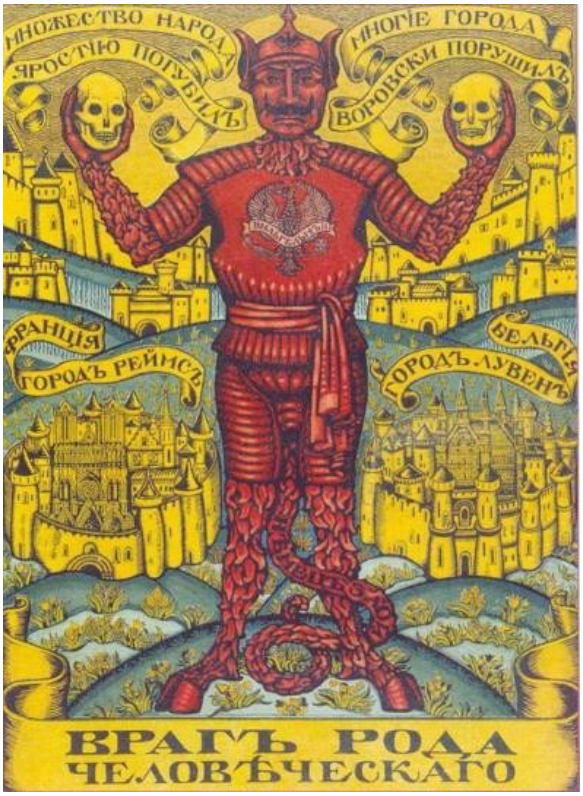

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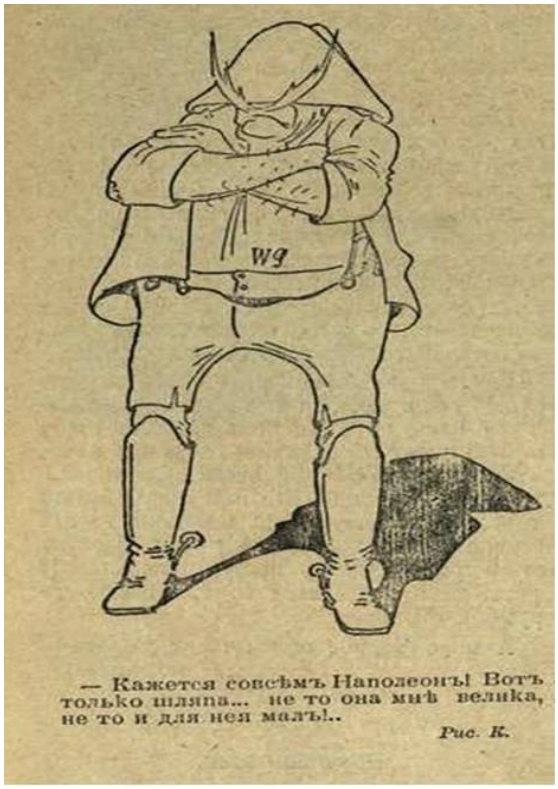

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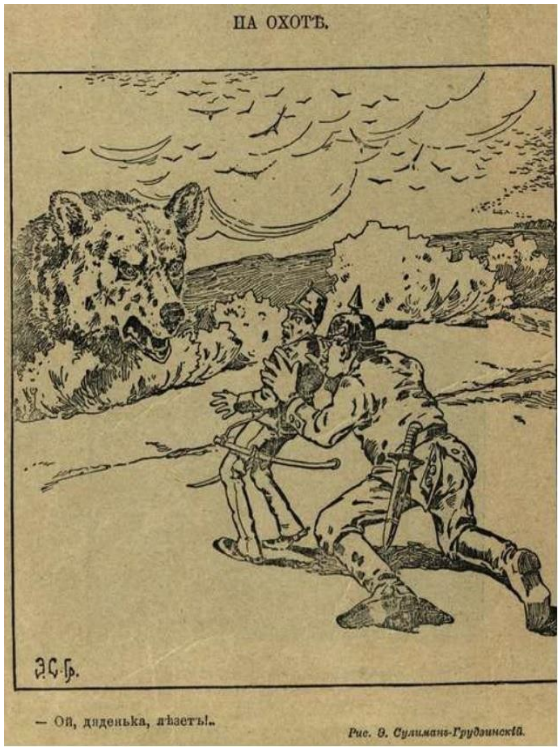

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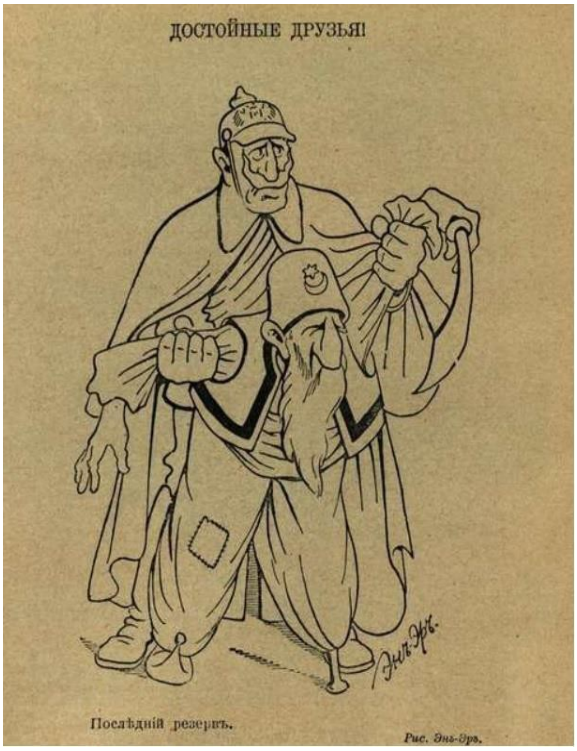

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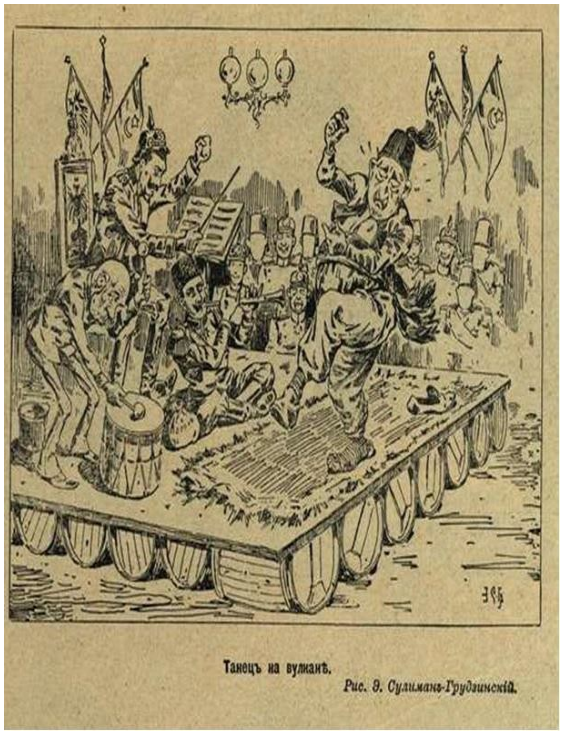

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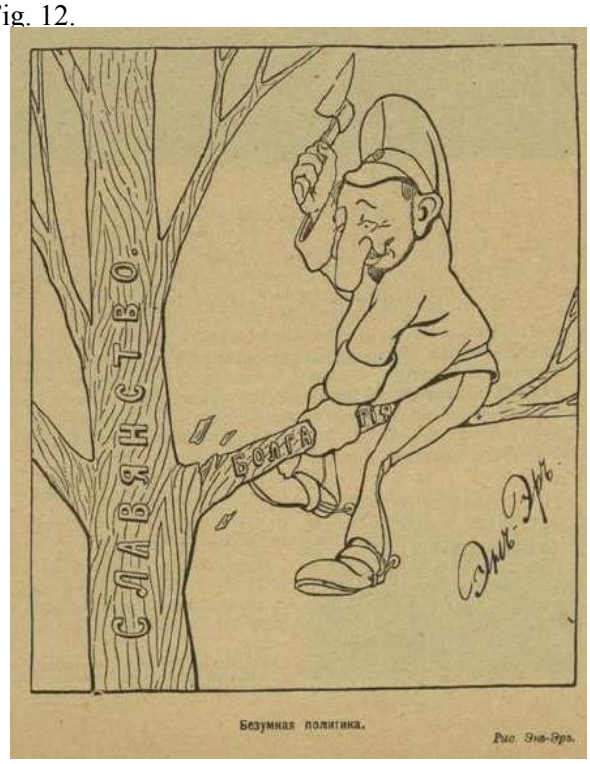

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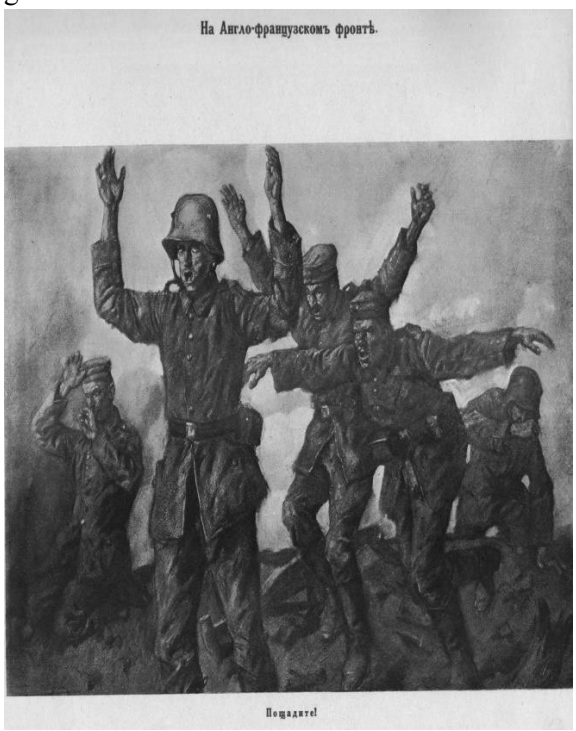

Fig. 18.

NAMING THE NATIONAL GUARDS OF RENAISSANCE NATIONAL FRONT IN OLT COUNTY (1939-1940)

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***Abstract**: Around the beginning of the Second World War, communities in Romania, just as the European ones, were in the middle of a social transformation process, of redefinition of the traditional national values, undertaken by the protagonists of the politic regime started with the coup d'état from February 10/11, 1938. Having as purpose the fundamental restructuration of the state and Romanian society, King Carol II and his supporters gave a high importance to the propaganda with the purpose of ensuring the success of social re-education with the goal of assimilating by the population of the principles of "the new regime". Starting from this context, we plan to analyse, based on the information studied in National Archives, the problematic of the festivities organised with the occasion of taking the oath of faith towards the King Carol II by the commanders and members of the units of the National Guard of Renaissance National Front in Olt County.*

***Keywords:** official propaganda, faith oath, National Guard of the National Renaissance Front, King Carol II, Olt County.*

Around the start of the second world war, communities in Romania, just as the European ones, were in the middle of a social transformation process, of redefinition of traditional national values, undertaken by the protagonists of the politic regime started with the coup d'état from February 10/11, 1938. Having as purpose the fundamental restructuration of the state and Romanian society, King Carol II and his supporters gave a high importance to the propaganda with the purpose of ensuring the success of social re-education with the goal of assimilating by the population of the principles of "the new regime"[77].

The National Guard of National Renaissance Front (N.R.F. – the first unique party in Romanian history, considered by the Carlist regime's protagonists a symbol of national solidarity) represented one of the organisms/institutions that were supposed to symbolize and support authority for the monarchy, having a well determined place in the Carlist propaganda mechanism. Therefore, according to article II from "The Special Regulation for organisation and operation of the National Guard", from April 25, 1939, the National Guard had multiple attributions, amongst them being the propaganda of the unique party ideology: "To spread in every social layer the political doctrine of the Front, namely: Raising the Motherland by strenghtening the national idea and the solidarity between her sons, strengthening the family as a social cell, creating a spiritual life by developing the Cristian faith and the local culture, the material prosperity, by having the work mandatory and honour it, and also having the sacrifice spirit for the Throne and Country" ("Official Monitor", part I, year CVII, No. 95, April 25, 1939, 2580). Also, The Guard had the attribution of serving as "order organism of the Front on the manifestations of any kind of its organisations" (*Ibidem*).

The National Guard of N.R.F. was conceived as an annex formation of N.R.F., as "an order organism, whose permanent function was to ensure the action of moral transformation, in the name of which the new constitutional regime was created" (National Archives, Vâlcea, National Guard of National Renaissance Front fund, Vâlcea County, file No. 1/1939-1940, 93; Păunoiu 2012, *art. cit.*, in loc. cit., 109).

The Guard's propaganda had to have as end result the acceptance by the population of the authority regime of King Carol II and knowingly acceptance by the population of the ideology of the new regime: "The new constitutional order, […] needs to be understood and honestly shared throughout the most remote corners of the country, by an instrument [The National Guard] that will move forward and fulfil this action of complete integration

[77] See, for a more detailed analysis of the interdependency between official propaganda – institutions – national holidays, mechanism used to achieve the royal project of „moral redress of the nation", started with the appearance of the carlist regime on February 10/11, 1938, (Păunoiu 2013, 21-73).

of the new political life principles, in each of our conviction" (National Archives, Vâlcea, National Guard of the National Renaissance Front fund, Vâlcea County, file No. 1/1939-1940, f. 93).

Prepared by the Carlist regime's protagonists as a "social service" intended to contribute to the integration of the new regime ideology into citizens' consciousness, the recruiting criteria of the national Guard members were quite exigent, based on the idea that the potential members of the national Guard of N.R.F. will be persons that will offer social models for the rest of the population and, by the power of personal example, will win the trust of the wide public in the Carlist formation. Therefore, the Regulation stated, on article 15, that "the enlisting" in the Guard was optional, was done, initially, temporarily and became permanent after a minimum of one year. During this time the candidates to membership were "subject to various educational tests and the probation of their devotion and understanding for the purposes of the Guard" ("Official Monitor", part I, year CVII, No. 95, April 25, 1939, 2580).

Besides the official requirements, stated in article 16 from the Regulation – "a) to be members of the Front; b) to be valid; c) to know how to write and read Romanian; d) to be of age at least 23 and no more than 50 years old; e) to have always had a good behaviour in society" (*Ibidem*) – the candidates for Guard membership had to fulfil also the following conditions: "[…] to be good householders, hard workers and pondered in all of their actions, respectful towards the laws and authorities, good Romanians, honest in their relation with their kinds, good family fathers, to not be vicious, to go to church, to be calm people but determined, to be people with initiative, sacrifice and totally obey the regulations, orders and dispositions related to the activity of N.R.F. and the National Guard" (Păunoiu 2013, 47).

The propagandistic mission of the National Guard was also stated in the decree-law issued, in January 1940, for the organisation of the unique party, that specified the fact that the National Guard had to fulfil " all the tasks that require initiative, courage, abnegation and sacrifice (…)" and contribute to the propagation of the N.R.F. ideology with the purpose of " forming the public spirit in this direction" ("Official Bulletin of the Olt County", year III, no. 4, February 15, 1940, 1, 7).

The propaganda in the favour of the new regime and the structures created by it was a necessity during the entire period of the monarchic authority regime of King Carol II. The purpose was the inoculation, within the wide public, of the idea of legitimacy of the Carlist regime. The festive propaganda represented, probably, the instrument that contoured and spread in the local communities the image of a nation that is solidary and faithful to its Leader. Despite the intensification of the festive propaganda, the documents from the archives records the reactions of the people towards Carlists organisms, showing a completely different reality than the official one showed by the official propaganda, highlighting, in many cases, a fabricated, artificial popular adhesion.

For example, the massive enlistments in N.R.F. were done, in their majority, from the fear of social repercussions that those that did not show their adhesion to the unique party would have faced, from opportunism or even ignorance. This kind of realities are recorded in the January 1939 informative bulletin, written by the Gendarmes Inspectorate of Vâlcea County. According to this document, regarding the enlistments in the new party, the situation was as follows: "In every commune the number of the enlisted in the National Renaissance Front is quite appreciable; almost all the major men have enlisted, but as we already highlighted in the last month Bulletin, they have done it because they have to, some even say «if this is the order now». The peasants still don't know what the purpose of starting this party is and that is because there is no one to inform them, explain them what is the purpose for which the National Renaissance Front was started. *The movement is completely without enthusiasm. It is considered an obligation that everyone has to comply. It does not start with momentum and enthusiasm, it lacks the fervour that comes from the national feeling (our underlining).* Is not an exalting start that will attract and excite. The movement is started from the top to bottom, is not a sentimental creation of the population that will be transmitted without an interest. It is being enforced that the national renaissance movement should be infiltrated in the heart of the citizen the way it was understood by His Majesty the King. Everyone rightful should contribute in his activity to support the citizen making him believe there is no interest". (National Archives, Dolj, Craiova Gendarmes Inspectorate fund, file No. 8/1939, f. 156).

The realities exposed previously have been seen in the rest of the country, at the level of common people, but also at the level of numerous politicians of those times (Ţurlea 2010, 171; Scurtu 2001, 272; Mânea 1996, *art. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, 264-265).

In these conditions, known also by the Carlist regime's protagonists, the propaganda in favour of the new regime included also the propaganda through the state's institutions and organisms, so that, by the power of their good example, showed to the wide public, more and more supporters for the installed

regime would be gained. The members of the National Guard of N.R.F., "the missionaries" of the new regime, had, amongst other, also the mission of changing the population's mentality and obtaining some real adhesion of it towards the King Carol II's regime (Păunoiu 2013, 52-53).

The commanders, when they were appointed, and the members[78] of the National Guard, when they were enlisted, had to take an oath, that had the following form: "I swear faith to my King, Carol II. I swear love and sacrifice to the Romanian Country and Kind. I swear dutifulness and obedience to the National Guard. So help me God!" ("Official Monitor", part I, year CVII, no. 95, April 25, 1939, 2582).

Appointing the commanders and members of the National Guard was turned into a propagandistic instrument, taking the oaths being organized, in all the 10 counties of the Romanian Kingdom, as public ceremonies. They were organized following a pre-established scenario: "On the entire territory of the country will take place numerous ceremonies for the establishment of the National Guard – taking the oath, religious services, parades, fanfares, gifts for leaders, uniforms, telegrams to the King. (…) everywhere was insisted on the emotional side, trying to influence the population through solemn manifestations, targeting patriotic feelings" (Țurlea 2006, 79, 230).

The units of National Guard were co-opted from the beginning in the festive propagandistic mechanism, specific to the Carlist regime, but, if their participation at national celebrations, religious celebration and Royal Family's anniversaries represented their inclusion in the program established by other authorities of the state, taking the oath festivities were organized by the local leaders of the newly started organisms, and the success of these ceremonies had to symbolize the Guard's popularity, the inoculation within the local communities of the idea of "national front" united around the King Carol II and his political regime, and also attracting new followers. Therefore, the organisation and deployment of the solemnities for taking the oath to the King, country and National Guard of N.R.F., done either by the Guard commanders or by mere members, "received" increased attention from the Carlist authorities.

Therefore, according to instructions from June 2nd, 1939, regarding the good organisation of the oath taking solemnities of the members of the Guard's units from urban areas, sent by General Petre G. Georgescu, commander of the National Guard of N.R.F., to be executed by the local commanders at the local, county and capital level some important aspects had to be taken into consideration. In order to receive a propaganda character, these events had to be announced in time by sending invitations to all local authorities, to officer's core, teaching core, pre-military, guards and by displaying posters in public places so that more members of the local communities could participate. Also, the festivities had to take place in open air, preferable in the centre of towns, and the Guards members had to wear the N.R.F. uniform or, if they did not possess a complete uniform, at least vests. (National Archives, Vâlcea, National Guard of the National Renaissance Front fund, Vâlcea county, file No. 1/1939-1940, p. 56).

The solemnities had to be organized only when at least one company was gathered (formed out of 3 platoons). In the town where high priests (*arhierei*) existed, the religious service had to be performed by them together with a synod of priests. The ceremonies for oath taking had to be finished with parade and in that afternoon the preparation of an artistic festival or a trip around the town was recommended. (*Ibidem*).

The local commanders had to ask newspaper correspondents to write detailed articles and publish them for propaganda purposes; the ceremony had to be photographed and copies of those pictures had to be sent to the central command of the National Guard. Also, General Petre G. Georgescu asked the local commanders to notify him in advance of the date of the oath taking ceremonies so he could participate in person, if his daily activities would allow him.

The commanders of the National Guard of N.R.F. from Olt County[79], at counties units' level have taken the oath of faith to the King, Country and National Guard on May 3rd, 1939. With this

[78] In fact, according to the Regulation for organisation of national Guards, it would have been correct to use the following formula: "candidates for the membership of National Guard of N.R.F.". To make the text easier we will use the formula "members of the National Guard".

[79] On April 24, 1939, through a royal decree, reserve officers in the National Guard of N.R.F. commandments were appointed all around the country. Amongst these we mention the ones named for Olt County: Colonel in reserve Alexandru Viișoreanu, commander of the national Guard from Olt County; colonel in reserve Dumitru Tomescu, commander of National guard from Dolj County; colonel in reserve Haralamb Bădescu, commander of National Guard in Gorj County; colonel in reserve Anghel Ciuciu, commander of the National Guard from Mehedinti County; colonel in reserve Hristea Enăchescu, commander of the National Guard from Olt County; colonel in reserve Pavel Florescu, commander of the National Guard from Romanați County and colonel in reserve Gheorghe Bălăceanu, commander of National Guard from Vâlcea County ("Official Monitor", part I, year CVII, no. 95, April 25, 1939, 2582-2584).

opportunity the royal resident of Olt County[80], Dinu Simian, congratulated the county commanders "for the oath and the devotion with which they were bound to serve" the King Carol II ("Official Bulletin of Olt County", Craiova, year II, No. 12, June 1st, 1939, p.11). Highlighting the importance of the oath just taken ("the pledge") represented a constant characteristic of the speeches held at the oath taking ceremonies.

Relevant for the way the oath taking public ceremonies were organized are the preparations done by the commander of the National Guard from Dolj County to secure the success of the oath taking solemnity of the members of the National Guard of N.R.F. from Dolj County that had to take place in Craiova. Therefore, for the preparation of the mentioned ceremony, fixed for the date of July 2nd, 1939, the National Guard Commander of N.R.F. from Dolj County, sent an address to the administrative director of Olt County, on June 22, asking him to arrange all the necessary measures so that his personnel working for him, that was also enlisted in the National Guard, will participate at the meeting for formation and organisation of the Guard's units, from June 25, that would have taken place in the yard of the National college "Carol I". At the same time, the administrative director requested to ensure the necessary measures so that public functionaries from Craiova enlisted into National Guard will participate at the event of oath taking wearing proper uniform – the N.R.F. uniform, and those that have not been able to procure it, will have a minimal outfit: blue shirt, bonnet, the badge with N.R.F. insignia, leather belt and dark pants (National Archives, Dolj, Royal Residence of Olt County fund, Administrative Service, file No. 29/1939, f. 109).

According to the pre-established program, the solemnity of oath taking by the commander and members of National Guard from Dolj County took place in Craiova, on June 2nd, 1939, between the hours of 8:00 and 15:00. The first part took place in open air, in front of the Royal Residency Palace, in the presents of Royal Resident of Olt County, of general commander of National Guard, General Petre G. Georgescu and the representatives of all civilian and military authorities from the town. After the religious service, the oath was taken by the members of the Guard, followed by occasional speeches. The second part of the program took place in the Theatre hall of the National College "Carol I", having a conference called "Romanian outlook on the state", held by professor Tudor Ștefănescu, followed by an artistic program presented by the orchestra and the choir of the "Mihai Eminescu Community Arts Centre" from Craiova (*Ibidem*, file No. 30/1939, f. 88).

At the end of the festivities, the royal resident Dinu Simian, and the general commander of the National Guard of N.R.F. from Dolj County, sent a telegram in which they ensured the King Carol II that the National Guard from Dolj County "will be on determined duty to do any sacrifice in the interest of Country and the Crown" (*Ibidem*, file no. 2/1939, f. 83). On July 13, the marshal to the Royal Court sent the royal resident of Olt County, the King Carol II's gratitude for the devotion expressed in the mentioned telegram (*Ibidem*, file No. 31/1939, f. 122).

In rural areas, the events for appointing the communes and villages commanders had to take place at the same time, on one site, on one hand to gain time and on the other to increase the festive and propagandistic dimension of the events (S.J.A.N., Vâlcea, National Guard of National Renaissance Front fund, Vâlcea County, file no. 1/1939-1940, f. 135).

Also, according to the instructions given by the General Commander of the National Guard of N.R.F. and communicated by the Commander of the National Guard of Olt County to authorities reporting to him on August 7, 1939, naming the *plasa* commanders – subdivision administrative-territorial of a county – had to be done in the presence of the praetor of that *plasa*, of mayor, lawyers and gendarmes, of all important people from that *plasa*, and also with the participation of a priests synod from the nearest communes to the town that organized the respective events. Even the order of the occasional speeches was established. This way, after the religious service was finished, the priest had to hold the specific speech for interpretation of the bible's teachings of that specific day. The next speech had to be given by the praetor and the last, given by the commander of the National Guard from the county, had to be about the necessity of establishment and the role of the National Guards of F.R.N. (National Archives, Olt, National Guard of National Renaissance Front fund, file No. 1/1939-1940, f. 27).

According to the National Guard's activity report for August 1939, in Olt County the solemnities for naming the Guard's commander was done for all the *plăși* according to the instructions received form central authorities (*Ibidem*, p. 50).

A more detailed document regarding the organisation of the solemnity for taking the oath by the commanders and members of the National Guards

[80] Olt County was one of the ten territorial-administrative units created through decree-law from August 14, 1938 and had the following counties: Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt, Romanați și Vâlcea (Păunoiu 2012, 77-78).

at the *plasa* level is the letter from November 17, 1939, sent by the commander of the National Guard of N.R.F. from Vâlcea County, to all the praetors from the county. According to that document, the solemnities had to take place on the following schedule: the religious service, performed by a synod of priests, the speech of the priest with the highest rank about the meaning of the oath, taking the oath by the commanders and members of the National Guard, from the county; the parade of the formations (National Archives, Vâlcea, National Guard of National Renaissance Front fund, file No. 4/1939-1940, f. 183).

The measures that had to be taken by the praetors, according to the same document, were the following: the commanders of the National Guards at *plasa* level had to wear the mandatory N.R.F. badge and insignia; establish the field of the place where the oath taking ceremonies had to take place; inform the clergy so they can perform the religious service; send the invitations to all local authorities, asking for their support for the success of the festivities, and also send invitations to all local important people, "insisting on having as much population as possible attending" (*Ibidem*).

In general, the demand was that the oath taking solemnities be organized "in a central town of village where as many members as possible from more communes can be concentrated and where more people can participate, given the necessary fast for such a great and important act" (*Ibidem*, file No. 1/1939-1940, f. 250). To attract a numerous public, the local representatives of the unique party displayed posters in public places – "The Call" – to announce the oath taking ceremonies and invited, in an "insisting" way, the population to participate in a high number (National Archives, Gorj, Town Târgu Jiu Police fund, file No. 1/1939, page with no number[81]).

In the autumn of 1939 and the beginning of 1940, the oath taking solemnities for the commanders and members of the National Guard continued to be staged in almost all the villages in rural areas in Olt County. The festive and propagandistic dimension oscillated depending on the attention given by the local authorities. In Olt County, for example, the praetors of *plășile* Potcoava and Crâmpoaia, reported to the county commander of the National Guard that the attendance at oath taking festivities for the 3 county secretaries of N.R.F. "give the solemnity a special dimension" (National Archives, Olt, National Guard of N.R.F. fund, file No. 1/1939-1940, f. 140v).

In Slatina, the residence Town of Olt County, the oath taking solemnity for the members of the National Guard took place on November 12, 1939, being synchronised with the propagandistic festivity with economic character dedicated to wheat and corn. The Commander of National Guard from Olt County reported in November the following: "In the resident town the activity of the National Guard had nice achievements. In November 12, 1939 the cereals day was celebrated and prizes were given. We fit in with taking the oath, this way a special pomp is given to the solemnity. A lot of people were present, important personalities from the town and the county, and also a representative from the Ministry of Agriculture from Bucharest" (*Ibidem*, f. 140v.).

In the speech held with this opportunity, the commander of the National Guard of Olt County highlighted the importance and role of the National Guards for the success of the royal policies regarding the reformation of the Romanian society: "form the order of the Commandment and with the help of God today, by taking the oath of faith for the King and kind, we bound ourselves again to serve our country by giving it our entire support. All the citizens have the duty to support it, the National Guards being those formations that guard and support the National Renaissance Front in their work of rebuilding and consolidating the country. (…) And for each of us, the members of the National Guard, to be a pion of labor and honesty to raise the Romanian masses at the heights of the time we live in. (…) Because our celebration is followed by another national celebration, that of wheat and corn that forms our daily bread, I end by asking you to unite with me in one voice and shout from all our heart long live His Majesty King Carol II, long leave His Majesty Great *Voievod* of Alba Iulia" (*Ibidem*, file No. 2/1939, f. 59).

In Laloș commune, Bălcești *plasa*, Vâlcea County, the commander was installed, on October 26, 1939, in the presence of communal authorities and numerous inhabitants. The pre-established program of the solemnity ended with the intonation of the royal anthem (S.J.A.N., Vâlcea, National Guard of N.R.F. fund, Vâlcea County, file No. 5/1939-1940, f. 142).

A more detailed document regarding the deployment of the oath taking solemnity is represented by the report issued by the National Guard commander from Râmnic *plasa*, sent to the commander of the Vâlcea County. So, on February 18, 1940, the National Guard from the Fundul

[81] Page without a number from the respective file representing „The Call" of the N.R.F. Secretariat from Gorj County, addressed to the citizens of Târgu Jiu Town to participate, on November 26, 1939, at the oath taking solemnity of the members of N.R.F. and the National Guard's comrades.

Scundului commune, formed out of 22 members, together with their commander, at the end of the religious service, in the presence of a numerous public ("all communal authorities, pre-military youngsters, guardians and a large number of villagers"), took the oath of faith. The priest that held the religious service explained to the public the meaning of the oath and the duties that come with this vow, extending his speech towards "the miraculous metamorphosis" of the people by highlighting the fact that people which, in the old regime, were opposite groups, in "the new regime" work together to regenerate the Romanian society: Thanks from my heart to Captain Teodorescu, the commander of the National Guard from Râmnic *plasa* for the beautiful achievement to gather in a wisp of real friendship, achieving in a short time to make, from all those that hated each other, a single lever for straightening the family, village, church and country. I look at you and it seems like a nice dream that, with all my efforts over the years, I have not been able to reach" (*Ibidem*, file No. 4/1939-1940, f. 340).

Next was the speech of the commander of the National Guard from Râmnic *plasa* that highlighted the role and the duties of the Guard's units in the context of war that was on the continent. At the end, were made, in an enthusiastic atmosphere, the usual wishes to King Carol II and the Heir Prince Mihai: "The solemnity ended with wishes of health and long life addressed to the one that with strong arm and without sleep and enlighten mind stays at the helm of the boat of our kind's destinies, His Majesty King Carol II, in the endless wishes and stormy applauses of the present ones. On the faces of many tears of joy have been seen. It was wished to His Majesty Mihai Great *Voievod* of Alba Iulia the hope of the futures of the ones coming after us. After that, the entire assistance sings the royal anthem in an exalted patriotic atmosphere" (*Ibidem*, f. 340v.).

The collaboration of the Guard's representatives with other institutions of the state was a constant on which the success of the oath taking solemnity of the National Guard of N.R.F. units depended heavily, especially because in the rural areas, in most of the cases, the public ceremonies included the oath for the commander and for the members of the Guard. These collaborations presumed in fact, material and human resources of the local administration[82], and also supplementary activities for simple functionaries, that, by not participating at the regular and festive program of the newly started formation, practically betrayed the adhesion, sometime forced by the social factors, to the National Guard.

These realities made Gheorghe Bălăceanu, the commander of the National Guard in Vâlcea County, to ask, on December 14, 1939, the help from the Mayor of Râmnicu – Vâlcea. To obtain the success of the oath taking solemnities of the National Guards units from Râmnicu-Vâlcea town and Râmnic *plasa*, the mayor was asked to order "to pave the entrances in the yard of boys high school, and also the place where the religious service will be held, following the indications coming from us. With this opportunity, we ask you to *issue an order to the City Hall functionaries to be present when the oath will be taken, because they enlisted as members, but we do not know the reasons they stopped participating at the meetings, although the Ministry of Internal Affairs will ask for «the Attendance Sheets» from the National Guard – papers that we will not provide, if they do not fulfil at least the formality of taking the oath (our underline)*" (*Ibidem*, f. 216).

The public ceremony with the occasion of taking the oath by the National Guard from Drăgășani *Plasa*, Vâlcea County, highlighted two contradictory situations, two different realities. On one side, the authorities from Drăgășani collaborated with the local Guard's representatives to ensure the success of oath taking solemnity, and some formations of the National Guard, although they "had to walk long distances and on muddy roads, still they came, showing discipline and obedience spirit, that produced a high joy amongst the assistance" (*Ibidem*, f. 202).

On the other side, the lack of official outfit – the uniform and the rest of the N.R.F. symbols – on the part of local authorities representatives highlighted the fact that the propagandistic scenario that should have been staged by the Carlist regime's protagonists was undermined exactly by the people "in charge with" giving an example to local communities: "Still, I find appropriate to communicate to you (the prefect of Vâlcea County – our note) that the fact that none of the representatives of the local authority wore the N.R.F. uniform did not made a good impression. If we are to admit the hypothesis that they did not have N.R.F. mantles, still they had to wear the N.R.F. badge and insignia, something they did not do. The local police also participated «as civilians», an inadmissible fact. With this said, I invite you with honour that you will be

[82] See, for a detailed analysis of the local administration politicization in the context of the unique party regime, Păunoiu 2012, 152-184.

kind enough to order everyone reporting to you that, at the National Guard's solemnities, if they don't posess complete N.R.F. outfit, at least they will wear the N.R.F. badge and insignia" (*Ibidem*).

In the context of military recruitments, changing some commanders of some units of the National Guard shortly after they were named and presented to the public with the specific ceremony created, according to the report from September 29, 1939, written by the Commander of the National Guard from Olt County, "small discontents, with all the explanations given about the need of enforcing the military units" (*Ibidem*, file No. 1/1939-1940, f. 199).

On October 9, 1939, The General Commander of the National Guard of N.R.F. issued an order that, the reason of military recruitments will not become a reason for changing the local commanders. In the context of replacing 3 *plasă* commanders, the General Commander of National Guard asked from the Commander of Olt County explanations regarding the reason for the changes: "Regarding the replacement you have made in the command of the *plăși*, we ask if it did not cause discontents and if you took into consideration the Commandment order No. 8094 from 9/X this year that, in paragraph 4, specified clearly that some commanders have been replaced, without a serious reason, but only because they have been mobilized or recruited. So, it should be understood they could not have been replaced for these reasons alone, because they have been named with fast, they took an oath and had activity in this quality" (National Archives, Olt, National Guard of N.R.F. fund, Olt County, file No. 1/1939, f. 133).

The justification answer, from November 24, 1939, from the commander of the Olt County, is interesting. According to him, two of the commanders that have been replaced (*plășile* of Potcoava and Drăgănești) did not fulfil the tasks they had as National Guard commanders, delaying the works for organising the Guard's units in the respective *plăși*. The third commander (*plasa* Dumitreşti) was replaced because he "did not activate a single day in the National Guard", not being "installed as a commander because he was not present – was recruited" (*Ibidem*, f. 134). Also, the county commander claimed that none of the replaced commanders took the oath (*Ibidem*). Still, the same commander of the Olt County, reported on August 1939 that the solemnities for the oath taking of the National Guards took place according to orders transmitted from the central authorities (*Ibidem*, f. 50).

The correspondence between different authorities involved in the oath taking solemnities of the commanders and members of the National Guard from Olt County highlights the fact that these have been organised and took place according to a festive ritual, characteristic to Carlist propagandistic policy, defined by staging some pre-established programs, including: religious services, speeches held by prestigious persons from respective communities, parades, fanfares, artistic programs, telegrams read to the participating public and sent to King Carol II, symbols – the roman salute, uniforms (N.R.F., guardian, military), and distinctive signs (badges, insignias, etc.), royal anthem, patriotic songs, etc. All these propagandistic elements had the role of creating a certain spirit, give "the crowd one unique soul" (Domenach 2004, 91).

The success of the oath taking solemnities of the National Guard of N.R.F. units presumed, in the opinion of the Carlist regime's supporters, an identical reproduction of the pre-established programs and initial instructions. The oath taking public ceremonies, just as other festive events, had to confirm the regime as one of order and discipline and create, within the local communities, the image of the "national front" united around the Leader.

In these conditions, the atypical situations, appeared with the occasion of taking the oath by the commanders and members of national Guard from Olt County, highlighted the vitiation of the official message and the formality of the local National Guards that came, mainly, from socio-professional constraints that lead to the adherence of many to the National Guard (and also other Carlist organisms).

Any deviation from the official festive register meant, practically, a setback for the transfer of the trust and enthusiasm that should have been transmitted from the main actors of festivities (the members of the national Guard of N.R.F., authority's representatives, etc.) towards the secondary ones (regular members of local communities).

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AFTER 8:15. CHANGES IN THE JAPANESE POST-WAR LITERARY GENERATIONS

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***Abstract**: As war representations have not yet ceased to uprise in literary works, in this study we have intended to classify the post-war generations of writers in the Japanese modern and contemporary literature. Analysing the changes in mentality, as well as in literary references and symbols of the post-war decades up to the present, we have opened the discussion towards a reading of the post-war Japanese literature as fulfilling a healing function.*

Four generations of prose writers can be identified during 1945-2010. The change consists in progressive awareness in the collective mentality of the war spiritual implications. From a programmatic shutdown of the new in favour of the traditional past, through a conscious and deliberate anger release to utopic and dystopic escape up to finally accepting a new reality and a new beginning, Japanese post-war literature has strived to define itself, to find itself a place, a home, so that it surpasses the identity crisis through the healing feature of literature.

***Keywords:** identity, post-war, literature, Japanese, destruction, healing*

A war shakes down not only an army or a country, but a continuum of generations, and if we refer to a world war, the losses are progressively growing from human losses to mentality changes. It is beyond questioning that war consequences are to be seen all the way down to the collective subconscious where the future artistic seed grows only to burst out into an aggressive and outstanding form of art, unrelated to any visible reality.

For a long term war undermines life's natural course of action. At the level of mentality discourse this war scar is to be faced within artistic, *i.e.* literary representation, and Japanese contemporary literature is one of the most entitled to show these long term effects, due to its unique war experience: we read about frustrated teenagers, spiritually collapsed middle-aged men, suicides.

In the Japanese literary field we can identify two major attitudes towards post-war mentality changes: one of denial of change and preservation of the traditional past (or, in other words, escape from the new reality into the exoticism of the traditional past, which is to be seen in Kawabata or Mishima's novels), and the other one of dealing with the entire frustration, emptiness and dehumanization, thus fighting barehanded the dragon of destruction like in the literary works of Ōe, Murakami, Yoshimoto.

From the historical perspective, these two attitudes are recognizable in two periods, which are the Shōwa Era and the Heisei Era. Shōwa (1926-1989) is the era of „shining peace", which includes the storm before the rainbow: World War II. This true worldwide war has changed the face of the world, bringing forward USA and Russia. Japan has lost everything, from the political and territorial power in China to the ultimate surrender: the power of the Emperor. Offering a larger perspective on World War II consequences, we may say that on August 10, 1945 Japan has lost its national identity. From that moment on, the old Japan lived only in its art and collective subconscious. Nevertheless, there was a transition, a painful and scarred one that had terrible consequences in the collective subconscious. It was a transition towards a new Japan, which is still struggling to define itself, reconfiguring the traditional self with the Western influences that have built the modern Japan, process that had begun voluntarily in the Meiji Era and continued after World War II. From the social point of view, the post-war years have covered the visible defeat with American financial support and Japanese human force, which had strength "never fully repaid" (Vasiliu, 1999, 443). As for the economic situation, by the '90s Japan had already become the second economic world power, but marked by a progressive spiritual collapse.

The '60s represented both "bubble economy" (Hashimoto, 1999, 7) and the years of social fights known by the students' counterculture movement, *Zenkyōtō*, which promoted autonomy and self-management, individual freedom rather than individualism, expressing critical opinions on Leninism and Stalinism voiced by the Japan Communist Party (Anderson, 2006). At that time important political actions were taking place such as

Ampo (the revised version of the USA-Japan Security Treaty), which provoked some of the massive demonstrations in the post-war history (Buckley, 2006). At the same time there were people fighting against the Vietnam War and against the Peace Treaty between Japan and North Korea. Regardless of all pressure "by the spring of 1970, the student strikes had ended (...) and it was clear that 1970 Ampo would fail to achieve its goals" (Steinhoff, 1999, 4). The following economic recession, begun in the late 1963, led to "stock panic" that has grown up to 1990s, when the bubble economy collapsed (Hashimoto, 1999, 7). Along with this downturn, from the social and artistic perspective there has been also a second shakedown. In the literary field we find writers who have fictionalized the social struggles (Mishima Yukio, Ōe Kenzaburō) and writers who have shadowed these realities under intertextual dystopian narratives (Abe Kōbō), some politic satire being though sensed (Leith Morton in Sandra Buckley, 2006).

This is the time when Janus' faces fall apart. A void is created between Kawabata's world and Abe Kōbō or Murakami Haruki's, the same void sensed between the excessively stereotyped Japan's exoticism by the non-Japanese and the Japan's reality of the end of the XXth century. The rebelled sixties can be read in the fictional works of writers as Abe Kōbō, Ōe Kenzaburō, Mishima Yukio or Murakami Haruki. Referring to literary techniques, the period is characterized by postmodernism, while the *shishōsetsu* revives from the '80s the postmodern narrative implying parody, irony, intertextuality, fragmentarism, genre-shifts, revealing either the absurdity of life, or the loss of identity in "the monstrous development of technology and transport", as Ōe reveals in his discourse when receiving the Nobel Prize in 1994 (Ōe, 1995).

The most profitable surrender, as it has been called, reveals its hideous face: people give up family life so that this second greatest Japanese institution, demolished by promoting the nucleus family as borrowed from the American role model (Yoshikawa, 1999, 13-14), give up social life for work. The profound Japanese spirit of loyalty, of honour, has shifted off its gravity center from the Emperor's Institution, which continues to exist only as an intangible symbol, to the Company Institution. But the repercussions of this shift are already seen in social alienation, voluntary death (Hașu Bălan, 2014, 162-169). The present literature exorcises just these failings in which man dissolves himself in a more and more artificial, conventional and *cyber* world.

That world of their present was agonizing, thus one of the defense mechanisms, that of the anguish, frustration, and identity crisis discharge is to be seen in writing. The image of these novels is a scrapbook in which drug, alcohol, sex, abuse, disappearance, death, dream, sleep and lie are the elements that swarm and lurk in the cities for it is truly an urban world, moreover, a suburban one. The characters, mostly youngsters are melancholic, smart and beatnik and have facile occupations, their passions being seldom music, reading, and often partying, shopping, walking: "Selfish men and women, often intelligent, often emotional and almost always melancholic, they lead a life without purpose (…) everything *nantonaku*" (Katō, 1998, 892).

Caught at the border between dream/nightmare and reality, the characters act at random because they don't find any existential meaning. They lead their life with no goal, deeply fallen into the biologic, with an acute sense of lack and loss. What the characters or, perhaps, the authors have lost is both individual and collective stability in a time when technology overdoes the human.

The next generation of writers belong to the Heisei Era (1989 – up to present day), which is defined by reaching the peak of the process of Westernization. It is the time when the struggle for a new identity passed the negation period and started looking for new ways of expression. The excessive Westernization, dominated by uncontrolled consumerism, has led, along with the rapid technological innovation, to a pathological mutation: extreme deadly isolation (among the youngsters - *hikikomori* and the elders - *kadokushi*). Nowadays, it seems that Japan is dealing with the most recent outburst of their hereditary fanatic tendencies: thirst for money, labour exhaustion that leads, at its most serious extent, to losing one's humanity. This lifestyle has caught people into a dehumanizing vortex, assumed during the American occupation when the Japanese accepted the American aid and worked their way up to the position of the second world power. The economic recession forced people to work hard to regain the financial stability; therefore work became the most powerful engine.

Nevertheless, the success of economic and political liberalism, grafted on Japanese traditions and institutions, guarantee, in Francis Fukuyama's opinion, their survival in long term (Fukuyama, 1994, 29). Their advanced science and their willingness to learn are sufficient reasons so that Fukuyama's theory would prove itself.

Writers of Heisei Era are significantly different from their predecessors, in whose prose the reader finds a completely unrecognizable world, especially not Japanese, except the characters' names.

The writers Yoshimoto Banana and Murakami Haruki are transitional writers; Akasaka Mari, Kanehara Hitomi, Taguchi Randy are some of the new writers who explore new facets of their time, filtered only by the subjective self of the narrator leaving outside their interest in any theoretical or political insights. The famous dichotomy between pure literature and popular literature (*junbungaku* and *taishūbungaku*) is no longer a concern among writers and critics because of the new realities, the literary and political history (so closely bound), which has ushered to other ways of conceiving sense and uttering new taxonomies.

This generation of writers represents the second generation born after the war. The people of this *sine culpa* generation are the real war victims, being forced to live in a world that is new and empty even for their parents. Man has no longer place in a *cyber*-world, so he must find a way to surpass it and regain humanity.

If narrating means searching one's origin, as Roland Barthes says in *La Plaisir du texte* (Barthes, 2006, 41), then these writers are just calling out the lack of identity roots. Without being able to identify themselves with the traditional Japan and, at the same time, not fitting into the new world, the authors and their characters can't find an *axis mundi*. Mircea Eliade explains "the crisis of modern societies by the absence of an intrinsic myth" (Eliade, 1998, 19). Still, myth as in Aristotelian *mythos* is consubstantial to human nature, and its loss is only at the surface, because it revives in other form or place, and while in the ancient society myth related to religion, in the modern time, it springs out of the "obscure zones of the psych or the society's secondary activities or even the irresponsible ones" (*ibid.* 31) in the artistic field. Mythical symbols can be foreseen in the Japanese modern and contemporary literature, but they must be resuscitated so that man could recognize and absorb them in the collective cultural imagery, taming the monsters of the technological world.

Acknowledging this, we can understand the reason for so many dystopias in the Japanese post-war novels. The urge to escape history has created new fictional worlds which represent (as in Plato's *mimesis*) a simulacrum of a dull reality in which myth has, only at a closer look, the power to certify life.

In this study we focus on Abe Kōbō, Mishima, Ōe Kenzaburō, Murakami Haruki, Murakami, of the Shōwa Era and Yoshimoto Banana, Akasaka Mari, Kanehara Hitomi, Taguchi Randy of the Heisei Era. This selection of authors points out their literary profiles, and themes as alienation, defeat of intellect, loss of identity, absurdity of life, up to excruciating violence, fragmentation, loneliness, and internalization of shock in healing, reinventing womanhood.

Two Nobel Prizes stand for the significant value of this literature, which in fact is defining for its evolution. The gap between traditional Japan and modern Japan is grasped by these two writers in their conferment discourses: *Japan, The Beautiful, and Myself* of Kawabata and *Japan, The Ambiguous, and Myself* of Ōe. These texts express the mentality changes. Even though by the time when Kawabata won the Nobel Prize, Japan had already changed from a traditional, feudal to a modern civilization, westernized to a considerable extent, his novels are "exquisite elegies to a lost Japanese past" (Napier, 1999, 14).

Insofar there is a first crevice in the Japanese literature between traditional and new, especially in post-war writers such as Kawabata and Ōe. Even if they both are representative for *junbungaku*, the spiritual shift lays in their aesthetics. Although Kawabata is historically speaking a post-war writer, his pre-war youth had defined his perception of life, so that he struggled to maintain the traditional values at present, ignoring not only the historical and social facts, but also the impact of the voluntary Western education, which must have produced changes in the structure of man's world view, inoculating a larger and innovative perspective. The contact with the Western thought, the historical context in which he had lived, that is both Taishō and Shōwa Eras, have caused Kawabata's nostalgia for the traditional past. He has sharply grasped the downturn of modern Japanese society and wrote with a legacy oriented conscience. The future Japanese, as well as the outsiders, should read the beautiful Japan.

Ōe, on the other hand, had a different type of mismatch between his beliefs on the educative role of literature and the world, as a war survivor, encompassing the terror, the incapacities caused by the nuclear physical, emotional, and social effects. His ambiguous Japan was the real face of his time, the confusing and blurring times, which Ōe experienced and assumed.

Then, a second crevice is to be seen between Ōe's generation and Murakami Haruki's generation. Ōe had fought to some extent with the same naivety as Kawabata for a lost ideal, a different one: that of *junbungaku*, a force that would "enlighten Japan and the Japanese to reality and culture" (Ōe, 1989, 199). This represented the form in which the aims of the post-war writers ("giving vent to cultural energies that had been suppressed since the pre-war days" (*ibid.* 199)) were to be encapsulated for the next generations' heritage. However, Ōe himself understands that the year when Mishima Yukio

committed suicide, 1970, was "the year in which the curtain fell for post-war literature" (*ibid.* 199), and the period of the following years "coincides with the decline of *junbungaku*" (*ibid.* 200), marked by the ascendancy of Murakami Haruki. But, as opposed to Mishima who chose voluntary death, Ōe chose "voluntary life" (Ninomiya, 1989, 210), which means living without anaesthesia the ordeal of the post-war reality with the intent of surviving it physically and, moreover, spiritually, intellectually. *A Personal Matter* (1964), *The Silent Cry* (1967), *A Quiet Life* (1990), they all deal frontally with the mess, both physical and psychological, of war consequences. The characters, overwhelmed by the incapacity of undoing any of the wrongs, must go on and they actually are moving, are taking action, they find themselves in a continuous movement because otherwise, if they cease to move, they cease to breath, and death is no answer.

Along with Mishima and Ōe, there is also Abe Kōbō. Their writing represents a well-defined stage in the Japanese prose evolution. They are the Japanese that have experienced the two World Wars and have survived, and they belong to the first post-war generation of writers. The traumas and the scars are all over their artistic works. They write with a different conscience than the pre-war writers, they have lived the most horrifying experiences and yet they do not pose as victims, they shout their doomed condition, they fight to heal and start from scratch, and in order to do this they consume their wordy power to search for national identity, even if that means to go through destruction.

From the historical perspective, this is the time when Japan received from the American occupation the chance to rebuild itself physically. The costs were great, Japan grew different people during that decade, and among them the future well-known writer Murakami, thus representing the second post-war generation, a generation without roots, which increased the identity crisis that the first post-war generation had grasped and struggled to cure. They, including Murakami, who stands for a symbolic bridge, "share a common sense of the spiritual emptiness with some aspects of sublimity" (Napier, *idem*, 16). The writers' search for the sublime is literally transposed, as Susan J. Napier is arguing in the same article: "Ōe's search for the sublime does not end in a nihilistic celebration of emptiness (Mishima, Abe) or resignation (Murakami). Instead of it, his search is a never-ending quest that has as its object redemption and rebirth" (*ibid.* 16). It is though a bleak literature, dominated by images of destruction, pointing out the absurdity of life, the insignificance of man in front of inexorable destiny. Here Abe Kōbō exposes *le mal du monde* with the most "objective, logical and lucid" (Yamanouchi, 1978, 153-145) control, in a Kafka manner, literary transfiguring man's solace entrapment in the contemporary society. In *The woman of the dunes* (1962), the metaphor of the "labyrinth of the dunes" (*ibid.* 156) reveals his overall attitude towards the political, social and artistic reality in the early post-war years. His novels use dystopias as to exorcise the alienation and the identity crisis, even if that "ends in the defeat of the intellect" (Cassegård, 2007, 149). For example, the dystopias of the sand village, as well as the big city, which ingest human identity and individuality, are "metaphors of social machinery that is about to crush the heroes" (*ibid.* 148).

Mishima, on the other hand, stresses the relation of the rapid changes in the Japanese society with its aesthetic function in order to convey a sane national identity image, only that he can't find the resorts for that to happen and he strangles through the pains of alienation, masks, obsession of death. His final suicidal gesture reveals, along with Kawabata's, "the huge dessert, which was about to take shape during the high economic growth of the '60s" (Nishikawa, 1988, 270). In his endeavour he approaches Ōe's conceptions of *junbungaku*.

At this stage, we may notice the ultimate search for authenticity under the shell of alienation and loss of identity. These authors were carrying two battles: one against losing authenticity, as the Westernization process was digging deeper into the Japanese conscience, and the other against losing the identity in the post-war occupational years. The engulfing in "the destructive and nihilist aesthetics of the post-war", seen by Nishikawa Nagao in Mishima's literary input of *The Temple of Golden Pavilion* (1956) when Mizoguchi burns down the representative artefact of national cultural identity, has driven him to consider it "the most general interpretation of this age" (Nishikawa, 1988, 252). Thus, authenticity can serve the world if "transformed into an art form" (Yamanouchi, 1978, 152) and this is all these novelists have strived to do.

A third crevice is recognizable between Murakami Haruki and Yoshimoto Banana. That period gathers writers as Murakami Haruki, Murakami Ryū, and Yamada Taichi. These writers were born immediately after the World War II and grew up in the wail of the dead, with the accelerating economic rhythm. At this point identity crisis has got to the utmost, regardless of the economic boom. Technology, highly advancing, has damaged the core of human existence, creating a starving consumerist monster, leaving behind merely breathing human shells.

From the historical perspective, it's the late of Shōwa and the beginning of Heisei, breeding new people, conveying the old (the inner spiritual self of traditional Japan, unexpectedly arising from deep down the id of collective memory) and the new (a westernized, powerful self, having assumed both victim and torturer posture) into a "Japan innocent of the Bomb, a Japan inured to the taint of wartime guilt" (Sheriff, in Snyder, Gabriel, 1999, 280).

One of the problematic themes of these writers' concern is the image of the parents, as a symbol of *home*, that spiritual, psychological, and overall emotional place, which connects the generations in the time spiral of life that one needs in order to become a sound adult. Yamada Taichi describes in his novel *Strangers* (1987) a ghostly encounter of the main character with his dead parents. Reconciliation is needed in order to restore Harada's inner equilibrium, and by confronting his fears that were holding him back and suckling his life energy, he manages to stay alive and put order in his messed life. This novel is the expression of those times when there was no clarity and fearful monsters were swarming through people's souls.

Murakami Ryū envisions throughout his novels' imaginary the destruction and the violence that his outside world transfigures through him in artistic *écriture*. *In the Miso Soup* (1998), an allegory of the American occupation, visualizes, for Murakami Ryū is an imagistic writer, the excruciated violence of ripping apart the Japanese by the American Frank (an obvious symbol of the American male, *i.e.* soldier). Surprisingly, Murakami's attitude towards this, through the voice of Kenji, a touristic guide (!), is not of excoriating the evil American slaughterer, but of sympathizing with him, based on the argument that his horrifying crimes were just: Japan was living in a void of communication, sympathy, or transcendence. The wealthy physical life had destroyed a healthy inner and socially interconnected life. In his study on shock and naturalization, Cassegård describes accurately the world in which Ryū's characters destroy and are being destroyed: "a «perfectly wrong» world can only be defeated through total apocalypse" (Cassegård, 2007, 190), mastered by agents of shock, because in this context of boredom caused by wealth, "shocks have to be consciously produced" (*ibid.* 190). *Coin Locker Babies* (1980) produces a dystopia in Tokyo's core, named Toxitown, "a modern-day Yoshiwara (…) designed to siphon off the dangerous contagions of the city: sexuality, criminality, deviance, in a word, difference" (Snyder, 1999, 210). This is the way Murakami Ryū copes with all the wrongs of his time in the same search for authenticity. Examples of the social realities, which marked those years cracking the fiction, are smoothly placed intra-textually, the two main characters of the novel mentioned above being built on the "actual incidents of abandonment in the late 1960s and early 1970s" (*ibid.* 209). Nevertheless, he aims at provoking a healing process through shock in dystopian worlds, which will cure the self of boredom and artificiality.

As for Murakami Haruki, he fills his fictional worlds with fantasia in both utopian and dystopian *topoi* in the direction of the magical realism, thus conquering a wider public. His Nobel nominalization is an irrefutable proof of his internationally imagery skills. Even if one of his novels imply an apocalyptic version of the world, *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and at the End of the World* (1985), this Hades is the reverse of Murakami Ryū's hellish apocalypses. It is an old town, similar to the medieval Moore's *Utopia*. This "land of the dead" (Cassegård, 207, 169) is suspended idyllic *topos* and consequently a non-menacing one, unlike the apocalyptic end of Tokyo in Murakami Ryū's *Coin Locker Babies* (1980). His narrative style, marked by "humour, lightness, simplicity, and clarity" assured Murakami Haruki with "a new sensibility far removed from the traditional Japanese mainstream of autobiographical realism and seemingly liberated from the ghosts of World War II" (Rubin, 1999, 177). The style, often criticized for expressing the pop-culture tendency of young Japanese, has caught the essence of that troubled time and functioned as a healer, a soft-cored, as opposed to Ryū's hard-cored. Boredom, the most spread out reaction to alienation, which led even to voluntary death, is also hunting the mostly-male characters' lives. Murakami treats it by small concentrated doses of fantasy: a wild sheep, impressive ears, an underground island and INKlings, an invisible annoying aunt, two moons and little people weaving an air chrysalis. Western references (European, but especially American, referring to the high reception of the American civilization from the occupational years in which he grew up) abound in his fictional imagery, be it literary or musical, portraying the very westernized present-day society. Of all Western writers, Proust seems to have activated in his making of the worlds the relation between characters and time. *1Q84* (2010) is a complex novel, up-rising different categories of symbols, exploring various intertextual references and political and religious criticism. Proust's *À la recherche de temps perdu* or Orwell's *1984* represent the main literary directions, while religious fanaticism erodes underground social life, pointing out fictionally what has revealed as documentary in the non-fictional *Underground* (1997).

Yoshimoto represents the next tie between generations, corresponding to the forth crevice. Regarded as an "indicator of paradigmatic shifts in the Japanese society" (Sheriff, in Snyder, Gabriel, 1999, 280), she is the promoter of a different identity quest, which has distinguished this generation as a *sine culpa* generation or, in Yoshimoto's words – the Japanese without guilt (*ibid.* 285) - , to which the war is a horrible tale, although its ghost haunted them unconsciously, bursting in fiction. Artistry is once again a fertile channel and this time it is a healing pipe for this generation, as opposed to the previous ones; it no longer destroys, but rebuilds. The struggle for identity may have reached a healing point, manifested in womanly ways.

These young women writers, like Akasaka Mari, Kanehara Hitomi or Taguchi Randy, along with Yoshimoto Banana, focuses on trivial subjects, at a superficial look, but if one digs up into their imagery, he/she will find a blooming meadow of fresh symbols, like nostalgia, vibrations, tattoos, revealing a fresh literary start. The connection with the collective subconscious lays within the loss, another expression of the same of identity, only which now it is hidden behind trivial, bored, transsexual, consumerist, and mundane lives. The main connecting wire is the body, which for each of these writers acts meaningfully different. Through body experience their characters find the relays to connect with the human universal spirit, in an effort to recover identity, engraving their literature a healing end.

Through nostalgia, defined by Murakami Fuminobu as longing for the impossible return to primary satisfaction of an original object, which has been lost, Yoshimoto Banana is searching for a sexual identity: "the nostalgia frequently narrated in Banana's fiction represents (…) the desire to go back to the pre-Oedipal, original pre-castratory state, in which distinctions between masculinity and femininity, authority and obedience, and even between superiority and inferiority did not exist" (Murakami, 2005, 70). We may understand now, from the war experience point of view that the search is still directed towards the core of the individual's identity as a piece of the national spiritual existence. "To feel at home" (*ibid*. p.82) is the urge of this people who can't relate to the Other in the context of the *topoi in situ*. The place and the people seem to not granting any home resemblance, therefore Yoshimoto's characters "try to transgress the borderlines between cultural, gender and sexual otherness and familiarity [and by this] keep on attempting to create new human relations." (*ibid*. 93). Her prose strives to eliminate the heterosexual male figure as a reaction to the torturer posture of the Japanese soldiers implying that "being Japanese without guilt becomes possible if one refuses to construct a positive vision of mature (hetero, reproductive, adult) manhood and instead only embraces a fantastic androgynous male presence" and thus healing a male figure society through reducing the virility to non-reproductive homosexual pattern. *Kitchen* (1988) narrates "incest, suicide, drugs, murder, transsexuality, lethal violence – with utter nonchalance" (Sheriff, *idem*, 293); the novel has a female heroine in the center to whom loneliness is healed with food, the kitchen *topoi* fulfilling the role of a new *axis mundi*, a space without the "terror of the father" (*ibid.* 299), being *par excellence* the *topoi* of the woman.

This generation of young female writers has been typed in as "generational shift" (King, 2008, 2), following Yoshimoto in openly expressing the young female conscience, her inner identity consumption into "becoming functional adults" (*ibid*. 5) in a post – bubble economy society.

Winning the Akutagawa Prize in 2004, due to the "promise and radical depictions of the feelings of modern-day youth" (Murakami Ryū in King, 2008, 7), as Murakami Ryū stated, Kanehara Hitomi brings forward in her novel *Snakes and earrings* (2003) the young generation of *freeters* – "slang portmanteau of the English 'free' and the German arbeiter, meaning 'worker', and the term is used to indicate those who either refuse to, or are unable to, find continuous, sustainable employment" (King, 2008, 4) – who grew up during the time of the economic uncertainty following the '90s. What came of it is a "«damaged» youth searching for new values and ways of living in a materially wealthy but spiritually hollow age, marked by isolation, alienation, *ijime* and violence" (Ashby, 2004). Her fiction explores the underground world of outsiders, where piercing and tattoos make a difference in coping with the adulthood to be: "a gangster, a punk and a Barbie Girl. Together we're a real [screwed] up combination" (Kanehara, 2005, 61).

There are two keywords of interest to our present study that validate Kanehara's prose within our classification. These are tattoo and female body experience. The snake tattoo, whose eye awakes, sends links to Taguchi Randy's symbolic feelers that connect the invisibles wires of the world, thus purchasing a modern myth discussion. Tattooing the skin is a permanent action on the body, which reveals at a wider view that "the Japanese characters themselves become the site of meaning" (Mowbray-Tsutsumi, 2014, 7). In the history of Japan, tattooing has been a form of art since the Edo Period, when it was an important stage in revealing the *femme fatale* of a geisha. From the literary perspective, Kanehara's tattoo may be considered a postmodern reading of

Tanizaki Jun'ichiro's *The Tattoo* (1910). Whereas Tanizaki's short story "can be read as an allegory of eternal woman or eternal beauty" (Kristeva, 2009, 73), Kanehara's novel is a renewal signal of woman's power in a male-dominated world.

Up to these days, tattooing has been changing its usage into a fashionable accessory, but up to a certain extent it has not altered its artful function so that its mythical function revives in a facile postmodern novel, revealing what Mircea Eliade called "camouflaged sacred within the profane". Beyond Kanehara's intention, the tattoo of an awaking snake carries mythological or even biblical significations, genuine-related to womanhood. Geisha's femininity hasn't gone extinct. Under the Barbie-girl cover the *femme fatale* of XXI century awakes.

A Shamanic power of the woman arises from Taguchi's novel, entitled *Concent* (2000). The woman becomes a spiritually healing outlet (through sexuality, as a physical engine that connects the subconscious and conscious energies). The semiautobiographical novel reveals one facet of the "damaged generation" (see *supra*), the one of the most challenging social phenomenon, the *hikikomori*, who "are young males (from 15 to 30 years old), who isolate themselves indoors, shutting off all external communication, up to such a degree that they die in total reclusion. The major causes are: lack of communication, high degree of repressed feelings, shame of failure, high social and familial expectations, all intrinsically related to the Confucian educational legacy in a male-dominated society, with a consistent heritage of suicide" (Hașu Bălan, 2014, 165). We may now grasp a correlation with the ascendance of womanhood and the decay of manhood. Japan might experience at this point the spiritual effect of the World War II. The guilt, the chaos have been in a decantation process deep down in the subconscious, and what remained after the years is the core of the whole human catastrophe sifted over the inoculated male-dominant egotism of a closed society: homophobia. Internet addicted social parasites, they let themselves die, except that this cannot and, probable will not be the end. This is the intrigue of Taguchi's novel and she becomes the outlet of all the damaged men, healing unaware psychological wounds through sex, the female reproductive organ being the outlet of connecting the visible with the invisible, so that life would prevail.

Akasaka Mari uses in *Vibrator* (1998) the voice as the relay of human interrelationships and of the individual with his/her inner-self. Up bringing the *voice* and all its vibrations in a world in which frequencies don't intersect, and communication is lost in a thicket of voices – the self must rebuild itself out of broken puzzle pieces. Discourse fragmentation suggests the same rebellious attitude towards the deaf society, to which the human being is merely a trifling inconsistent mass. Spiritually mutilated lives fight to keep inner coherence through sound. Set in the same consumerist world, filled with maddening loneliness, violence, darkness, shady individuals, the novel goes towards healing. The characters discover through sex and vibrations of the human voice the human genuine love emotion.

Taking into analysis these writers, we may reveal the inner revolution of the mechanism of creating worlds by the meanings of words. The classification into four periods of the post-war Japanese literature allows the reader to understand better the historical and social implications, which had been influencing literary outcomes. Literature has always had the role of healing spiritual wounds, regardless of its origins.

Note: "8:15" refers to the time of the atomic release on Hiroshima on the 6th of August, 1945.

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OUR DIRECTOR (JEAN GEORGESCU, 1955). THE PROBLEMATIC NATURE OF SATIRICAL COMEDY IN ROMANIAN COMMUNIST CINEMA

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***Abstract**: In this paper I will endeavour to analyse the problematic nature of comedy and satire in 1950s Romanian cinematography using as a case study the film Our Director, directed by Jean Georgescu in 1955. In the first part I will explore the political and cultural context in which Our Director was produced, emphasizing the importance of the Soviet model for the Romanian cinema at that time. In the second part I will analyse the film made by Jean Georgescu, arguing that due to the ambiguity of comedy and satire, Our Director can be considered both a conformist and a subversive film.*

***Keywords:** Cinematography, Communism, Satire, Comedy, Romania*

Introduction

Our Director, directed by Jean Georgescu in 1955, aroused much controversy at the time of its appearance and even continues to do so today, in the debates between film historians in Romania. This is due to the ambiguity of this film (given the landscape of Romanian cinema at that time), which can be rightly recognized as a courageous film, some authors (Caranfil 2008, 246) even considering it the very first dissident film of the Romanian cinema. On the basis of this film I will endeavour to construct an analysis of the satirical comedy built throughout cinematography in the era of socialist realism in Romania. In order to achieve this I will first make a brief survey into the Soviet Union to see in what way was the satirical comedy concept theorized and used in the cinema there and then I will try to observe which elements of the Romanian cinema are inspired from the Soviet one. Additionally, I will try to discover which particular novelty was proposed by Jean Georgescu to the canon of Soviet satirical comedy. In this regard, I will emphasize the attraction of Jean Georgescu to the literary work of Ion Luca Caragiale and the importance of the interwar formation for the Romanian director (working as a director and screenwriter in Romania and France for 10 years). Finally, I will argue that due to the coexistence of narrative satirical comedy and burlesque humour (gag, visual comedy), *Our Director* can be considered both a conformist (mainly due to the chosen subject – bureaucracy critique) and a subversive film. In this article, I will refer to *conformism* as an attitude of acceptance, submission and reproduction by the director of the film of the ideas, decisions and ideological imperatives imposed or accepted by the Romanian communist regime or taken from the Soviet Union. By contrast, a *subversive* element will be considered the one that can denote questioning and undermining the established order by the power of satire (and which contains elements of ambiguity).

Romanian Cinema in the First Half of the 1950s. The Soviet Influence

The international political context of the late 1940s, which led to the communist regime in Romania and its entry into the Soviet Union's sphere of influence, led to a decisive evolution of Romanian cinema, that followed a similar path to other economic, social and cultural areas, being nationalized and then extensively used as a propaganda weapon in the process of imposing new values upon the Romanian society.

A note of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda from 1949 addressed to the filmmakers, stated that: *"Soviet films bring the light of Lenin and Stalin's grand ideas to the masses. They tell us about the wonderful deeds of the Soviet people, truthfully portraying noble qualities of the architects of socialism."* (ANIC, AgitProp, document 47/1949, 29) Then continued as follows: *"Under the beneficial influence of the Soviet cinematographic art, cinema grows and strengthens in popular democratic countries."* (ANIC, AgitProp, document 47/1949, 31) As this document reveals, the influence of Soviet cinema on the development of Romanian cinematography had to be decisive. As a consequence the Romanian cinema is organized in the early 1950s

after the Soviet model[83] and - on the thematic and content level - the Soviet thesis on the pre-eminence of scenario over production[84] are retrieved, as well as all the assumptions of socialist realism. Moreover, at present, this is unanimously accepted by historians (C. Vasile 2010, 259; Sava 1999, 165-173), with the addition of paramount importance made by Aurelia Vasile that: *"the influence of the USSR on Romanian culture does not come down to simply imitating the contemporary Soviet cultural policies (from early 1950), it is also about a recovery of Soviet values of the '30s"*(A. Vasile 2011, 75). This finding is very important because, as I will argue below, the Stalinist ideas of the place and nature of comedy and satire in film have been imposed since the early 1930s in the Soviet Union, ideas that would give both the Soviets and, later, the Romanian filmmakers a hard time.

Consequently, the first productions of feature film of Romanian cinema after 1948 were a series of films with a high content of propaganda, addressing topics such as collectivization (*În sat la noi/ In Our Village* - 1951; *Desfășurarea/ Development in a Village* - 1954), the enthusiasm with which the young participate in building the new world (*Răsună valea/ Reverberating Valley* - 1950; *Brigada lui Ionuț/ The Ionutz Brigade* - 1954), the process of industrialization (*Viața învinge/ Life Wins* - 1951) or the anti-fascist struggle of the communist party members or sympathizers during the war (*Mitrea Cocor* -1952; *Nepoții gornistului/ The Trumpeter's Grandchildren* - 1953). Hence, the Romanian socialist-realist inspired cinema produces no comedy feature film until 1955 when *Our Director* premiered in Bucharest. (There are some exceptions, but only short films such as *Vizită/ The Visit* (1952), *Lanțul slăbiciunilor/ Chain of Weakness* (1952) or *Arendașul român/ Romanian Farmer* (1952), all directed by the same Jean Georgescu).

Criticism and Self-Criticism

In order to understand the social critique made by Jean Georgescu in *Our Director* we need to first discuss the notion of *criticism and self-criticism*[85] in the context of communist ideology. This concept was first theorized by Karl Marx, and later by Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union. For Stalin, criticism and self-criticism meant "*an indispensable and permanent weapon in the arsenal of Bolshevism, one that is intimately linked with the very nature of Bolshevism, with its revolutionary spirit*" (J.V. Stalin 1954, 231). In a study about the social change in the Soviet Union, the sociologist Alex Inkeles defines self-criticism as "*criticism of one's own mistakes and the deficiencies in one's conduct and work - essentially a sham performance exacted from the Soviet citizens in various organizational group contexts - as a way of setting an example for others and of exacting public penance from sinners against the Party line"* (Inkeles 1968, 291-292). I will further present and discuss two examples on how the self-criticism was seen by the Romanian communist leader - Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in the 1950s.

In 1949, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej held the following speech about criticism and self-criticism: "*Strengthening the unity of the working class is linked to the development of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, to respecting and nurturing the principle of democracy within the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working people. We must admit, comrades, which we are still far from what the spirit of criticism and self-criticism is meant to be. Criticism and self-criticism often have a formal, declamatory character. There are many cases within party and mass organizations where criticism is stifled and self-criticism almost non-existent"* (Gheorghiu-Dej 1954, 291). While pondering on the possible causes of such a state, Gheorghiu-Dej offered several explanations, one of which resided in the "*contemptuous attitude of some party activists towards the workers, preventing the working class to use the right to criticize*". Another reason for the feeble representation of criticism and self-criticism on Romanian soil seemed to be its lack or misunderstanding, proving to be an excellent tool for the party in detecting and removing faults. The Romanian leader urged the party members to "*receive*

[83] The Soviet film industry is reorganized at the end of the 1920s in order to create a more centralized authority over creative decision making. A new central entity is created in 1930 - *Soyuzkino* - to implement central planning in cinema.

[84] Boris Shumyatsky, who was appointed head of *Soyuzkino* in 1930, exposed the idea that the overevaluation of montage represents the primacy of form over content, therefore the isolation of aesthetics from politics. This led to marginalization of the formalist directors of the NEP period. Shumyatsky argued that the inaccessibility ascribed to some of the formalist silent movies resulted from an emphasis on the primacy of montage at the expense of other elements such as the script. As a result from 1930 the script will become the most important element in the process of film-making in the Soviet Union and this idea will be taken for granted by the Romanian communist cinema in the 1950s.

[85] In the communist ideology *criticism and self-criticism* was seen as an idiom and not as two separate notions. Therefore, in this article, I will refer to *criticism and self-criticism* as a single notion. For a further discussion about this idiom in the Soviet Union, see: Kharkhordin 1999, 142-149.

the criticism of workers and common party members" so that "*the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which is an extraordinary mobilizing power, a powerful means of raising the political consciousness of the working class*" (*Ibidem*) would be used by the working class in order to "*strengthen the party's links with the working class and solve the basic tasks of our party.*"(*Ibidem*) As this text reveals, the Romanian communist leader encouraged the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, which had to come from the bottom up, as well as the idea of self-criticism as a method of strengthening the proletarian consciousness, a condition absolutely necessary for any communist, regardless their position in the social hierarchy.

The same attitude towards criticism and self-criticism is seen at the top of party in the beginning of the year 1955: *"Some activists have a very formal attitude towards criticism and self-criticism - law of development and continuous improvement of all activities of the party. [...]Party structures and organizations must liquidate trends preventing criticism and formal attitudes towards criticism, which are detrimental to the interests of the party. [...] The right to criticize, within the meaning of improving party work, is a fundamental right of every member of the party*" (Gheorghiu-Dej 1955, 133-134). Therefore, self-criticism could mean spontaneous criticism by an individual Party member (or any other citizen) of his own faults, but it could also mean collective criticism by Party members (or simply by any citizen) of the weaknesses of the Party.

Comedy and Satire in the Context of the Stalinist Era

The film *Our director* can provide a good opportunity for a discussion about the place and role of humour in the official discourse of the Romanian communist regime. The discourse dominating the period within 1948-1953 is one in which humour is seen as a weapon to be used against negative attitudes in society, aftermaths of the old regime. The form of humour which is favoured in this period in Romania is the satirical comedy, ridiculing human attitudes considered negative to society. Interestingly enough, the film historian Alekandr Prokhorov argues in one of his studies that satire was also the form of humour privileged by Stalin's cultural revolution during the last years of the 1920s, due to its biting quality of attacking values and attitudes considered unhealthy by the regime (Prokhorov 2003, 457-458). In a debate about the purpose of comedy in the USSR, Anatoly Lunacharsky (another responsible for culture in the USSR), stated that "*individuals who are outside the rules of communist society are those who should be laughed at*" (Apud Christensen 1993, 49), meaning that comedy and satire could be a form of society defense, the collective to those individuals who do not agree to it.

Thus, directives on comedy and satire, imposed in the Soviet Union along with the cultural revolution of the early 1930s, agreed that they must be infused with ideology and social significance. And there, as in Romania, filmmakers have had difficulty in making satirical films to be ideologically accurate, but the campaign against bureaucracy launched in the late 1920s provided a clear and safe theme, which will be implemented, among others, by director Yakov Protazanov in the 1928 film *Don Diego and Pelageia* considered by Denise J. Youngblood as *"the best satirical film made in Soviet mute cinema."* (Youngblood 1993, 42) Although you cannot find a lineage between this film and the film made by Jean Georgescu nearly 30 years later, there is, however, an exploitation of the same theme - civil bureaucracy of the state apparatus. Also, after analysing the debate on comedy and satire in the Soviet Union, it should be noted that these concepts were considered from the outset as ambiguous by the Soviet authorities (although it could be used as a means of propaganda, the ambiguous nature of satire could always divert its meaning to a subversive interpretation of the public) and have sparked confusion and fear among filmmakers. This way we can better understand the lack of satire and comedy within the Romanian cinema in the early years of the communist regime.

Starting with the second half of 1953, one can note a slight change of perspective in the official Romanian discourse on humour – a change which will become significant in the following year. A new form of humour emerges: the *optimistic comedy*, which illustrates the new society and which is centred on *positive heroes*, portrayed as either fighting against old ways of thinking, or being gently ridiculed, for their minor faults. Thus, unlike the previous period we looked at, when the aim of comedy was to ridicule negative characters, now positive heroes are the main intent, as they are the forces bringing change to society. Satirical comedy is by no means extinct by now – the two views on humour will co-exist -, but in this period the stress in the official discourse is on the form of humour which illustrates, in an optimistic fashion, the *new* society. If at the end of the 1940s the critique of negative phenomena in society through satirical comedy was encouraged, without stating the necessity of illustrating the *new* as well, in this period the official discourse tilts the balance in favour of showing the *new* in society, by means of humour.

Jean Georgescu and the Pursuit of Comedy

Born on February 25th 1901 in Bucharest (Vasilescu 1987, 14), Jean Georgescu was one of the pioneers of Romanian cinema, standing out as a very skilled comedy filmmaker since his debut as director and screenwriter of the 1924 film *Milionar pentru o zi/ Millionaire for a Day*. In a biographical volume dedicated to him, Olteea Vasilescu affirmed: *"Before Jean Georgescu, comedy films, many as they were, could not be considered more than some fragile sequels of magazine or musical performances. With him, the range of concerns and specific ways of expression widens considerably"* (Vasilescu 1987, 34). Another film critic, D.I. Suchianu, also appreciated Georgescu's powerful capabilities in comedy: *"The talent for gags proved itself in flashing mimic moments and imperceptible gestures that either gave the lines a sparkling liveliness, or suddenly revealing a whole psychology"* (D.I. Suchianu 1971, 127).

Jean Georgescu spent an important part of his life in Paris, France, where he worked as a director and screenwriter for a decade, from 1930 to 1940. During this period he had made three films – *Miniatura/ Miniature* (average length film, 1933), *Aventura fericită/ Happy Adventure* (feature film, 1935) and *Amicii din St. Hubert/ Buddies of St. Hubert* (average length film, 1937) - all belonging to comedy genre and the films were, according to Olteea Vasilescu, successful among film critics in France (Vasilescu 1987, 83-91). The same Olteea Vasilescu underlines the way the Parisian journey took effect on Jean Georgescu's career: *"French studios were the ones that had turned a talented dilettante into a fine connoisseur of the whole process of shooting, that had changed an amateur full of ideas and good intentions into a solid professional, able to discern both play lights as well as the expression of actors, a filmmaker who knew to order the precise series of images to decompose the velocity of fragments, knowing at the same time a hundred other truly imponderable features of working on set"* (Vasilescu 1987, 94).

Returning to the country in 1940, he made two more films until the nationalization of cinema in 1948 - *O noapte furtunoasă/ A Stormy Night* (1943) and *Visul unei nopți de iarnă/ A Winter Night's Dream* (1946), both film adaptations after I. L. Caragiale, respectively Tudor Mușatescu.

Soon after the communists took over power in Romania, given the lack of new human resources in the cinema, Jean Georgescu was hired by the communist regime in order to make one of the first fictional feature films in communist cinema – *În sat la noi/ In Our Village* (1951) on the topic of collectivization of agriculture. It is a propaganda film, requested by the party, amid an intense campaign of collectivization of agriculture waged by the communists at the time, a campaign that faced the opposition of a significant part of the peasantry. This film followed the campaign of collectivization of agriculture in a small village of Romania portraying the majority of the peasants as willing to become part of this process. The negative characters are the few peasants refusing to give their land to the state, but in the end the "good forces" win and the whole village become part of this process of collectivization.

After a series of short comedy films made in 1952, Jean Georgescu will be the director of the first Romanian satirical comedy feature film produced during the communist regime - *Our Director*. By choosing the matter of bureaucracy (a conformist topic at that time) the subject, he managed to create a real comedy film, reflected in visual gags, fast-paced montage, visual ambiguity and expressivity which enjoyed an enormous success among the audience (but not among critics, as we are to note below). After being banned by the communist authorities as a consequence of making *Our Director*, Jean Georgescu will only return to cinema in the mid-1960s, shooting his last two films *Mofturi 1900/Tantrums 1900* (1965) and *Pantoful Cenușăresei/ Cinderella's Shoe* (1969).

Therefore, summarizing Jean Georgescu's filmmaker portrait, he becomes film comedy director in the early 1920s in Romania, then pursued a period of study and film practice in France, thus taking contact with the Western world of film. He then approached film adaptations (Caragiale is one of his favourites, and this may explain, in part, Jean Georgescu's sympathy for comedy), after which he became a director in communist Romania, creating one of the first propaganda fictional films, but also the first satirical comedy feature film. His career was afterwards suspended by the communists, to be later restored to the mid-1960s, when he produced his last films.

The Ambivalence of Satire in *Our Director*. A Subversive and Conformist Film

Released on March 29th 1955, *Our Director* is a satire that treats in a comical manner the problem of bureaucracy in state institutions in Romania during the 1950s. It is, thus, a film with the action placed in those very days, in a state institution – D.R.G.B.P. - of communist Romania. The directing and film adaptation belong to Jean Georgescu, following a

script by Gheorghe Dobrin.[86] The camera operators were Ion Cosma and Andrei Feher, and the music was composed by Ion Vasilescu. The cast of *Our Director* included some very popular actors at that time in Romania, with the leading roles played by Alexandru Giugaru (The Director) and Grigore Vasiliu Birlic (The Bureaucratic Official).

The story unfolds on two levels, following two main characters – the director of the institution and a small, fearful, bureaucratized, but sympathetic official - Ciubuc. From the first scene of the film, the images and the voiceover of a narrator (played by actor Radu Beligan) introduce us into the atmosphere of the company, where boredom and indifference seem to dominate: the doorkeeper is sleeping on shift, employees are dealing with low interest in sending stacks of paper from one department to another (without even understanding why are they doing this) and the director is presiding countless meetings where fulfilment of the provided plan of work is reported at his convenience. Next, the film follows the sketching of the head of DRGBP's portrait, bourgeoisified and bureaucratized, suffering a shock when, in an act of rewarding the employees, some of them are uprising against the management. From that moment, the director of the institution begins to have little remorse (he even gets nightmares where a *conscientious* employee accuses him of estranging from the masses, and then tries to approach his employees by summoning Ciubuc, the archivist, for a conversation in his office - hence the memorable scene of armchairs - where the latter, believing that the director asks him about the situation of the seats and not about the attitude of the staff towards the director, tells his superior that it is *creaky*), he tries to change his attitude (only superficially) and end up having to be penalized, along with another bureaucratic official. The final scene depicts them both demoted to menial jobs. The film provides a lot of humoristic moments, especially granted by Ciubuc's character through a series of gags, masterfully interpreted by actor Grigore Vasiliu Birlic. The relatively conformist story (and especially its end) - bureaucratization of officials and their punishment in the end - is subtly constructed, contains many ambiguous elements, both comedy and satire contributing in this regard. I will further argue that *Our Director* is both a conformist and subversive film and the elements of satire and humour introduced by Jean Georgescu make this possible.

Bureaucracy, Yesterday's Face of Authority

Premiered during the relative cultural and political thaw after Stalin's death in 1953, the film was made in the context of the campaign against bureaucracy, which regime officials initiated in that period[87]. In this regard, the head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of Romanian Workers Party, Leonte Răutu, stated that the addressed issues in press were "*minor problems*" like deaths, divorces, nurseries, while great problems like bureaucracy seen as a "*deadly enemy*" (quoting Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej) were neglected: *"Undoubtedly, there are many examples which are infinitely more powerful than those that always exist in our media: paper distribution, wrong stamps etc."* (ANIC, AgitProp, document 81/1953, 270). It appears very clear in this document that communist officials were dissatisfied in the year 1953 with the way in which this scourge called bureaucracy was combated in the country (the screenplay was written that year, and the next year the film went into production).

In the official communist nomenclature the *bureaucracy* was called *"a method of effective management, characterized by the dominance of office work, prevarication, by excessive worry to the formal side of issues and the lack of interest in their background, by isolating the people and neglecting the needs that the masses have"* (C. Vasile 2010, 249). Comparing this definition of bureaucracy to the portrait of the director we have a completely bureaucratized character.

Thus, the film presents a conformist topic (related to the formal requirements of the regime) - a director, estranged from the masses, buried in paperwork, surrounded by obedient subordinates and deprived of contact with reality. The scene that triggers the rush for the director is the one of the award ceremony for the institution's employees, where some of them are obsolete to the direction and refuse the awards, saying that the excessive bureaucratization of the institution does not mean a real performance. Therefore, under these circumstances, their work does not deserve to be rewarded. A witness heard how Jean Georgescu inserted a scene that suggested a separation between healthy conscientious workers, and the bureaucrat

[86] This name seems to be only a pseudonym for the real writer of the film, Eduard Mezincescu, a communist dignitary at the time, who, out of precaution, did not want to associate his name with this film. For a thorough analysis of this controversy, see: C. Vasile 2011, 248-252.

[87] In the 1950s the Romanian communist officials initiated a campaign against bureaucracy which was seen as a relic of the Old Regime. An antidote against bureaucracy was an attitude of self-criticism of the party members and state officials.

director. Further, the director begins to have pangs of conscience, and there is a scene where the voice of a rebellious employee appears to him in a dream and warns him: *"We'll see who's going to pay, in the end (...) you who insult the working class through your daily behavior, make such a fuss you were raised from factory grunt work that you forgot that you were never a worker, but only a warehouseman and then a service clerk (...) you bourgeoisified yourself and become a dangerous arrogant"* (*Directorul nostru* 1955, minute 26). The scene is meaningful, demonstrating the fact that for the communist officials a bureaucratized character represented a relic of the old system (that had to be eliminated): the voice of Maria Popescu (played by actress Angela Chiuaru) represents the official speech of communist power, whereas the bureaucratized director is a relic of the old system (we are carefully told that he was never a worker), so he must be removed at all costs. Thus, quoting the Russian author Evgeny Dobrenko, in a paper dedicated to the Soviet film *Volga-Volga* (1938), "*the bureaucrat is always yesterday's face of authority (therefore he can be criticized), he is the sign of change in the figure of authority, he is always the source of the satire phenomenon"* (Dobrenko 1995, 55).

Another conformist element of the film is the final punishment of the two bureaucrats – the director of DRGBP and functionary Ciubuc - both sent to menial work. Their reunion at the new workplace enables the producer to create a new self-ironic comic moment, when the former director concludes *"if it creaked, we should have tightened the screws"* (*Directorul nostru* 1955, minute 71) on the decision taken at the center where they were sanctioned after their wrongdoings. Through this message, though sanctioned, the director admits his guilt and accepts the correctness of the decision, thus gaining self-criticism.

Synthesizing, the elements in accordance with the official ideology of the communist regime that Jean Georgescu introduces to the film are, primarily, the chosen theme (fighting bureaucracy), then the director's portrayal as bureaucratic, conceited, bourgeoisified and estranged from the masses, the scene of the uprising of employees against the direction (though the scene also contains subversive elements, which I will discuss in the next section) and the final outcome, the punishing of the bureaucratized characters by demoting them to menial jobs.

The Subversive Humour of the Film

Besides all these elements of conformism relative to the official ideology of 1950s Romania, *Our Director* is also, as I will try to demonstrate below, a film full of subtleties, using visual humour, gags, as well as subversive satire directed against the regime.

The Opening Scene and the Narrator's Voice. The film begins with a comic scene in which an extradiegetic narrator introduces the institution. Only that the narrator presents it ironically, starting with the name of the institution - D.R.G.B.P. (which he deliberately confuses) - continuing with the image of the doorkeeper sleeping on shift, the presentation of pointless meetings and the obedient way subordinates present the achievements of each department. All these could be seen in Romania of those times, so that the irony we hear in the voice of Radu Beligan and we see thanks to camera operators Ion Cosma and Andrei Feher the intention of the institution itself, which is not working properly, but on the contrary, it has a lot of issues (apart from the bureaucratic director).

Ciubuc's Character. A second subversive element is the character of Ciubuc[88] himself (impeccably played by Grigore Vasiliu Birlic). Why? Because this small, shy functionary always holds the prospect of losing his job, is interested only in his little farm chores (he lives on a farm outside the barrier, in the outskirts), and says *"like the boat on the waves, the boat goes, I go"* (*Directorul nostru* 1944, minute 4). He is a sympathetic and truthful character. Gags are always present in all the scenes that have him in the foreground – the bus scene, the award ceremony scene (where Ciubuc is totally separated from the social burden of the uprising of employees and only thinks of what he could do with the additional few money he would get from the direction of the company) or the armchairs scene, in the director's office. In addition, he is also a religious figure, with an icon of St. Paraskeva at home (which he "consults" in the watershed moments of his life), despite the fact that the communist regime intensively promoted an anti-religious campaign in 1950s Romania.

The Armchairs Scene. Perhaps the most ambiguous part of the film is the scene full of humour and irony, where the archivist Ciubuc is summoned to the director's office for a conversation. After overcoming the anguish of waiting (thinking he is about to get fired), Ciubuc is invited by the director to

[88]The name of this character is another element of irony introduced by Jean Georgescu in the film as in Romanian language the term "ciubuc" has a negative connotation, designating a material reward unduly paid.

have a seat, at which moment the small functionary is lost in the immensity of armchairs (specifically chosen by Jean Georgescu). Through this scene the director suggests, in a subtle and comic way at the same time, the attitude of obedience to the authority of the small functionary of that era, an authority symbolized here both by the greatness of armchairs and the impressive figure of the director (which obviously contrasts with the functionary's frail physique). This relationship is derided in the film through the comedy of situation resulting from Ciubuc's misunderstanding of the director's question, who, believing that his superior inquires him about the situation of seats (and not about employees' attitude towards the management, as the director intended), replied that the situation is "creaky" especially in the accounting department.

The Employees' Uprising at the Award Ceremony. Besides its conformist character, which I discussed about in the previous chapter, this scene has a subversive potential because it reproduces a group riot on screen, an uprising of workers against a Romanian company's management of that time. Even if the revolted employees demonstrate proletarian conscientiousness when condemning the leadership for excessive bureaucratization of labour in the company (a bureaucracy that no longer makes work meritorious), this action could have had a reverse - legitimizing the idea that the workers can rebel against the leadership of a state institution (or even against a party and state governance).

The Negative Characters are Sympathetic and the Positive Ones are Sketchy. In this film the characters that represent the political correctness of the time (the revolted employees Tănase Florescu and Maria Popescu) have no strength, they are denuded of humour and are built in a vague way, while the negative characters (the director and archivist Ciubuc) are lively, sympathetic and even truthful. Set side by side, *Volga-Volga* (directed by Grigori Alexandrov), a film with a similar subject conducted in the Soviet Union in 1938, the positive characters (from the perspective of the official ideology) are humorous, the film being based on the premise that the state (the authority) protects the laughter of masses from the bureaucrats (in *Volga-Volga*, bureaucrat Byvalov is purposely presented as humourless) who do not know how to laugh.

The Film's Reception in the Communist Era

In this final section I will present a few reactions that *Our Director* had raised after its appearance. In a chronicle published in *Scânteia tineretului*, a day after the premiere in Bucharest, the following was stated: *"The serious shortcoming of the film is that the force of satire is blunt by the inconsistence of positive, progressive elements in action, although intervening against the director's bourgeoisification, against the accession of serious bureaucracy, routine and complacency in the institution, does not act before we do."* The author points out *"the sincere and spontaneous protest of old employee Tănase Florescu",* as well as other aspects concerning the play of the actors. Nevertheless, the article reveals the fact that the film cannot be seen as the representation of reality: *The real relation between the healthy forces, committed to the socialist construction - working heroically and bravely defeating obstacles - and the backward elements - that put difficulties in the way – is different than what appears on screen"* (Apud Vasilescu 1987, 161). In another chronic that came out one week after the film's premiere, Jean Georgescu was criticized for having presented the socialist institution in a wrong manner: *"We cannot speak of an artistic exaggeration of the way in which the D.R.G.B.P. is presented, but of a wrong artistic vision. Does it really portray the officials from our institutions and companies?"* (Apud Vasilescu 1987, 161). So this review sanctioned the weak portrayal of the positive characters in the film relative to the negative ones, arguing that the film does not reflect the reality which it claims to take its inspiration from.

The review of *Our Director* by Mircea Drăgan in *Contemporanul* criticizes the way satire is used in the film (Drăgan 1955, 6). What is faulty in the use of satire here, the author argues, is that it creates an ambiguity, making difficult for the audience to realize who is being ridiculed and what are the purposes driving each character (negative or positive). Another issue the film raises is that its *positive characters* are created in a *serious* and not humorous manner, whilst negative characters are very well depicted from a comical point of view. Due to these shortcomings, the film fails in providing an optimistic message (as it should) - instead, it confirms the idea that negative, fictitious characters, like the ones found in this film have a substantial presence in real life, as well (Drăgan 1955, 6).

Finally, there were also reactions from the producers. Victor Iliu, director and co-author alongside Jean Georgescu, of the film *În sat la noi/ In Our Village* tried to defend the film claiming that being an artistic product, it should not be considered to be a witness to reality: *"In our criticism and even among some spectators it was questioned whether an institution such as the D.R.G.B.P. really exist or whether its existence may be tolerated in political and economic conditions of our society, and it was concluded that the character of the director would be*

incorrect. Our Director is a satirical comedy, it is not a real document on life, nor a civil status of our society" (Iliu 1955, 7).

This media campaign initiated against the film, whose cause might be linked, according to some historians (C. Vasile 2010, 254-255), to Gheorghiu-Dej's attempt to temper the society's reformatory impulses aroused by the emergence of Nikita Khrushchev's Secret Speech in the Soviet Union, led to the marginalization of both the film and producer Jean Georgescu, until the mid-1960s when both will return to cinema.

Conclusions

Not only for comedy, but for the entire cinema, the communist regime in Romania meant a turning point, feature film became a monopoly of the state, which saw it as a very effective propaganda weapon. But after Stalin's death in 1953, the period of relative ideological relaxation that followed in the Soviet Union and Romania, has made the emergence of diverse artistic creations possible - in this context *Our Director* was produced. Choosing a topic seemingly in accordance with the regime's requirements – bureaucracy – but using the ambivalence of satire, Jean Georgescu managed to create a conformist and subversive film. In other words, using both the comic and satire he succeeded to bring a real criticism of Romanian society as the cinema in Romania had not done before. This criticism of elements of that period's society cost the director, who had been banned from cinema for almost 10 years by the communist authorities. However, in this film, Jean Georgescu was able to demonstrate the ability of comedy and satire to reveal important things about a society, even in a totalitarian regime.

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C. EVENTS AND REVIEWS

INTERNATIONAL MEDIEVAL CONGRESS, LEEDS, 3-6 JULY 2017

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One of the world's most important academic gatherings in the field of Medieval Studies is the International Medieval Congress (IMC) organised each year at the University of Leeds by the Institute for Medieval Studies. In 2017, there was a record in number of participants, 2,444 delegates from 56 countries attending the 24th IMC at Leeds, held between 3 and 6 July 2017. The main goal of the IMC is to bring together researchers from the whole world and to provide an open forum for scholars at all stages in their careers to share ideas and theories on all aspects of the medieval period.

As was said by the organisers, this year's academic programme included 1,939 individual papers, spanning the full range of disciplines in medieval studies. The topics of the sessions were extremely different and interesting, including medieval African countries, religious conversion narratives, Byzantine art, history and culture, palace cities in Japan, Europe and the Middle East, medieval horses and Old English riddles, to select only some issues. The organisers also provided a very rich programme of public events, concerts and fairs that offered the delegates many opportunities to know each other informally and to build academic networks.

Each year, at the IMC there is a special thematic strand, which in 2017 was 'Otherness'. As a consequence, of the 627 sessions which took place in 2017, 230 were in one way or another related to 'Otherness'. The papers during these sessions covered a wide range of topics, from monsters and 'abnormality' to the relationship between otherness and time, via cross-cultural encounters. Otherness was seen within individual religious traditions, and an interesting dimension was related to the discourses of otherness in contemporary medieval studies.

There were four keynote lectures linked with the special thematic strand. The official opening of the Congress, on the 3rd of July, offered the traditional double-keynote session. Nikolas Jaspert (Historisches Seminar, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) spoke on 'The Mediterranean Other and the Other Mediterranean: Perspective of Alterity in the Middle Ages' and Eduardo Manzano Moreno (Instituto de Historia, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid), gave a lecture on 'Drawing Boundaries: Inclusion and Exclusion in Medieval Islamic Societies'. Also on the 3rd of July, Felicitas Schmieder (Historisches Institut, Fern Universität Hagen) gave the Monday lunchtime keynote, called 'The Other Part of the World for Late Medieval Latin Christendom'. Sylvia Huot (Pembroke College, University of Cambridge), spoke about 'Other Sexualities - The "Natural" and the "Unnatural" in Medieval French Ovidian Narratives' on the 4th of July, in the Tuesday keynote lecture. The special thematic strand on 'Otherness' provided a focal point for important discussions on diversity and inclusiveness and certainly helped the medievalists from everywhere to share their ideas.

IMC being such a huge congress, it is impossible for a delegate to cover the entire diversity of papers and approaches. Leaving aside our direct professional interests, which were, of course, our first priority in selecting the papers we attended to, we tried to assist to as many sessions including Romanian delegates as possible. The Romanian presence at 2017 IMC was quite varied. The author of this chronicle, Ecaterina Lung, presented a paper about 'Les Byzantins vus par les Barbares à travers les sources narratives, VIe-VIIIe siècle' included in the session 2015, called *Perceptions of Byzantium*.

Andra-Nicoleta Alexiu, MA at the University of Bucharest and now PhD Student at Historisches Seminar, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, participated in the session

624 *Fear, Love, And Loathing In The Middle Ages*, II: Emotions And The Body In Polemic And Community-Making with a paper called *Love Will Tear Us Apart: Hildegard of Bingen and Her Monastic Communities*.

Ioana Feodorov, from the Institute for South-East European Studies, Romanian Academy, Bucharest, presented a paper about *A Syrian Talking to Others: Paul of Aleppo in Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia, Ukraine, and Moscow* during the session 1227, Christianity In The Islamic World, III: Constructions Of Identity In Ritual And Travel.

George Rusu, MA at the Faculty of History of the University of Bucharest talked about *The Witcher Series: A New Perspective on Medieval 'Otherness'*. His provocative paper was included in the session 1742 *21st-Century Medievalism.*

We were sorry not to be able to hear the presentations of other Romanian colleagues who participated to this year's IMC, but the huge number of delegates makes it impossible to attend every session of interest.

As a conclusion, we think it is a good sign that Romanian medievalists of different ages and with different carrier experience take part in such an international event. It is an amazing opportunity to exchange ideas, to speak about your own research and to learn a lot.

A BOOK ABOUT ARCHAEOLOGISTS, OR MORE SIMPLY, ABOUT *HUMANS*

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Review of Sabin Adrian Luca, *Arheologii timpului lor, memorii, constatări, previziuni*[89], Sibiu, 2016, Editura Armanis, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 51 p.

Sabin Adrian Luca is well known in the scientific world, among other positions and competences that he holds, first of all as being a reputed archaeologist specialized in Prehistory, author, co-author and collaborator for 44 volumes and over 250 articles and studies but, the editorial issue that I am reviewing (*Arheologii timpului lor, memorii, constatări, previziuni* (note 1), issued at Sibiu in 2016, at Armanis Publishing House and Brukenthal National Museum Publishing House) is at least surprising for the ones that have read, even only a part of his work. This book represents an endeavour which certainly is coming out of any framings that even the author has imposed himself. If the large majority, at least for the papers that are in the archaeology area, stand out as having a sober, concise, maybe even mathematical style (for example, some information concerning the archaeological excavations and the techniques used), as a fundamental characteristic for this type of scientific text, the paper presented here reveals another kind of author, the one that, this time, uses and presents his feelings about some people, and why not, places, in his memoir demarche.

The book begins with *a few starting words* as they are called by the author, in fact, a short incursion in his past, different zones of the country being places that have marked his professional evolution, from Cluj-Napoca, the university city where he was enrolled to the History Faculty and afterwards for the doctoral studies, then Caraș-Severin and Arad, so that in the end he arrives to Sibiu for a university career, and from 2006 the manager of the oldest museum from South-Eastern Europe, Brukenthal National Museum; he also mentions places that have influenced his personal life, as Hunedoara is. The author thanks to all that were near him and helped during the participation and coordination of the archaeological excavations, the heritage study, the designing of exhibitions and several other activities.

Even though the title *Arheologii timpului lor, memorii, constatări, previziuni* (see note 1) might suggest a tripartite structure of the book, in fact, the narration is quite unitary, segmented only by the sequencing of the memoires connected with archaeologists that have influenced, in a larger, or smaller degree, his professional path: Hadrian Daicoviciu, Nicolae Vlassa, Ion Dragomir, Gheorghe Lazarovici, Florin Medeleț, Iuliu Paul, Marian Gumă, Vladimir Dumitrescu, Silvia Marinescu-Bâlcu, Marin Cîrciumaru.

Although the first personality presented in the book is **Hadrian Daicoviciu**, the chapter allocated to the great professor doesn't start with him, but with the remembering of the first days in Cluj-Napoca and at the faculty, the atmosphere and the new colleagues. Afterwards, the author presents the way the professor held his lecture, the energy that he set in class for his students, but also the dignity he showed in managing the differences he had with the communist regime, evoking here a happening when the Culture Minister visited the faculty and professor Daicoviciu refused to come out from the class for the simple reason that it wasn't a break yet. To the name of Hadrian Daicoviciu is also connected the coordination of the Bachelor Thesis of the author. Daicoviciu was the one who signed and endorsed for it, but because the scientific interests of the author were about Prehistory, and professor Daicoviciu was more interested in the Dacian period, Gheorghe Lazarovici and Nicolae Vlassa are the ones with whom he intensively collaborates with, for the writing of the thesis, both by going on several archaeological fields and by bibliographical study.

Nicolae Vlassa is the next personality presented in the book. As I have already mentioned just in the lines before, the coordination of the license thesis by Hadrian Daicoviciu was the opening of the collaboration with the researcher that was already well known for the discoveries from Gura Baciului and Tărtăria. The author remembers and presents here three episodes, with comic accents, lived in the company of Nicolae Vlassa, and in the end, he expresses his regret that he wasn't announced when his funeral took place.

With respect to **Ion Dragomir**, the director of

[89] EN: *The archaeologists of their times, memoires, acknowledgments, previsions*.

the Elementary School from Gornea, the author rememorizes the archaeological excavations from the Danube Gorge area, the systematic archaeological researches that continued after the Iron Gates I project, in the Gornea area: Liubcova, Pojejena and Divici. The warm character of Ion Dragomir is presented and the important lessons he taught about the nature from the Danube Gorge area, the danger represented by the vipers, the countless surveys they made together and the way he infused the idea of further learning in archaeology are remembered.

Maybe the most emotional chapter is the one dedicated to **Gheorghe Lazarovici**. One cannot miss the profound and old connection between the two of them, but also the admiration that the author has for Lazarovici's scientific accomplishments and work capacity, the trust and gratitude he has for the *Boss*, as he is named by the ones close to him on the archaeological site.

Florin Medeleț was, in the author's opinion, an *intellectual colossus*, with *...a delightful logic of the discourse*, being the one from whom he has learned to make correlations with scientific systems connected to archaeology, but also the person that used to have simple discussions about daily facts with. The amusing stories from the archaeological sites where they participated are not missing from this segment of the book. The author remains, in this case too, with the regret of not being announced by Florin Medeleț's passing away.

To the name of **Iuliu Paul** (the former scientific director of Brukenthal National Museum, professor of Antic History – Prehistory and Archaeology – at *Lucian Blaga* University from Sibiu, Rector of the *1st December 1918* Alba Iulia University) is tied the arrival of Sabin Adrian Luca, in 1991, at *Lucian Blaga* University from Sibiu, for a lecturer position. Also under Paul's coordination he sustained the Ph.D. thesis, *Sfârșitul eneoliticului pe teritoriul intracarpatic al României – cultura Bodrogkeresztúr*[90].

Marian Gumă, one the archaeologist from Reșița Museum, the place where the author started his curatorial activity in 1984, was already an acquaintance to him, since the archaeological excavations from the Danube Gorge where he took part in the research: Gornea-*Căunița de Sus*, *Păzăriște*, *Locurile Lungi*; Sichevița-*Magazin*; Liubcova-*Stenca Liubcovei*, *necropola Gârla Mare*). Together they had the chance to identify and research the Dacian Fortress from Divici-*Grad*, but also to participate, in two rows, to the admission contest for the doctoral studies, organized by Bucharest University.

The personality of **Vladimir Dumitrescu** left a profound mark on the author. From the chapter that was dedicated to him we can clearly notice the profound respect that the author has for him, on one hand for the intellectual qualities he had, but also for the human ones. The author can't hide his indignation for the fact that professor Dumitrescu wasn't accepted in the Romanian Academy after the falling of the communist regime because the disciple of the great Vasile Pârvan *…all his life was followed by the past of an entire generation of Romanian intellectuals that committed the great sin of following a political path…* Besides the discussions he had with the professor (the author himself acknowledges the inquestionable superiority of the teacher), he rememorizes the meeting from 1981, when he witnesses what he called the *historical reconciliation* between Nicolae Vlassa and Vladimir Dumitrescu, the two of them having different scientific opinions.

The only feminine figure presented in the book is **Silvia Marinescu-Bâlcu**. She had a powerful influence in the forming of the author as an archaeologist, for which he expresses his gratitude.

The last personality of the Romanian archaeology presented is Professor **Marin Cîrciumaru**. His name is directly linked with the birth of the archaeology school and doctoral school from Târgoviște, the author participating, several times, as a member, to the commissions of Ph.d. thesis presentations. Besides the exceptional quality of the school created by Marin Cîrciumaru and its results, the author also appreciates his human qualities, admitting that he has taken some examples of *good deeds* from the professor.

As I was mentioning even since the beginning of this review, the presented book is a totally different editorial product from what the author has presented until now. We should appreciate the fact that he brought for the audience a different perspective, for many an unknown one, about a group of Romanian archaeologists that have influenced the path of Sabin Adrian Luca, the archaeologist, and the man. The recollection of these memories, of course, from a personal perspective, is a welcomed manner of creating the image of the people that have influenced Romanian historiography. This approach is also important for the newer generations, that didn't have

[90]EN: *The end of the Eneolithic on the inter-Carpathian territory of Romania - Bodrogkeresztú culture.*

the chance to interact with some of the researchers depicted in the book, the only way of knowing them being through the text they published. Of similar importance is also the presentation of the atmosphere of a period that has passed and I shall mention here only a few examples: the first days of college, the way a university lecture was held, the repartition of the graduates in different schools from the county and the constrains of the communist regime, but also the happenings from the archaeological fields.

Even though the book is called *Arheologii timpului lor, memorii, constatări, previziuni* (note 1) the emphasized part of all the characters presented is the one of their human qualities, and maybe less of their accomplishments im the domain of archaeology. It is not accidental that the author closes his book with an exhortation to the readers, about the people that are influencing destinies positively or negatively.

TEMPTING TRANSYLVANIA.
MULTIPERSPECTIVITY AND TRUTH IN THE HISTORY OF A PROVINCE

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The book *Ispititoarea Transilvanie. Multiperspectivitate și adevăr în istoria unei provincii/ Tempting Transylvania. Multiperspectivity and Truth in the History of a Province* was published in 2017 by Școala Ardeleană, a new and ambitious publishing house in Cluj, and it includes 9 studies of Ioan Bolovan. *Tempting Transylvania* may be seen as a sincere pleading for getting to know *in situ* some important episodes of modern and contemporary history of Transylvania. The 9 chapters of the book are developed articles previously published in cultural journals; some of them are replies to prominent books or articles of cultural historians.

I would like to start with mentioning the study about the Romanian border guards from Năsăud and the battle of Arcole. This is a good example of the painstaking work of the historian Ioan Bolovan analysing a well-known subject with no deciding evidence to establish clearly the stages of the military operations of the Arcole battle. The study points out the importance of border guards regiments in the study of history of Austrian military borders. The synthesis of a work, elaborated with Adrian Onofreiu (Onofreiu 2012), analysis of the manuscript of officer Karl Klein demonstrated without a shadow of a doubt the participation of border guards from Năsăud at the battle of Arcole.

The historian Marius Diaconescu and his article „*Câteva dintre crimele românilor din timpul revoluției*"/ *Several Crimes of the Romanians during the Revolution* (Diaconescu 2011) received Bolovan's reply in *Cultura* during the same year (*Qui Prodest? Din nou despre Avram Iancu/ Qui Prodest? Again about Avram Iancu)*. The emblematic figure of Romanians of Transylvania was the subject of polemics. If the reply was in the form of an article entitled *Several Crimes of Hungarians during the Revolution*, everything would have remained in the area of facts. It may seem easy to consider Avram Iancu the leader of a Romanian counterrevolution and supporter of political passivity. I consider pertinent the demonstration of historians from Cluj about the complexity of the Revolution of 1848 in Transylvania, as well as the gloomy subject of the civil war in the same area. There is no evidence to involve Avram Iancu in the outbreak of conflicts. On the other hand, it is clear that the conflict couldn't have been avoided.

Primul război mondial altfel/ The First World War Otherwise (Bolovan 2014) is an answer to Lucian Boia's book (Boia 2014) and it is part of an essayistic offensive in order to analyse again the role played by Germany in the outbreak of a world war (see also Boia 2010). Ioan Bolovan reproaches Boia with lack of documentation that lead to statements easily questioned (see the case of allegedly no national ideal of Romanian peasants of Transylvania).

Another article (Bolovan 2015, 13-21) *Domnul Lucian Boia nu știe sau nu vrea să știe Cum s-a românizat România/ Mr Lucian Boia Doesn't Know or Doesn't Want to Know How Romania Was Romanized* highlights another work of L. Boia (Boia 2015), which may be considered an extension of Irina Livezeanu's book (Livezeanu 1998) referring especially to Bucovina. Bolovan objects to Boia's ideas the following: lack of documentation, biased comparisons, no background analysis of a series of events. The sad part of an essayistic approach to history is the fact that aspects of Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bucovina history are treated superficially.

The chapter *Românii la Viena, 30 august 1940. Dictat sau arbitraj/ Romanians in Vienna, 30 August 1940. Dictum or Arbitrage* analyses the subject in a realistic manner, with insights in constant threats of the Soviet Union and Germany in 1940.

Another chapter *Românii într-o istorie a Europei. Între clișee și dezinformare/ Romanians in a History of Europe. Between Clichés and Disinformation* cites Norman Davies' book (Davies 1997), which is a valuable contribution to European historiography. Out of 300 short references Davies' book mentions Romanians only while making reference to Vlad Țepeș and death, especially the cult of death supported by the Iron Guard. Based on this

finding, the question is whether western historians modified their vision concerning the East in light of the effort of an entire generation of historians from the post-communist Europe after 1989.

Other chapters are also important contributions to the subject of Transylvania before the First World War and Transylvanian demography - *Transilvania până la Primul Război Mondial (oportunități și/sau vulnerabilități demografice)/ Transylvania until the First World War (Opportunities and/or Demographic Vulnerabilities)* and *Demografie și Istorie. Între onestitate și rea-credință/ Demography and History. Between Honesty and Unfairness*. These articles demonstrate indubitably the crucial usage of demography with respect to professional deontology. Within this context, the author provides a plausible explanation regarding the mentioning of Hungarians of Orthodox/Greek-Catholic confession.

The chapter *Opinii despre ideea de autonomie în Transilvania/ Opinions about the Idea of Autonomy in Transylvania* (published first in Bolovan 1998, 315-317) is an analysis of Pomogáts Béla's article (Béla 1997, 3-12), counteracting basic ideas of revisionist literature: winning back Transylvania through a war, a basic presentation of demographical structures and the low percentage of urban Romanian population until the 19th century.

Ioan Bolovan's book has an important motivation: the urge to plead for treating seriously any historical subject, regardless of its area. Moreover, the multiperspectivity on Transylvanian history enhances the chances to find the historical truth.

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LES CONSTRUCTIONS IDENTITAIRES DANS LES ESPACES FRANCOPHONES D'EUROPE ORIENTALE ET D'AFRIQUE

Ecaterina Lung, Yahia Abou El Farah, Corina Iosif, Daniela Zaharia și Simona Corlan (eds)
Publications de l'Institut des Etudes Africaines (Serie: Recherches et Etudes n° 18),
Rabat, Tritonic, Bucharest, 2015, 576 p.

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The volume *Les constructions identitaires dans les espaces francophones d'Europe orientale et d'Afrique*, Publications de l'Institut des Etudes Africaines (*Serie: Recherches et Etudes n° 18*), Rabat, Tritonic, Bucharest, 2015, 576 p, edited by Ecaterina Lung, Yahia Abou El Farah, Corina Iosif, Daniela Zaharia and Simona Corlan was the result of an international project financially supported by the Agence Universitaire pour la Francophonie (AUF). The project, under the scientific coordination of Bucharest University, involved three other universities: University Mohammed V of Rabat, Morocco, The State University Ivane Djavakhishvili of Tiblisi, Georgia, University Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar, Senegal.

The book that resulted from this cooperation is proof that the central theme, identity, has maintained its appeal some decades after becoming of interest to historians, because of Reinhardt Wenskuss, and to social scientists, especially thanks to Frederick Barth's studies[91]. *Les constructions identitaires dans les espaces francophones d'Europe orientale et d'Afrique* analyses, from a multi-disciplinary perspective, the Identity, seen as confronted with the Otherness in regions that seem, at first sight, so different. The historical experiences of countries from post-communist Europe, represented here by Romania and Georgia, are difficult to compare with what happened in northern Africa (Morocco), which is not the same with the Saharan and Sub-Saharan history (Senegal, Burkina Faso, Mauritania). The project aimed to find the common ground between these cultures, which consisted in linking together the construction of national identities with the role played by the French model in each region. The main results of the project, taking the shape of this book, can be seen as a kind of a virtual encounter between spaces and cultures that had not always been in direct contact.

The volume is divided into four main parts, the first of them, dealing with the *Ancient World*s (*Mondes antiques*), tries to find the roots of nowadays issues in the relationship between identity and otherness in the Ancient World. In her article, Elena Isabela POPA: *Force et fragilité de la différence: un commentaire sur le statut de religiouses nadîtum de la ville de Sippar à l'époque paléo-babylonienne,* shows how even in such distant times as those of Ancient Mesopotamia, the otherness was somehow placed inside the same community. Augustina COJOCARU in *Les rois d'Isin et leur modèles empruntés à la dynastie d'Ur III* tries to analyse how a foreign model can be put to work for the benefit of one's own identity. The tension between citizens and non-citizens, so important in the ancient Greek society was emphasized by Mihaela MARCU: *Athènes et ses étrangers à Athènes au Ve siècle av. J.-C.* Ancient China offers its own pattern of building an identity for Daniela ZAHARIA: *Chinois et barbares. Les enjeux identitaires dans la constitution de l'idéologie impériale à l'époque des Han.* The Late Antiquity, when identity begins to have a religious connotation stronger than before in Europe, was the object of the article written by Ecaterina LUNG: *L'essence religieuse de l'identité byzantine vue par les historiens du début de Moyen Âge.*

The second part of the book, suggestively called *On the two sides of the desert: Africa* (*De deux côtés du désert: l'Afrique*) groups articles that deal with history, anthropology and sociology of North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Theoretical concepts born out of the disciplinary and intellectual experience of the Western world come to these texts to be questioned and thus deconstructed, demonstrating

[91]ReinhardWenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Verden der frühmittelalterlichenGentes*, Köln, 1961; Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Organisation of Social Difference*, Universitetsforlaget, 1969.

their lack of implicit relevance when it comes to analytical and interpretative approaches aimed at building political identity in African states. Rachid BENLABBAH, in his article *L'Afrique et la question de l'identité culturelle* tries to answer questions about how some European concepts, such as territory, language, culture, religion, traditions, state, boundary, nation and citizenship, can work when confronted with the social, historical, cultural and ethnic realities of Africa. The problem of Asian and North African immigrants to West Africa and their difficult integration in their host-countries is central to Ibrahima THIOUB's study on *Libano-Syriens en Afrique de l'Ouest, de la fin du XIXe siècle à nos jours*. By writing about the Lebanese established in a region of Senegal in *Présence séculaire d'une communauté libanaise dans la région de Diourbel Sénégal*, Bassirou FALL analyses the complex dynamics of identities, economic practices and political interests in a multi-ethnic community. Awa YADE, author of *Mobilisation forcée des migrants Libanais et Syriens en Afrique et la question de leurstatut d'étranger dans les colonies occidentales françaises d'Afrique* shows how keeping their statute as foreigners was a way for the immigrants from Syria and Lebanon to avoid military conscription during the Second World War. In Mame Coumba Geneviève DIEME's article, *L'intégration des Libano-Syriens au Sénégal: un « leurre» identitaire?* the same community is shown using various practices in order to insert itself into the Senegalese society and to also maintain its own identity. Ndiaye Baidi SARR in *L'identité mauritanienne: entre africanité et arabité* underlines the conflicting situation that marks the building of a Mauritanian identity that is rooted in Arab-Berbers traditions, but also encompasses other African elements. Mauritania is also the subject of the article written by Mamoun ALAOUI, Khadija BOUTKHILI et Yahia ABOU EL FARAH: *Tribalisme et transformation identitaire en Mauritanie*. In this African country, attitudes towards tribal identity oscillate between repulsion, recognition and willingness to use it, which proves to be problematic in relation to the political power. Patrice KOURAOGO in *Identité culturelle du Burkina Faso : une réalité sociologique malmenée, un riche et composite vivre-ensemble à sauvegarder* analyses the dimensions that make up cultural identity, examines the values contained in this cultural identity and suggests ways to help it survive. *Stéréotypes et construction identitaire* written by Mohammed JADIR analyses how images of others and images of selves are important for the construction but also for the destruction of identities. Mohammed LAKHDAR uses mainly literary sources in *L'individu et sa communauté dans la littérature judéo-marocaine d'expression française* in order to emphasize the inner conflicts that resulted from different conflicting types of identity.

The third part of the book, on *Identity issues, from the Balkans to the Caucasus* (*Enjeux identitaires, des Balkans au Caucase*) is an interrogation on the problem of building the identity on the other side of the Mediterranean, in South Eastern Europe. The discourse is thus constructed over concepts such as border, foreign and native, identity, belonging and exclusion.

Luminița DIACONU analyses the issues of 14th-15th century pilgrimages in Greek lands in *Expériences des pèlerins occidentaux dans les îles grecques: regards croisés sur l'altérité orientale*, using narrations written by the pilgrims themselves. The significance of a natural border (the Danube) in the construction of Romanian national identity is put at the centre of Andrei ALEXANDRESCU's paper: *Fierté nationale et débat scientifique. L'historiographie roumaine autour de la domination bulgare au nord du Danube pendant le Moyen Âge*.

The issue of national construction in Georgia, especially during Soviet and Post-Soviet eras, as well as that of the relationship between the majority (Georgian) and ethnic minority (Armenian or Jewish), approached from a double perspective, historical and anthropological, offers a coherent group of case studies. Nino TCHIKOVANI in *La constitution du discours sur l'identité géorgienne au début du XXe siècle* analyses the political, economic and social context for the development of identity narratives and studies the definition of the main identity markers established by Georgian intellectuals. Ketevan KAKITELASHVILI offers an approach to the construction of the Georgian Jewish identity narratives. *Des "Juifs de Géorgie" aux "Juifs Géorgiens". Construction de l'identité juive en Géorgie* shows how the Georgian Jews evolved from being seen as Others to being accepted as some of Us, included in a wide Georgian community. In *Nous et les autres. Image des Arméniens dans le processus de la formation de l'identité géorgienne*, Ivane TSERETELI analyses a typical situation of using a minority (Armenians) as a privileged Otherness in relation to which the majority (Georgians) can build their own Identity. The way in which the Georgian identity, defined at the beginnings as an ethnic one, is replaced by a citizenship-based one in the recent period, represents the theme of the article written by Irakli CHKAIDZE: *Entre les discours ethnique et civique: identité nationale dans la Géorgie post soviétique. Du discours ethnique au discours civique: Le nationalisme en Géorgie postsoviétique.*

The same theoretical issue, which focuses mainly on ways of identifying ethnic groups, brings into question the ethnic minority of the Aromanians, a native population of the Balkans that today is located mainly in Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Romania.

Vladimir CREȚULESCU in *Le conflit Gréco-Roumain sur la question Aroumaine 1860-1905* presents the evolution of this ethnic minority which was under assimilation pressure from the majority in the states where it lived. One of the reactions of the Aromanians to those various actions was to put in writing an oral tradition, as shown by Corina IOSIF: *La "culture nationale" comme politique des traditions: des pratiques communautaires à la construction politique de l'ethnicité chez les Aroumains des Balkans*.

Carol et Laura CAPIȚA in *Les altérités multiples. Le cas du monde arabe dans les manuels d'histoire en Roumanie* focus on history textbooks and try to analyse which is the image of the Arab world presented to Romanian pupils and why this is so lacking in complexity.

The last part of the volume, *French Fashions and Models in East Europe and Africa* (*Modes et modèles français en Europe Orientale et en Afrique*) presents the role and influence of France and its culture on societies from Eastern Europe and Africa, in various moments and stages of their identity construction.

The Romanian space was under a strong Oriental influence until the 19th century, when Romanian intellectuals have chosen the French model as their main source of inspiration in the national identity construction process, shows Roxana COMAN: *Le modèle culturel français et le projet identitaire roumain. Représentations de l'Orient dans les discours politiques et dans les actions diplomatiques de la Roumanie 1856-1878*. In *L'influence française sur la vestimentation des Bucarestois dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle* Ana-Maria LEPĂR writes about the political significance of adopting the French fashion by the Roumanian elites trying to free themselves from the political and cultural Ottoman dominance. The same French model, this time used by Romanian researchers on folk tales, was analysed by Daniel GICU: *Des contes français aux contes roumains: quelques observations sur l'usage des modèles français par les folkloristes roumains de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle*. The communist regime installed in Romania after the second world war tried to cut off the country from all Western contacts. It was the long lasting tradition of the French model together with the importance of the left wing political parties in France that allowed the re-opening of scientific relations in the academic field, shows Florica MIHUȚ-BOHÎLȚEA in *Ethnologie et identité européenne. Un projet intellectuel franco-roumain à la fin des années 60*. Simona CORLAN IOAN in *Construire avec la déconstruction des mémoires. Le cas des pays francophones de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* analyses the redefinition of identity in the Francophone countries of West Africa. Memory, myths of origin and academic written history were thus manipulated and used as instruments in building new identities. The volume finishes with Nabila BHIH's article, *Le voyage du personnage féminin dans "Le baobab fou" de Ken Bugul et dans "Les yeux baissés" de Tahar Benjelloun : Quête d'identité, quête d'altérité*. The article's author presents the quest for identity that profoundly marks the destinies of two women, one from Senegal, the other from Morocco, who experience self-chosen exile in Western Europe. Both are facing the impossibility of finally integrating into the European society and both try unsuccessfully to return to their origins.

The contributions included in this collective work testify, once again, that the question of identity construction occupies now a central place in social sciences and in historiography. The articles were different and maybe of unequal value, which is normal in this kind of volume. But the result is a really interesting intellectual experience pertaining to a dialogue between academics with such different cultural background, unified by their interests in identities and by their Francophone formation.

THE IMAGE OF GERMAN ETHNICS TO ROMANIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA AFTER 1918. CASE STUDY: HUNEDOARA, ALBA, SIBIU COUNTIES. ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH BY COSMIN BUDEANCĂ (REVIEW)

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The research of Cosmin Budeancă, a sustained, collective, but also interinstitutional effort of over a decade (2001-2013), materialized into a qualitative and quantitative scientific product of magnitude. Starting from a necessity, a classic study of imagology regarding the relationships between Romanians and the German ethnics in Transylvania, the author has long crossed over the initial step, which was rounded off as an ample and complex paper (almost 450 pages) on oral history. Resorting to various interrogative strategies, the researcher has activated and stimulated for the speakers both sensory psychological processes, such as perception, representation and sensation, and superior cognitive processes, such as memory, thought, and sometimes even imagination, with the purpose of finding similarities and contrasts between various human typologies, in compact or disparate communities.

Technically speaking, the paper is structured into four main chapters, preceded by an Argumentation, completed by Conclusions, Annexes, Bibliography and The list of witnesses, and it came out at Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, in 2016, benefiting from the support of the Democratic Forum of Germans in Sibiu and the attention of two specialty readers committed in the field that is up for review, CS I Vasile Ciobanu and Hannelore Baier.

For the less witting reader, the author has exposed, in the beginning of his paper, some general notions regarding the theoretical and methodological aspects, based on which the study was done, like defining some key terms, such as "imagology", "oral history", "questionnaire" or "interview". Also, the author continues within the subchapters with the explanations that precede the interviews, for each subject, an aspect which eases the read. A determining role for this step, as we can find out from the Argumentation, was represented by Cosmin Budeancă`s belonging to the multiethnical and cultural space brought to attention, who was born in Orăștie, a city with a long German tradition.

The objectives are synthetized in an interview guide which encompasses nine main paths: 1. Signaletic data, 2. Biography, 3. General data about the German ethnics, 4. The interwar period, 5. Second World War , 6. Deportation to the Soviet Union, 7. The communist period, 8. The period after 1989, 9. Other aspects regarding the life of German ethnics (C. Budeancă, *Imaginea etnicilor germani*...(Image of German ethnics), see p. 32-33). As such, the paper begins with an overview, which intends to clarify and ease the reading of the huge material obtained after interviewing 122 people. Offering a short narrative of the origin and process of establishment of the German colonists in Transylvania, Cosmin Budeancă cites the committed researchers of the German migrationist phenomenon of more than eight centuries ago, such as Thomas Nägler, thus proving to know very well the multiethnical and multicultural past of the region mentioned above in the present case study.

As far as the origin and age of the Germans in the researched region is concerned, it was found that the collective memory has kept, with small exceptions, lacunar and inaccurate information. A special case, indentified by the author, is represented by Gheorghe Opriș from Gârbova, a history devotee, who compiled a monography of the village, and who offered less known details that were not found with other respondents (p. 55).

On the other hand, common to all national minorities, the selfisolation of the Germans was very familiar to the Romanians, who observed their customs, traditions and superior culture, but who also envied them for their dominant social status, the central establishment in the village and the ownership of more fertile plots. In the urban area, the situation was very similar. Wealthy, with a better education than the Romanians, the Germans were great merchants and craftsman in cities like Sibiu, Orăștie and Sebeș (Avram Opincar, p. 58).

In the interwar period, due to the agrarian reform in 1921, the Germans, especially their religious institutions, came to harm because they had lost 55% of the plots. Despite this, the most used terms (identified by the author in the interviews) used by Romanians to describe or characterize the Germans are: "rich", "aristocrats", "wealthy", "grofi (count title of Hungarian agrarians – n. tr.)" and "captains" (p. 66). Most of the respondents have retained a common aspect, that Romanians were often employees of the Germans, "servants" and "daymen" (see p. 76-80).

The rise of Nazism in Germany was reflected in the Germans` attitude towards the Romanians, whom they used to despise, being highly influenced by the ideology of racial purity and superiority. Few of the people that were interviewed remember the "overtones" in the Germans` political options, except for a few cases regarding the activity of the Renewal Movement of Fritz Fabritius, especially of the German Ethnic Group, which radicalized the Germans during the second world war. The opinions are convergent in accepting the idea that national socialism has broken their secular monolith unity, achieving what nobody had achieved before: dividing the Germans.

The war left its imprint on the collective thought of all the survivors who still have the most various memories. A lot of the memories, otherwise lost, are brought to light and recorded in the pages of this paper. The mixed relations, Romanian-German, are also various. From incriminating the Germans for their devotion towards Hitler to admiring the impeccable behavior of the soldiers of Werhmacht and even SS, the opinions are also varied.

An extreme case, brought to our attention by Cosmin Budeancă is the one of Aurelia Vlaicu, fond of the fascists, because they were "en vogue" ("I liked them too"/ "I used to sleep with Hitler under my pillow, too", p. 103). The difference between guilty/not guilty for the war lingers still for the postwar events, regarding the deportation, although many Romanians have shown compassion towards the separated families, especially towards young Germans found in that unhappy situation. The empathy of the people interviewed for the deported Germans is even more real because at that time they had the same age, and many of them were helped, by being hidden from the officials, as they confess seven decades later.

The secular Romanian-German cohabitation was interrupted by the dramatic events of the last century. Nazism, war, deportation, persecution and "sale" of the Germans by the communist regime represent just as many dark pages of the recent history of this minority in Romania. Due to various causes, but mainly because of political and economical causes, the Germans have emigrated back to the Federal Republic of Germany. The loss of the feeling of belonging to this country and the delusion of the "land of promise", of origins, are other reasons given by those interviewed and synthetized very well by Cosmin Budeancă. Many Romanians disapprove with their choices, because the Germans used to see only the good part of things, and after emigration they would face many problems of accommodation.

Paradoxically, the fall of communism was not a happy ending for the German community, who knocked on the doors of their mother country, which was reserved and even suspicious in receiving them back, assimilating some of them to Romanians and Rroma people, from what we find out in the stories told by the interviewees.

The part of imagology of the paper is very interesting, because it encompasses subjects already known but also new elements about religious celebrations, daily life, clothing, prejudices and superstitions. The recollections of the sentimental lives and the issue of mixed marriages are among the liveliest. Living for centuries in close proximity, the German and the Romanian communities have influenced one another, but in many aspects they were almost completely confined. Out of this reason, as we find out from the stories of the interviewed people, the mixed marriages were sanctioned by both ethnicities, especially the Germans.

Extremely important in the present political context, taking into consideration the last presidential elections in Romania, when a German ethnic, living in the area researched by the author, has won the elections, the paper clarifies some clichés and stereotypes spread among the Romanians, regarding the Germans. Taking into consideration that the main subject of the election campaign (which proved to be the winner) was the reliability, equity, rigor and work ability of the Germans, in contrast to the appropriate "Balkanian-Byzantinian" of the Romanian politicians, the study confirms, in a great measure, these perceptions and representations of the "other", within the interethnical relationships. Thus, "the things well done", proved to be not only an election campaign slogan or a cliché of otherness, but also the result of an unbeaten reality, as we find out from the interviews (see p. 352-370).

In the end we can say that in "The image of the German ethnics to the Romanians in Transylvania after 1918", the appeal to collective memory is defining and relevant. As such, starting with the premise of Oscar Wilde, that "memory is the diary we all carry around with us", Cosmin Budeancă confirms in his conclusions another classic aphorism, pertaining to an ancient, a first observer of the intercultural relationships of the Greek and the Persians, Eschil, who says that "memory is the mother of wisdom". Only using the confessions and life experiences of the survivors of the last century, a very complex and dynamic one, we can extract some wisdom from them.

ARCHIVES OF MEMORY*

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**A review of Ludmila D. Cojocaru, Elena Postică, Lidia Pădureac (ed.), Arhivele Memoriei. Recuperarea și valorificarea istorică a memoriei victimelor regimului totalitar-comunist din Republica Sovietică Socialistă Moldovenească/ Archives of Memory. Historical Recovery and Valorification of Memory of Victims of Communist Totalitarian Regime in Soviet Socialist Moldavian Republic, Tome I, vol. I, II, III, Tipografia Balacron, Chișinău, 2016.*

The three volumes of tome I, entitled ***Historical Recovery and Valorification of Memory of Victims of Communist Totalitarian Regime in Soviet Socialist Moldavian Republic during 1940-1941, 1944-1953*** are a result of the implementation of a state program for the period 2015-2018. The project is conducted by the distinguished prof. Anatol Petrencu, under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova, State University of Moldova, State University Alecu Russo of Bălți, National History Museum of Moldova. The three volumes of tome I bring into the public attention new directions of research and explore some subjects that have been ignored or taboo earlier. The starting point is the idea that studying the totalitarian past has fundamental involvements in societies that are in a process of democratization and European integration, where the initiation, archive and institutionalization of scientific systematic approach of memory of victims of totalitarian regime is crucial. Each volume represents the work of a group of researchers during one year within the mentioned project in a different geographical area. The first volume, whose editor is Dr. Ludmila D. Cojocaru, is focused on researching the center of the Republic of Moldova. The second volume is edited by Dr. Elena Postică and deals with the southern part of Moldova, while the 3rd volume, edited by Dr. Lidia Pădureac explores the northern area of the country.

The subject of systematic deportations during the years 1940-1941, 1944-1953 placed within the background of destruction of Romanian elites in Bessarabia and any anti-Soviet resistance, is developed in these three volumes through interviews, memoirs, case studies and documents and photographs. By interviewing victims of the concentrational system, as well as by the means of photo-documents, the memory of people discriminated by the communist totalitarian regime is explored, as these people channelled their life experience in the process of writing history. The recovery of feelings, attitudes, survival experiences of the interviewed people, memories kept for years away from the official historiography helps getting to know the past and impels to reflection. These testimonies evoke the Romanian interwar lives, Soviet occupation, war and forced community life; they reveal a lot of suffering and grief, perpetuation of cultural values and national identity, as well as the effort to survive under dynamic circumstances.

The study of the memory of victims of the Stalinist regime in Bessarabia requires a continuous effort of recovery; the exploration of this type of memories helps to understand the indirect effects and long-term implications produced by the experience of deportation. In this case, memory as a cultural patrimony is a contribution of academic community of the Republic of Moldova focused on the study of totalitarian phenomenon, taking into account the memory of victims of the Soviet regime in Bessarabia as part of the common European historical patrimony. Its mission is to remind the society the horrors of the utopic project represented by the Soviet Union, which meant a totalitarian regime of occupation for Bessarabia. Undoubtedly, the pact Ribbentrop-Molotov as part of this traumatic history had negative consequences for many nations of the Eastern Europe.

Archives of Memory are addressed to historians and to the large public, as it has the value of a historical document and the pedagogical role in liberating the nostalgic minds and revealing the importance of knowing the recent past and cherishing the memory of those who had experienced the tragedy of the totalitarian regime. On the other hand, reading the experiences told by these people unleashes images of physical and psychological abuse, witnessing death and cases of cannibalism because of the famine, as well as the intervention of authorities, along with Soviet military men, in the middle of the night,

violent searches, journey on the train to unknown destinations in cattle boxes, first years of deportation, death of their relatives. That was an immense misery that suddenly came over thousands of Bessarabian families, most of them intellectuals, workers in local administration during the years when Bessarabia was part of the Romanian state; all of them became "enemies of the people" overnight, a label that remained unchanged until the last decade of the last century.

Hunger is a constant presence during the entire narrative of the first tome of the *Archives of Memory*. It had been provoked in the entire Soviet space in order to determine submission of those considered the population mass. The great drought of 1946 hindered a rich crop, while the little left in peasants' households was collected by members of the village soviets. The peasants were forced to give everything to the state despite paying their quota; the insistent lamentations of the robbed families were answered with: „The state is taking care of you and the state is going to help you!" Lack of food brought despair in people's homes; death was more and more present in their families, becoming so common that it impressed no one anymore. All the horrors of famine were witnessed by Valeria, a seven year old girl: "Yes, I've seen with my own eyes! While I was playing with my sister in the house, we would hear children dying of hunger. They would talk and talk, and then you'd hear a sigh, and then another one... They would fall and die... Two-three children would die in our house daily. There were so many of them dying under my own eyes...!" All these children were awaiting a hand bowl of anything the state would give at the public canteen, opened in the house of Valeria's parents. Famine lead to actions of cannibalism when a 25 year old ate corpses of those buried in the cemetery or when two mothers killed their new-borns to eat them.

The waves of deportation aimed at the wealthiest inhabitants of the villages, being named "kulaks". The pain of those interviewed is accompanied by the feeling of betrayal, as they knew the people who enlisted them on the deportation list; however, no one showed any signs of revenge. Their testimonies invoke a single power, the divine one, for a just judgement, with a strong belief in God's punishment. Dumitru D. Berezovschi mentions his father's discussion with a young man on the deportation train; the young man confessed writing on the list of deportation 40 families, not knowing that his family was the 41st. Liubov Pojoga (deported in 1941 and 1949) confesses about people from her village that betrayed her family: "There were two soldiers and three people from our village: Plahotniuc, Ivanov and Percic. Plahotniuc signed the papers so that my father would be deported. They say that when Percic died people wouldn't bury him and worms would eat him because people heard that he deported the others from the village..."

The road to the destination points had lasted for two-three weeks under terrible circumstances. The people had no water during the summer and the food was far from sufficient. At each station the corpses were thrown and buried scarcely or even left as food for animals. No medical assistance was received by any of the people in the cattle boxes so that the dirty boxes and no sanitary conditions respected lead to various infectious diseases and numerous deaths. At the stations only several people would get the permission to breathe fresh air, while someone would get water. In cases of escaping attempts, the people were shot on the spot. There were nevertheless better cases when water and food were enough, as Vladimir Bușilo recalled in his memories (deported in 1941 in Akmolinsk, Kazakh Republic): "I met deported people from other echelons who complained about lack of water and food. It all probably depended on the humaneness of the chief of the echelon".

Narratives of the interviewed people are narratives of trauma: "we were enslaved", "they guarded us as if we had been criminals". The place where the families from Bessarabia were deported was described as an unfriendly, strange, unknown place, a place of "imprisonment". Only those who found strength to accommodate to new extreme conditions of life would survive the deportation. Grigore Rotaru (deported in 1941 in Tomsk region) highlights the defying attitude of Bessarabians toward the "status of not free people", "deported in Siberia forever". The deported people were received reluctantly in the Siberian communities, as they were described as criminals by the Soviet administration until their hard work and unity proved the locals of the injustice suffered by the Bessarabians. While during the first period the deported had to sign their presence on a daily basis, once they gained the trust of the local authorities, presence was checked weekly then monthly, and then only by a representative of the Moldavian community. They were living in barracks or crowded in houses of the local people (sometimes with people deported years earlier from Baltic States or other areas) forced to accommodate them for a while. In time each family built a barrack and each member was distributed to sovkhoz or forestry undertakings, but despite hard work they were constantly underpaid.

The education of young deported people was

precarious either because of the scarcity of material position or lack of schools in the area, while leaving the locality was forbidden without the consent of authorities. Vasilina Grozea (deported in 1949 in Altai region) confessed about the difficulty to learn Russian and perceiving the adaptation process as a trauma, a crucial moment in the childhood of the deported families. Everything was taught in Russian often with no textbooks, copybooks or stationery so that most of the deported children were forced to repeat the grades. This was also true for Marin Buga (deported in 1949 in Irkutsk region) – who quitted school to replace his mother at work where he learned Russian; only then he returned to school and became one of the best pupils in his class (his family returned to Moldova in 1956).

We have to point out that this gloomy atmosphere was marked by a moment of dark humour at the news of Stalin's death, given the fact that because of his criminal policies, the most capable Bessarabians were scattered in the Siberian taiga. After the dictator's death the Soviet territory became the scene of a dramatic play where black humour was present in the replies and attitudes of the inhabitants. Nicolae Banaga (deported in 1949 in Kurgan region) remembers the moment: "On the 5th of March 1953 Stalin died. The headmaster gathered us and forced us to cry... But my sister was in the 1st grade and came home crying that ‹‹our father died››, which scared our mother. My sister explained then that not ‹‹our father died, but the father of all fathers››". Ion Savin (deported in 1941 in Kazakh Republic) confesses that "upon hearing about Stalin's death all officers in the army took their caps off and cried..." Although Stalin's death is projected in the discourse of the interviewed people as a moment of hope for going back home, the scenes of the three volumes reflect the ambivalence of the situation, as well as the relief when hearing about the death of the main executioner.

Indeed, after Stalin's death the deported people came back home, as a result of approved requests especially after 1955. The testimonies invoke the motive of identification, as in Grigore Rotaru's case who kept reminding his son his origins. The joy of coming back was different for each family: Vera Tonu (deported in 1949 in Tyumen region) was happy to be reunited with the beloved ones; for others, the joy of coming back was shadowed by the rejection of the family – Ana Nedov (deported in 1941 in Akmolinks region, Kazakh Republic), as well as Vasile Carp (who avoided deportation in 1949). All of the deported had to start all over again and some of them settled in other villages in order to avoid suspicion or the reserved attitude of the inhabitants. The degree of inoculation of fear in the rural Moldavian Republic and the cohesion of the social bonds destroyed by the Soviet power is thus confirmed.

After the fall of the Soviet regime, the rehabilitation of the victims of deportation was partially made in a slow and excessively bureaucratized process. Nicolae Banga (deported in 1949 in Kurgan region) states: "My family was rehabilitated in 1992, we have the certificate... They should have given us our properties, but they gave us nothing!" The law adopted in 1992 concerning the rehabilitation of victims of political repressions made by the totalitarian regime of occupation (November 7, 1917 – June 23, 1990) creates the feeling of integration in society. The mentioned law is a necessary juridical rehabilitation, but with insufficient material compensations. It was only gradually that the victims of the Soviet regime began to confess their traumas, with the prudence gained after distrusting the totalitarian regime. The Association of Ex-Deported and Political Prisoners of Moldova organizes commemorative events in order to keep the memory of the victims of famine, deportation and collectivization. The present project is a support of the academic community, a substantial attempt to restore the human dignity of those who lost it during the Soviet regime.

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